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THE

DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES

DEMONSTRATED.

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BY THE RIGHT REVEREND

WILLIAM WARBURTON, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A DISCOURSE BY WAY OF GENERAL PREFACE:

CONTAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, WRITINGS, AND CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR.

BY RICHARD HURD, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

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THE

DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES

DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK III.

SECTION VI.

I HAVE now gone through the second general proposition, which is, THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BELIEVING, AND TEACHING, THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS WAS NECESSARY TO THE WELL-BEING OF SOCIETY. In doing this, I have presumed to enter the very *Penetralia* of Antiquity, and expose its most venerable secrets to open day. Some parts of which having been accidentally and obscurely seen by the owl-light of infidelity, were imagined by such as Toland, Blount, and Coward (as is natural for objects thus seen by false Braves), to wear strange gigantic forms of terror: and with these they have endeavoured to disturb the settled piety of sober *Christians*.

The ridiculous use these men have made of what they did not understand, may perhaps recal to the reader's mind that stale atheistical objection, that RELIGION IS ONLY A CREATURE OF POLITICS, a State-engine invented by the Legislator, to draw the knot of Civil Society more close. And the rather, because *that* objection being founded on the apparent use of Religion to Civil Policy, I may be supposed to have added much strength to it, by shewing in this work, in a fuller manner than, perhaps, has been done before, the EXTENT OF THAT UTILITY; and the large sphere of the Legislator's agency, in the application of it.

For thus stood the case: I was to prove MOSES's *divine assistance*, from his being ABLE to leave out of his Religion, the doctrine of a *future state*. This required me to shew, that this doctrine was *naturally* of the utmost importance to Society. But of all the argu-

ments, by which that importance may be proved, the plainest, if not the strongest, is the conduct of LAWGIVERS. Hence the long detail of circumstances in the *second* and *third* books.

But indeed it not only served to the purpose of my particular question, but, appeared to me, to be one of the least equivocal proofs of the truth of RELIGION in general; and to deserve, in that view only, to be carefully examined and explained. I considered this part, therefore, and desire the reader would so consider it, as a *whole* and separate work of itself, to PROVE THE TRUTH OF RELIGION IN GENERAL, FROM ITS INFINITE SERVICE TO HUMAN SOCIETY, though it be but the *introduction* to the truth of the MOSAIC.

Let us examine it: Lawgivers have unanimously concurred in propagating Religion. This could be only from a sense and experience of its UTILITY; in which they could not be deceived: Religion therefore has a general *utility*. We desire no more to establish its *truth*.

For, TRUTH AND GENERAL UTILITY NECESSARILY COINCIDE; that is, Truth is *productive* of Utility; and Utility is *indicative* of Truth. That truth is *productive* of utility, appears from the nature of the thing. The observing truth, is acting as things really *are:* he who acts as things really are, must gain his purposed end: all disappointment proceeding from acting as things *are not:* Just as in reasoning from true or false principles, the conclusion which follows must be necessarily right or wrong. But gaining this end is utility or happiness; disappointment of the end, hurt or misery. If then Truth *produce* utility, the other part of the proposition, that utility *indicates* truth, follows of necessity. For not to follow, supposes two different kinds of GENERAL UTILITY relative to the same creature, one proceeding from truth, the other from falshood; which is impossible; because the natures of those utilities must then be different, that is, one of them must, at the same time, be, and not be, utility.* Wherever then we find *general utility*, we may certainly know it for the product of Truth, which it indicates. But the practice of Lawgivers shews us that *this utility* results from Religion. The consequence is, that RELIGION, *or the idea of the relation between the creature and the Creator, is true.*

However, as the unanimous concurrence of Lawgivers to support Religion, hath furnished matter for this poor infidel pretence, I shall take leave to examine it more thoroughly.

Our Adversaries are by no means agreed amongst themselves: Some of them have denied the truth of Religion, because it was of no UTILITY; Others, because it was of SO GREAT. But commend me to the man, who, out of pure genuine spite to Religion, can employ

* See note II, at the end of this book.

these two contrary systems together, without the expense so much as of a blush.* However, the System most followed, is *the political invention of Religion for its use:* the other being only the idle exercise of a few dealers in paradoxes.†

I have begun these volumes with an examination of the *first* of these systems; and shall now end them with a confutation of the *other*. For the Unbeliever, driven from his first hold, by our shewing the *utility* of religion, preposterously retires into *this*, in order to recover his ground.

CRITIAS of Athens, one of the thirty tyrants, and the most execrable of the thirty, is at the head of this division; whose principles he delivers in the most beautiful Iambics.‡ His words are to this purpose: "There was a time when man lived like a savage, without government or Laws, the minister and executioner of violence; when there was neither reward annexed to virtue, nor punishment attendant upon vice. Afterwards, it appears, that men invented civil Laws to be a curb to evil. From hence, Justice presided over the human race; force became a slave to right, and punishment irremissibly pursued the transgressor. But when now the laws had restrained an open violation of right, men set upon contriving, how to injure others, in secret. And then it was, as I suppose, that some CUNNING POLITICIAN, well versed in the knowledge of mankind, counterplotted this design, by the invention of a principle that would hold wicked men in awe, even when about to say, or think, or act ill in private. And this was by bringing in the BELIEF OF A GOD; whom, he taught to be immortal, of infinite knowledge, and of a nature superlatively excellent. This God, he told them, could hear and see every thing said and done by mortals here below: nor could the first conception of the most secret wickedness be concealed from him, of whose nature, knowledge was the very essence. Thus did our POLITICIAN, by inculcating these notions, become the author of a doctrine wonderfully taking; while he hid truth under the embroidered veil of fiction. But to add servile dread to this impressed reverence, the Gods, he told them, inhabited that place, which he found was the repository of those Mormo's, and panic terrors, which man was so dexterous at feigning, and so ready to fright himself withal, while he adds imaginary miseries to a life already over-burthened with disasters. That place, I mean, where the swift coruscations of enkindled meteors, accompanied with horrid bursts of thunder, run through the starry vaults of heaven; the beautiful fret-work of that wise old Architect, TIME. Where a social troop of shining orbs perform their regular

* See BLOUNT'S *Anima Mundi*, and "Original of Idolatry." † Such as the Author of *Du Contract Social*, ch. viii. p. 129. ‡ See note KK, at the end of this book.

and benignant courses: and from whence refreshing showers descend to recreate the thirsty earth. Such was the habitation he assigned for the Gods; a place most proper for the discharge of their function: And these the terrors he applied, to circumvent secret mischief, stifle disorder in the seeds, give his Laws fair play, *and introduce Religion, so necessary to the magistrate.*—This, in my opinion, was the TRICK, whereby mortal man was first brought to believe that there were immortal Natures."

How excellent a thing is justice! said somebody or other, on observing it to be practised in the dens of thieves and robbers. How useful, how necessary a thing is *Religion!* may we say, when it forces this confession of its power, from its two most mortal enemies, the Tyrant and the Atheist.

The account here given of RELIGION is, that it was A STATE INVENTION: that is, *that the* idea *of the relation between the creature and the Creator was formed and contrived by politicians, to keep men in awe.* From whence the Infidel concludes it to be VISIONARY and GROUNDLESS. From the MAGISTRATE'S large share in the Establishment of ancient national Religions, two consequences are drawn; the one by *Believers;* the other by *Unbelievers.* The First conclude that therefore these *national Religions* were of political original: and this the ancient Fathers of the Church spent much time and pains to prove. The Second conclude, from the same fact, that therefore *Religion in general,* or the idea of the relation between the creature and the Creator, was a politic invention, and not founded in the nature of things. And if, in confuting this, I strengthen and support the other conclusion, I suppose, that, in so doing, I give additional strength to the cause of *Revelation;* otherwise the *Fathers* were very much mistaken. And though Infidels, indeed, in their writings, affect to dwell upon this conclusion, "that *Superstition* was a State-invention;" it is not, I presume, on account of any service, which they imagine it can do their cause; but because it enables them to strike obliquely, under that cover, at *Religion* in general, when they do not care to appear without their mask. But if ever they should take it into their heads to deny, that there is any better proof of *Superstition's* being a mere politic invention than that *Religion in general* is so, let them take notice that I have here answered them beforehand. On the whole, then, if I prove that Religion in general was not a politic invention, I enervate all the force of the Atheist's argument against *Revelation,* taken from the *invention of Religion.* For that *Superstition* was of human original, both parties seem to agree: though not *all of it* the invention of Statesmen, as we shall see presently, when we come to shew that *one species* of Idolatry was *in use* even before the institution of civil Society.

I shall prove, then, and in a very few words, that their *fact* or *position* is *first*, IMPERTINENT, and *secondly*, FALSE. For,

I.

Were it true, as it certainly is not, that *Religion was invented by Statesmen*, it would not therefore follow that *Religion is false*. A consequence that has been, I do not know how, allowed on all hands; perhaps on the mistaken force of one or other of these Propositions:

I. Either, *that Religion was not found out, as a truth, by the use of Reason.*

II. Or, *that it was invented only for its Utility.*

III. Or lastly, *that the Inventors did not believe it.*

I. *As to Religion's not being found out, as a truth, by the use of reason*, we are to consider, that the finding out a truth by reason, necessarily implies the exercise of that faculty, in proportion to the importance and difficulty of the search: so that where men do not use their reason, truths of the utmost certainty and highest use will remain unknown. We are not accustomed to reckon it any objection to the most useful civil truths, that divers savage nations in Africa and America, remain yet ignorant of them.

Now the objection against the truth of Religion, is founded on this pretended fact, that the Lawgiver taught it to the people from the most early times. And the Infidel System is, that man from his first appearance in the world, even to those early times of his coming under the hands of the Civil Magistrate, differed little from brutes in the use of his rational faculties; and that the improvement of them was gradual and slow; for which, Antiquity is appealed to, in the account it gives us concerning the late invention of the arts of life. Thus, according to their own state of the case, Religion was taught mankind when the generality had not begun to cultivate their rational faculties; and, what is chiefly remarkable, it was TAUGHT BY THOSE FEW WHO HAD.

It is true, our holy Religion gives a different account of *these first men:* But then it gives a different account too of the *origin of Religion.* And let our Adversaries prevaricate as they will, they must take *both* or *neither.* For that very thing which was only able to make the first men so enlightened, as they are represented in Scripture, was *Revelation;* and, this allowed, the dispute is at an end.

If it should be said, That "supposing Religion true, it is of so much importance to mankind, that God would never suffer us to remain ignorant of it:" I allow the force of the objection: but then we are not to prescribe to the Almighty his WAY of bringing us to the knowledge of his Will. It is sufficient to justify his goodness,

that he hath done it: and whether he chose the way of REVELATION, or of REASON, or of the CIVIL MAGISTRATE, it equally manifests his wisdom. And why it might not happen to this *truth*, as it hath done to many others of great importance, to be first stumbled upon by chance, and mistaken for a mere *utility*; and afterwards seen and proved to be what it is; I would beg leave to demand of these mighty Masters of reason.

II. *As to Religion's being invented only for its utility:* This, though their palmary argument against it, is, of all, the most unlucky. It proceeds on a supposed inconsistency between *utility* and *truth*. For men perceiving much of it, between private, partial, utility and truth, were absurdly brought to think there might be the same inconsistence, between general utility and some truths. This it was which led the ancient Sages into so many errors. For neither *Philosopher* nor *Lawgiver* apprehending THAT TRUTH AND UTILITY DID COINCIDE; the First, while he neglected utility, missed (as we have seen) of the most momentous *truths:* and the Other, while little solicitous about truth, missed in many instances (as we shall see hereafter) of *utility*. But general utility and all truth, necessarily coincide. For truth is nothing but that natural or moral relation of things, whose observance is attended with universal benefit. We may therefore as certainly conclude that *general utility* is always founded on *truth*, as that *truth* is always productive of *general utility*. Take then this concession of the Atheist for granted, *that Religion is productive of public good*, and the very contrary to his inference, as we have seen above, MUST follow: namely, *that Religion is true.*

If it should be urged, That "experience maketh against this reasoning; for that it was not *Religion*, but SUPERSTITION, that, for the most part, procured this public utility: and superstition, both sides agree to be *erroneous.*" To this we reply, that *Superstition* was so far from procuring any good in the ancient world, where it was indeed more or less mixed with all the national Religions, that the good which Religion procured, was allayed with evil, in proportion to the quantity of Superstition found therein. And the less of Superstition there was in any national Religion, the happier, *cæteris paribus*, we always find that people; and the more there was of it, the unhappier. It could not be otherwise, for, if we examine the case, it will appear, That all those *advantages* which result from the *worship of a superior Being*, are the consequences only of the *true principles of Religion:* and that the *mischiefs* which result from such worship, are the consequences only of the *false;* or what we call *Superstition.*

The wiser Ancients (in whose times, SUPERSTITION, with it's malignant embraces, had twined itself round the noble trunk of

RELIGION, had poisoned her benignest qualities, deformed all her comeliness, and usurped her very NAME) were so struck and affected with what they saw and felt, that some of them thought, even ATHEISM was to be preferred before her. PLUTARCH composed a fine rhetorical discourse in favour of this strange paradox; which hath since given frequent occasion to much sophistical declamation. M. BAYLE hath supported Plutarch's Thesis at large, in an *Historical and Philosophical Commentary:* Yet, by neglecting, or rather confounding, a real and material DISTINCTION, neither the ancient nor the modern Writer hath put the reader fairly into possession of the question. So that, both the SUBJECT and the PREDICATE of the Proposition are left in that convenient state of ambiguity which is necessary to give a *Paradox* the air and reputation of an *Oracle.*

The ambiguity in the *subject* ariseth from the word SUPERSTITION'S being so laxly employed as to admit of two senses: either as a THING ADVENTITIOUS TO RELIGION, with which it is fatally apt to mix itself; Or as a CORRUPT SPECIES OF RELIGION. In the first sense, Superstition is of *no use at all,* but of infinite mischief; and worse than Atheism itself: In the second sense, of a corrupt Religion, it is of *great service;* For, by teaching a Providence, on which mankind depends, it imposeth a necessary curb upon individuals, so as to prevent the mischiefs of mutual violence and injustice. It is likewise, indeed, of *great disservice:* for, by infusing wrong notions of the moral attributes of God, it hinders the progress of Virtue; and sometimes sets up a false species of it. However, in the sense of a *corrupt Religion,* the Reader sees, it is infinitely preferable to Atheism: As in a Drug of sovereign efficacy, the application even of that which by time or accident is become decayed or viciated, is, in desperate disorders, greatly to be preferred to the rejection; though it may engender bad habits in the Constitution it preserves; which, the sound and pure species would not have done. Now one of the leading fallacies, which runs through PLUTARCH'S little Tract, keeps under the cover of this ambiguity, in the SUBJECT.

The ambiguity in the PREDICATE does as much service to sophistry. "Superstition" (they say) "*is worse* than Atheism." They do not tell us, TO WHOM; but leave us to conclude, that they mean, both to PARTICULARS and to SOCIETY; as taking it for granted, that if worse to *one,* it must needs be worse to the *other.* But here they are mistaken: and so, from this ambiguity arises a *new* fallacy, which mixes itself with the other. The degree of mischief caused by Superstition is different, as it respects its objects, *Individuals* or *Societies.* Superstition, as it signifies only a CORRUPT RITE, is more hurtful to Societies than to Individuals; and, to both, *worse* than Atheism. But as it signifies a CORRUPT RELIGION, it is less

hurtful to Societies than to Individuals; and, to both, *better* than Atheism. The confounding this *distinction* makes the ambiguity in which Bayle principally delights to riot. And this, by the assistance of the other from Plutarch, supports him in all his gross equivocations, and imperfect estimates: Till at length, it encourages him to pronounce, in the most general terms, that *Superstition is worse than Atheism.**

BAYLE is a great deal too diffused to come within the limits of this examination. But as PLUTARCH led the way; and hath even dazzled BACON himself,† with the splendour of his discourse; I propose to examine his arguments, as they lie in order: Whereby it will appear that, besides the capital fallacies above detected, it abounds with a variety of other sophisms, poured out with a profusion which equals, and keeps pace with, the torrent of his wit and eloquence.

This famous Tract is, as we have observed, a florid declamation, adorned with all the forms and colouring of Rhetoric; when the question demanded severe reasoning, and philosophical precision. At the same time, it must be owned, that it is of a genius very different from those luxuriant, and, at the same time, barren Dissertations of the Sophists. It is painted all over with bright and lively images, it sparkles with witty allusions, it amuses with quaint and uncommon similies; and, in every decoration of spirit and genius, equals the finest compositions of Antiquity: Indeed, as to the solidity and exactness of the Logic, it is on a level with the meanest. His REASONING is the only part I am concerned with: and no more of this, than lies in one continued COMPARISON between Atheism and Superstition: For, as to his positive proofs, from fact, of the actual mischiefs of Superstition, I am willing they should be allowed all the force they pretend to.

It will be proper, in the first place, to observe, That it is hard to say, What Plutarch intended to infer from this laboured *Comparison between Atheism and Superstition;* in which, he, all the way, gives the preference to *Atheism:* For though, throughout the course of the argument, he considers each, only as it affects *Particulars*, yet, in his conclusion, he makes a general inference in *favour of Atheism with regard to Society*. But, it will not follow, that, because Atheism is less hurtful to *Particulars*, it is therefore less hurtful to *Societies* likewise. So that, to avoid all sophistical dealing, it was necessary these two questions should be distinguished; and separately considered. However, let us examine his reasoning on that side where it hath most strength, *The effects of Atheism and Superstition on* PARTICULARS.

* *Pensées diverses ecrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne à l'Occasion de la Comete qui parût au Mois de Decembre*, 1680. *Et Continuation des Pensées diverses*, &c.
† See his "Essays;" where this paradox of Plutarch is supported.

1. He sets out in this manner—"Ignorance concerning the nature of the Gods, where it meets with a bold and refractory temper, as in a rough and stubborn soil, produces ATHEISM; where it encounters flexible and fearful manners, as in rank and low land, there it brings forth SUPERSTITION." *—This is by no means an exact, or even generally true account of the origin of these evils. There are various causes which incline men to Atheism, besides fool-hardiness; and, to Superstition, besides cowardice. The affectation of singularity; the vanity of superior knowledge; and, what Plutarch himself, in another place of this very Tract, assigns as a general cause, *the sense of the miseries of Superstition*, have frequently inclined men to this fatal obliquity of judgment. On the other hand, ignorance of Nature; impatience to pry into futurity; the unaccountable turns in a man's own fortune, to good or bad; and, above all, a certain reverence for things established, carry them into *Superstition*. And as *these* considerations are equally adapted to affect the hardy and the pusillanimous; so the *others*, mentioned before, as soon get possession of the fearful as of the bold. Nay, FEAR itself is often the very passion which most forcibly inclines a wicked man, who hath nothing favourable to expect from divine Justice, to persuade himself that there is none to fear. Plutarch owns as much; and says expresly, that "the end the Atheist proposes in his opinions is to exempt himself from all *fear* of the Deity." †—Again, we find, by the Histories of all times, that Superstition seizeth, along with the weak and fearful, the most daring and determined, the most ferocious and untractable. Tyrants, Conquerors, Statesmen, and Great Generals, with all the savage tribes of uncivilized Barbarians, submit tamely to this galling Yoke.

But our Author's account of the different births of Atheism and Superstition was no more than was necessary to support his Thesis. He all along estimates the two evils by the miseries they bring on those who are under their dominion. These miseries arise from the passions they create. But, of all the passions, FEAR is the most tormenting. The pusillanimous mind is most subject to fear. And it is over the fearful (he says) that Superstition gains the ascendant. This, therefore, was to be laid down as a postulatum. The rest follows in order.

2. For now coming to his parallel, he begins with a confession—"That both errors are very bad. But as Superstition is accompanied with passion or affection, and Atheism free from all passion, Superstition must needs be the greater evil; as in a broken limb, a *compound*

* Τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀγνοίας εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δίχα ῥυείσης, τὸ μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐν χωρίοις τισὶ σκληροῖς καὶ ἀντιτύποις, ἤθεσι τὴν ἀθεότητα, τὸ δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐν ὑγροῖς καὶ ἁπαλοῖς, τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐμπεποίηκεν.—Περὶ Δεισιδ. vol. i. p. 286, Steph. ed. 8vo.
† Τέλος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τοῦ μὴ νομίζειν θεοὺς, τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι.—P. 287.

fracture is much worse than a *simple*. Atheism" (he says) "may pervert the mind, but Superstition both *ulcerates* and perverts. A man who believes no God hath none to fear; but he who believes God to be a capricious or vindictive Being hath a great deal to fear." *—This is wittily said: but Nature talks another language. We should beware how we credit poetical similies; or even philosophical analogies; which, indeed, is but poetry, once removed. They both have their hopes and fears. Though the Atheist has no God to fear, yet the miserable forlorn condition of a World without a Ruler must keep him under perpetual alarms, in the apprehension of the dismal effect which Chance and Hazard may produce in the Material system; either by removing the parts of it (whose present position supports the harmony of the whole) too far from, or else by bringing them too near to, one another.

And now again, the rapidity of Plutarch's invention throws him on a Comparison, to support his reasoning, which entirely overturns it—"He" (says our author) "who thinks Virtue a *corporeal being* is only absurd. Here we have an error without passion. But he who thinks Virtue a *mere name* is miserable; for his error is attended with passion." †—How so?—"Because such a one lies under the sad reflection of having lost his ablest support." But must not a man's being deprived of the LAWGIVER be as sensible a mortification, as his being deprived of the LAW, whose existence depends upon the *Lawgiver?* On the other side, Though Superstition hath its *fears*, it hath its *hopes* also: which, upon the whole, I think, to be more eligible than that supposed freedom of the Atheist (even as our author draws it) from all passion and affection. For though the superstitious man may think perversely concerning the means whereby the Deity is appeased, yet he thinks him placable; and supposeth the means to be in his own power. So that he is not under the tyranny of that *pure and unmixed fear*, which Plutarch represents in such a manner as if all Nature furnished out provision to the superstitious man, for food and exercise to this passion. Whereas the affection of Superstition is equal between hopes and fears: It is the proper temper of the superstitious man, which more inclines him towards one than to the other. But Plutarch had before, gratuitously, laid it down as an axiom, "That the essential temperament of the superstitious man is fear and cowardice."

3. However, all this would not have been sufficient to support the weakness of his declamatory reasoning, without the assistance of two commodious sophisms, to set it off. The first, indeed, is of a slender

* "Απασα μὲν οὖν κρίσις ψευδὴς, ἄλλως τε κἂν ᾖ περὶ ταῦτα μοχθηρὸν, τῇδε καὶ πάθος πρόσεστι μοχθηρότερον· πᾶν γὰρ πάθος ἔοικεν ἀπάτῃ φλεγμαίνουσα εἶναι, &c. —Pp. 286, 287. † Πάλιν οἴονταί τινες εἶναι σῶμα τὴν ἀρετὴν, &c.—P. 286.

make, and hath little more in it than sound. He says "the very *name* shews, the essence of superstition to be *Fear:* For the Greek name of this moral mode, δεισιδαιμονία, signifies a *fear of the gods.*" A Roman might with the same pretence aver, that the essence of superstition is *Love:* for that the Latin word *superstitio,* hath a reference to the *love we bear to our children, in the desire that they should survive us;* being formed upon the observation of certain religious practices deemed efficacious for procuring that happy event. The other sophism is more material; and consists in putting the change upon us, and representing the God of the Superstitious man, by whom he supposes the world to be governed, in false and odious colours, as an *envious Being, hurtful to man:** For it is not the *good,* but the EVIL DEMON whom the superstitious man *thus* represents: Not the Being which he worships; but the Being which he avoids and detests. The superstitious man, indeed, foolishly enough, supposeth, that the God whom he acknowledgeth to be good, is capricious, inconstant, and vindictive. But then, from that essential quality of GOODNESS, which belongs to him as GOD, he concludes, that this Being may be appeased by submission, and won upon by oblations and atonements. All this, Plutarch himself confesseth: and in words which directly contradict the account he here gives of the God of the superstitious man. *Superstition* (says he) *agitated by many contrary passions, suffereth itself to suspect that* THE GOOD *itself may be evil.*† Plutarch has therefore acted unfairly, and to serve a purpose, in thrusting in the superstitious man's *evil Demon,* in the place of his *God.* This conduct will bear the harder upon his ingenuity, as he held the doctrine of the TWO PRINCIPLES: and, therefore, can hardly be supposed to have changed the object inadvertently, or without design.

4. Having made the *God* of the superstitious man, a *Devil,* he hath, consistently enough, represented the superstitious man's condition to be the very state of the *damned:* "That his pains have not remission; that he carries Hell in his bosom, and finds the Furies in his dreams."‡ The terms of the original are very elegant: But as they plainly allude to the *shews of the mysteries,* I think the author should have been so fair to recollect, that there was an ELYSIUM as well as a TARTARUS both in the *Dreams* of the superstitious man and in the *shews* of the Mysteries. And that as Tartarus and Elysium

* Οἰόμενόν τ' εἶναι θεοὺς, εἶναι δὲ λυπηροὺς καὶ βλαβερούς.—P. 287. † Ἡ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία πολυπάθεια κακὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὑπονοοῦσα· φοβοῦνται τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεούς.—P. 291. ‡ Ὥσπερ ἐν ἀσεβῶν χώρῳ, τῷ ὕπνῳ τῶν δεισιδαιμόνων, εἴδωλα φρικώδη καὶ τεράστια φαρμακῶν, καὶ ποινάς τινας ἐγείρουσα καὶ στροβοῦσα τὴν ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν, ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων ἐκδιώκει τοῖς ὀνείροις, μαστιζομένην καὶ κολαζομένην αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὑτῆς, ὡς ὑφ' ἑτέρου, καὶ δεινὰ προστάγματα καὶ ἀλλόκοτα λαμβάνουσαν.—P. 288.

were alike the fictions of superstition, they were alike the objects of the superstitious Man's dreams. His natural temperament and the redundancy of a particular humour would determine the colour of the Scene. The Atheist therefore, who, he says, enjoys the benefit of repose, might have his sleep disturbed by *the cries of the damned* as well as the superstitious man; whom he represents as kept in perpetual alarms by this passion; because the *habit of the body* makes the very same impressions on the fancy, in sleep, which the *state of the mind* does on the imagination while awake.

5. But, "from the tyranny of Superstition," he says, "there is no respite nor escape; because, in the opinion of the superstitious man, all things are within the jurisdiction of his God; and this God is *inexorable and implacable.*" * From such a Being, indeed, there can be no escape, nor respite from torment. But, as was said before, this is not the superstitious man's *God*, but his *Devil*. Besides, the attribute of *implacability* totally removes, what our Author makes the other half of the miseries of Superstition; its slavish attention to the foolish and costly business of expiations and atonements: A practice arising from the idea of *placability*, and necessarily falling with it.

6. Therefore, as if conscious of this prevarication, he adds: "That the superstitious man fears even his best-conditioned Gods, the *Beneficent*, the *Preservers*: that the Gods, from whom men seek grandeur, affluence, peace, concord, and success, are the objects of his dread and terror." † Here we see the superstitious man is at length confessed to have Gods very different from those before assigned unto him. However, we must not think that even these will afford him any solace or consolation. It is well that the whole proof of this cruel exclusion lies in the ambiguity of the terms, φρίττων and τρέμων: which, when they signify the *fearing slavishly*, do indeed imply *misery*: But when they signify *fearing religiously*, do as certainly imply a *blessing*; because they deter the subject, they influence, from evil. Now, when these terms are applied to the Gods confessedly beneficent, they can signify only a *religious fear*; unless when Plutarch hath defined SUPERSTITION to be, the *fearing slavishly*, we will be so complaisant to allow that the SUPERSTITIOUS MAN ‡ cannot *fear religiously*. And where is the absurdity in flying for refuge to Gods, so feared? Though Plutarch puts it among the contradictions of Superstition.§—It is remarkable, that these *good-conditioned* Gods, here described as τοὺς σωτῆρας καὶ τοὺς μειλιχίους,

* Ὁ δὲ τὴν τῶν Θεῶν ἀρχὴν ὡς τυραννίδα φοβούμενος σκυθρωπὴν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον, ποῦ μεταστῇ, ποῦ φυγῇ, ποίαν γῆν ἄθεον εὕρῃ, ποίαν θάλασσαν;—P. 289. † Ὁ φοβούμενος τοὺς πατρῴους καὶ γενεθλίους, ὁ φρίττων τοὺς σωτῆρας καὶ τοὺς μειλιχίους, τρέμων καὶ δεδοικὼς παρ' ὧν αἰτούμεθα πλοῦτον, εὐπορίαν, ὁμόνοιαν, εἰρήνην, ὄρθωσιν λόγων καὶ ἔργων τῶν ἀρίστων.—P. 289. ‡ See p. 16. § Φοβοῦνται τοὺς θεούς, καὶ καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεούς.—P. 291.

are called by our author πατρῴους καὶ γενεθλίους, *his native and country Gods.* Yet if we consider the stories of Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Bacchus, Diana, &c. we shall find no great reason to extol their morals. But here lay the distress of the affair. Plutarch was a Priest of this class of Deities; and *Greece,* at that time, being overrun with strange Gods, and labouring under Eastern superstitions, it was proper to blacken this *foreign* worship, for the sake of the *national:* So that Plutarch, like the fair Trader, in an ill humour with Interlopers, reckons all Eastern Rites as even worse than Atheism. Hence his famous exclamation to his Countrymen, which the noble author of the *Characteristics* quotes with much exultation, and transferred bitterness. "O wretched Greeks" (says Plutarch, speaking to his then declining countrymen) "who in a way of superstition run so easily into the relish of barbarous nations, and bring into Religion that frightful mien of sordid and vilifying devotion, ill-favoured humiliation and contrition, abject looks and countenances, consternations, prostrations, disfigurations, and in the act of worship distortions, constrained and painful postures of the body, wry faces, beggarly tones, mumpings, grimaces, cringings, and the rest of this kind.—A shame indeed to us *Grecians!*—Shall we, while we are nicely observant of other forms and decencies in the Temple, shall we neglect this greater decency in voice, words, and manners; and with vile cries, fawnings, and prostitute behaviour, betray the natural dignity and majesty of that divine Religion, and NATIONAL WORSHIP, *delivered down to us by our forefathers, and purged from every thing of* BARBAROUS *and savage kind.*" * Such then were the circumstances of the time; and these, together with the personal views of our Author, were, I suppose, the causes which gave birth to this famous Tract, OF SUPERSTITION. To proceed,

7. Another advantage of *Atheism* over *Superstition,* in Plutarch's reckoning, is, "that the Atheist is secured from the impressions of a *future state.*" † It is no wonder that we find this in the number of the Atheist's blessings, when we consider that our Author regarded a future state as a Fable, at best, invented for the restraint of evil. Yet, whatever pleasure the Atheist may take in his security from this terror, it is certain, Society would suffer by taking off so useful a curb upon the manners of the people.

8. Our Author then proves, and indeed proves it effectually, "That superstition is much worse than the true knowledge of the Deity." ‡

9. He considers next the different effects of Atheism and Superstí-

* "Miscel. Reflections," vol. iii. misc. ii. c. 3. † Τί δεῖ μακρὰ λέγειν; πέρας ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ θάνατος· τῆς δὲ δεισιδαιμονίας οὐδ' οὗτος· ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλει τοὺς ὅρους ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ζῆν, μακρότερον τοῦ βίου ποιοῦσα τὸν φόβον, καὶ συνάπτουσα τῷ θανάτῳ κακῶν ἐπίνοιαν ἀθανάτων, &c.—Pp. 289, 290. ‡ Φιλοσόφων δὲ καὶ Πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονοῦσιν, &c.—P. 291.

tion on their subjects, *in the disastrous accidents of life.* And here again, Atheism, as usual, is found to have the advantage. "The Atheist indeed curses Chance, and blasphemes Providence; but the superstitious man complains of his Gods, and thinks himself hated or forsaken of them." *—The Atheist is well come on. Hitherto Plutarch had represented his Favorite as always calm and undisturbed: Indeed, he makes one great part of the Atheist's advantage over Superstition to consist in his freedom from all unruly passions. Here, they labour both alike under their tyranny. Well, but some passions make their owner more miserable than others. It is confessed, they do. But, is that the case here? Or if it be, Is it to the advantage of the Atheist? By no means. The disasters of life are supposed to have betrayed them both into *passion.* But he surely is least oppressed by the commotion, who sees a possibility of getting out of his distresses. It is impossible the Atheist can have any such prospect. There is no Fence against a Flail, nor provision against *blind Chance:* The superstitious man may easily hope to appease the irritated Deity: for though *he fears and dreads the Gods, yet,* as Plutarch acknowledges, *he flies to them for refuge.* I might mention another advantage which the superstitious man hath over the Atheist in the disasters of life, namely, that he is frequently *bettered* by his misfortunes; and this the Atheist never is; because the superstitious man may suppose them sent by the Gods in punishment for his crimes; which the Atheist never can.

"But" (says our Author) "If the disaster in question be disease or sickness, the Atheist referring it to the right cause, *intemperance,* seeks out for the proper cure. While the superstitious man imagining it to be a *judgement from Heaven,* neglects to have recourse to medicine." † The delusion here is evident. It is built on that false position, which the experience of all ages hath discredited, namely, That *men* always *act according to their principles.* In this case especially, of avoiding or freeing themselves from instant physical evil, men of the most different Principles go all one way; and however divided in their religious opinions, they all meet in an *uniformity* to medical practice. It is an idle sophism which would persuade us, that, because the superstitious man useth sacred Rites to remove what he esteems *a sacred disease,* that, therefore, he employs no other

* Πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον ἀπερειδομένου τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς, καὶ βοῶντος ὡς οὐδὲν κατὰ δίκην, οὐδ' ἐκ προνοίας, ἀλλὰ πάντα συγκεχυμένως καὶ ἀκρίτως φέρεται, καὶ σπαθᾶται τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων—πάντων τὸν θεὸν αἰτιᾶται—καὶ ὡς οὐ δυστυχὴς ὢν, ἀλλὰ δεισιδαίμων τις ἄνθρωπος.—Pp. 291, 292.

† Νόσων τε ὁ ἄθεος ἐκλογίζεται καὶ ἀναμιμνήσκεται πλησμονὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰνώσεις, καὶ ἀταξίας περὶ δίαιταν, ἢ κόπους ὑπερβάλλοντας, ἢ μεταβολὰς ἀέρων ἀήθεις καὶ ἀτόπους—Τῷ δὲ δεισιδαίμονι καὶ σώματος ἀρρωστία πᾶσα—πληγαὶ θεοῦ καὶ προσβολαὶ δαίμονος λέγονται· ὅθεν οὐδὲ τολμᾷ βοηθεῖν, οὐδὲ διαλύειν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς, οὐδὲ θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ ἀντιτάττεσθαι, μὴ δόξῃ θεομαχεῖν καὶ ἀντιτείνειν κολαζόμενος.—P. 292.

means.* The early mixture of medical drugs with religious charms and incantations in the first state of Physic, might have taught our Author, how naturally men are wont to lend a helping hand to the supposed efficacy of Religion. But this reasoning is utterly discredited by his own instance of the *Mariners;* the most superstitious of mortals; who, in the distresses of a storm, while they pour out their vows to their *Saviour Gods*, at the same time fall lustily to their tackle, and pump without intermission? † Indeed, he seems fully sensible of its weakness, when he catches at an occurrence in the *Jewish* ‡ history, to support it; where, we know (though he did not) that all things were extraordinary, and nothing to be brought to example, any more than to imitation.

To disgrace Superstition still more, our Author urges "the misfortune of Nicias the Athenian; who, frightened by an eclipse of the Moon, delayed his retreat till he and his army were invested, and cut in pieces, by the enemy." But this kind of superstitious observance is as well adapted to *encourage* as to *dismay* armies and bodies of men; and hath just as often done the one as the other. So that, under this article, Plutarch should have fairly stated, and balanced the account.

From the *miseries* of life, He comes to the *pleasures* of it. And here too the Atheist must have an exclusive possession. He confesseth, "that the pomps and ceremonies of religious Festivals abound with complacency and joy." He owns "his Atheist can receive no further amusement from such a scene than to laugh at it: But to the superstitious man" (he says) "they are the subject of distress and misery."§—Not to allow the relaxations of the superstitious man's mental terrors to have their *effect*, is hard indeed. It is much the same as not to suffer us to *feel* the remissions of our bodily pains. If the superstitious man fancies the Gods are often angry, he sometimes, at least, believes them to be appeased. And when can he hope to find them in good humour, if not at their Festivals? To draw him, therefore, at this season, with pale looks and trembling gestures, is certainly over-charging the picture. The truth is, the superstitious man hath as strong paroxysms of joy as of grief; though perhaps neither so frequent nor so lasting. Yet to deny them to him at the

* Plutarch makes the superstitious man say, Ταῦτα πάσχεις, ὦ κακόδαιμον, ἐκ προνοίας καὶ θεοῦ κελεύοντος· ἔβριψε πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα, προσήκατο ἑαυτὸν.—P. 293.
† Τοῦτο ἰδὼν κυβερνήτης εὔχεται μὲν ὑπεκφυγεῖν, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπικαλεῖται σωτῆρας, εὐχόμενος δὲ τὸν οἶακα προσάγει, τὴν κεραίαν ὑφίησι.—P. 294.
‡ Ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαῖοι σαββάτων ὄντων ἐν ἀγνάμπτοις καθεζόμενοι, τῶν πολεμίων κλίμακας προστιθέντων, καὶ τὰ τείχη καταλαμβανόντων, οὐκ ἀνέστησαν, &c.—P. 294.
§ Ἥδιστα δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἑορταί, &c. ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν σκόπει τὸν ἄθεον, γελῶντα μὲν μανικὸν καὶ σαρδώνιον γέλωτα τούτοις ποιουμένοις—ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχοντα κακόν· ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων βούλεται μέν, οὐ δύναται δὲ χαίρειν, οὐδὲ ἥδεσθαι—ἐστεφανωμένος ὠχριᾷ, δύει καὶ φοβεῖται, &c.—Pp. 294, 295.

celebration of his religious Festivals is a contradiction to all common sense.

Our author next attempts to shew, That "the *crime of impiety* is rather to be charged upon the superstitious man than the Atheist: for Anaxagoras," he says, "was accused of impiety, for holding the *Sun* to be only a red-hot stone: But nobody challenged the Cimmerians of that crime for denying its existence." * By this, our Author would insinuate, that it is more injurious to the Gods, to hold dishonourable notions of their *Nature*, than to call in question their *Being*. The opposition of these cases is witty and ingenious: but very defective, in the integrity of the application. Plutarch's Philosophic atheist in question, corresponds no more with the *Cimmerians*, than his Theist does with *Anaxagoras*.—The Atheist, after having had a *full view* of the works of God, denies the existence of the Workman. The Cimmerians, because debarred, by their situation, the use of that sense which alone could inform them of the Sun's nature, had no conception of his Being. In the first case, the conclusion being derogatory to the Nature of the Power denied, the Denier is justly charged with *impiety;* In the latter, as no such derogation is implied, no such crime can be reasonably inferred. But this brisk sally was only to introduce the famous *declaration* which follows, and hath been so often quoted † by the modern advocates of this paradox. "For my own part I had rather men should say of me, That there neither is nor ever was such a one as Plutarch; than they should say, there was a Plutarch, an unsteady, changeable, easily-provoked, and revengeful man." *These,* says the noble author of the *Characteristics,‡ are the words of honest Plutarch.*

And, without doubt, did GOD stand only in that relation to the rest of Beings in which one creature stands to another; and were his existence no more necessary to the Universe of things than the existence of *honest Plutarch,* every body would say the same. But the KNOWLEDGE of a Creator and Governor is so necessary to the rational system, that a merciful Lord would chuse to have it retained and kept alive, though he might happen to be dishonoured by many false and absurd opinions concerning his Nature and Attributes. A private man of generous morals might rather wish to continue unknown than to be remembered with infamy. But a supreme

* Ὅθεν ἔμοιγε καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔπεισι τοὺς τὴν ἀθεότητα φάσκοντας ἀσέβειαν εἶναι, μὴ φάσκοντας δὲ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν· καίτοιγε Ἀναξαγόρας δίκην ἔφυγεν ἀσεβείας ἐπὶ τῷ λίθον εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἥλιον· Κιμμερίους δὲ οὐδεὶς εἶπεν ἀσεβεῖς ὅτι τὸν Ἥλιον οὐδ' εἶναι τοπαράπαν νομίζουσι.—P. 295. † "It were better" (says BACON) "to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him.—Plutarch saith well to that purpose. *Surely* (saith he) *I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man as Plutarch, than that they should say there was one Plutarch that would eat his children,*" &c.—"Essays Civil and Moral," chap. xviii. ‡ "Characteristics;" Letter concerning Enthusiasm, sect. 5.

Magistrate, who loved the Community he governed, would certainly prefer the being known to his Subjects, even at the hazard of their mistaking him for a Tyrant: because, if the members of a Community, through ignorance of their having a Ruler, should think themselves free from subjection, every one would consult his passions and appetites, till he brought the whole into confusion. Whereas, while they knew they had a Master, their actions would be so conformed to the general measures of obedience as to support the order of Society: though their perverse notions of his Character might indeed obstruct many of those blessings which Government produces under a Ruler of acknowledged justice and goodness.

Our author proceeds; and observes next, "that the Atheist, it is true, *believes* there is no God; but the superstitious man *wishes* there were none: That the Atheist is averse to Superstition; but the superstitious man, if he could, would shelter himself in Atheism."* It is by no means true that the superstitious man ever desires to be free of the sense of a superior Being, to whom he may be accountable for his actions; as appears plainly from his abhorrence and persecution of Atheism: All that he wisheth is, to render such a Being propitious, and easily placable.

As to our author's inference, concerning *the better condition of Atheism*, because "the Atheist never wisheth to be superstitious, though the superstitious man wisheth to be an Atheist," it is a mere sophism: The proposition, on which it standeth, amounting to no more than this, That the Atheist *doth not wish* what is *afflictive* in Superstition: And the superstitious man *doth wish* what is *easy* in Atheism. And from those restrained premises no such general conclusion can be logically inferred.

But he hath found out another reason for preferring Atheism to Superstition. "Atheism," he says, "was never the cause of Superstition: but, on the contrary, Superstition has very often given birth to Atheism."† His meaning may be, either, that an Atheist did never change to a superstitious Religionist; Or that an Atheist, while such, could never become superstitious.

In either sense, fact hath shewn that the assertion is utterly false.

In the first, we have seen, that it is of the essential weakness of humanity to run continually from one extreme to another. *Modum tenere nescia est*, saith the great Philosopher‡ very truly. And the phenomenon is no mystery. The mind, as soon as ever it becomes sensible of its excesses, striveth, from its innate abhorrence of what is wrong, to break away from them. And the force, with which it is

* Νυνὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἀθέῳ δεισιδαιμονίας οὐδὲν μέτεστιν· ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τῇ προαιρέσει ἄθεος ὤν, ἀσθενέστερός ἐστιν ἢ τοῦ δοξάζειν περὶ θεῶν ὃ βούλεται.—P. 297. † Καὶ μὴν ὁ ἄθεος δεισιδαιμονίας οὐδαμῇ συναίτιος· ἡ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία τῇ ἀθεότητι καὶ γενέσθαι παρέσχεν ἀρχήν.—P. 297. ‡ BACON.

then impelled, being increased by the struggle between its old prejudices, which would restrain it, and its new aversion, which drives it on, rarely remits, till it arrives at the OPPOSITE EXTREME. The behaviour of all Ages supports this observation: and of none, more than the Present. Where a *contempt of Revelation* having for some time spread amongst the People, we see them now become an easy prey to *fanaticism* and *superstition:* and the METHODIST and the POPISH PRIEST succeed, with great ease and silence, to the Libertine and the Freethinker.

To say, that an Atheist, while he is such, cannot become superstitious, betrays great ignorance of human nature. How many Princes and Ministers of State hath the history of the two or three last Ages delivered down to us as Unbelievers in all Religion, and yet strongly devoted to the dotages of *judicial Astrology!* The Italians, in particular, have not been more noted for their irreligion and refined Politics, than for their credulity in this gross Imposture. Should I stay to enquire at large into the cause of so strange a phenomenon, it would be seen, how much honour it does to Religion. At present I shall only observe, That these men finding (and none have so good opportunities) how perpetually public events fall out beside their Expectation, and contrary to their best-laid schemes of Policy, are forced to confess that human affairs are ordered by some *power extrinsical.* To acknowledge a *God and his Providence* would be the next way to introduce a *morality* destructive of that *public system,* which they think necessary for the government of the World. They have recourse therefore to that absurd scheme of Power, which rules by no other Law than *Fate* or *Destiny.*

I have now gone through our Author's various arguments in support of his Paradox; or, to call them by their right name, a group of ill-combined sophisms, tricked off by his eloquence, or varnished over with his wit.

But there is one MASTER-SOPHISM still behind, that animates the Whole, and gives a false vigour to every Part. Let us consider the question which Plutarch invites his reader to debate with him. It is not, What the *simple* qualities of Atheism and Superstition, if found *alone* in man, are severally capable of producing: but what each really doth produce, as each is, in fact, found mingled with the rest of man's passions and appetites. He should not, therefore, have amused us with inferences from the *abstract ideas* of *Atheism* and *Superstition;* but should have examined their effects in the *concrete,* as they are to be found in the *Atheist,* and in the *superstitious man.* For, nature having sown in the human breast the seeds of various and differing passions and appetites, the *ruling passion,* in each Character, is no more in its *simple,* unmixed state, than the predominant colour in

a well-wrought picture: Both the *passion* and the *colour* are so darkened or dissipated by surrounding light and shade, so changed and varied by the reflection of neighbouring tints, as to produce very different effects from what, in their separate and simple state, whether real or imaginary, they were capable of affording.* Let the reader apply this observation to any part of Plutarch's *Declamation*, who considers Atheism and Superstition not in the *concrete*, but in the *abstract* only, and it will presently expose the inconsequence of his reasoning. I will but just give an example, in one instance. He prefers Atheism to Superstition, "because *this* is attended with passion; *that* is free from all passion." Now the only support of this remark is the sophism in question. Consider the ideas of Atheism and Superstition in the *abstract*, and there is a shew of truth: for Superstition, simply, implying *the fear of the gods*, is of the essence of *passion;* and Atheism, simply, implying the *denial of their existence*, includes nothing of the idea of *passion*. But consider these moral modes in the *concrete*, as in this question we ought to do, and Atheism will be always found accompanied with passion or affection; and of as uneasy a kind, perhaps, as Superstition. It is of no moment, to this discourse, whether Plutarch hath here imposed upon himself or his reader. It is possible, that, in the drawing his two characters, he might imitate, or be misled by, THEOPHRASTUS: Whose various pourtraits have all this fundamental defect. That is, if we understand them as given for copies of any thing really existing. But, I apprehend, this is not their true character. I rather think This curious fragment of Antiquity was only the remains of a Promptuary for the use of the COMIC POET, from whence he might be supplied with his materials, the *simple passions;* in order to blend, and shade, and work them into his pictures of *real life and manners*. However, if Plutarch considered them under the common idea, and, under that, would make them his model, he shewed as little judgment as that painter would be found to do, who should apply his simple colours just as he received them from the colourman; without forming them into those curious

> —"Lights and shades, whose well-accorded strife
> Gives all the strength and colour of our life."

To proceed with our author's Argument: It is directed, we see, to shew the advantage of Atheism above Superstition, only as these opinions and practices regard PARTICULARS: Though, by the turn and management of his reasoning, he appears willing, you should infer that the same advantage holds equally, with regard to SOCIETY also: And therefore he concludes, "That it had been better for the

* See note LL, at the end of this book.

Gauls and Scythians to be without any Religion, than to have had such a one as taught them to believe that the Gods delighted in the blood of human victims: And much better for Carthage to have had the Atheists, Critias and Diagoras, for Lawgivers, than such as those who authorized the Sacrifices performed to Saturn."* The sophisms which support these assertions are fully exposed in the introductory observation to these remarks; and so, stand in need of no further detection.

Lord BACON's chapter *on Superstition*, in his *Essays civil and moral*, is no other than an epitome of this tract of Plutarch. Now whether that great man thought his Original defective, in not attempting to shew the advantage of Atheism over Superstition, as well with regard to *Society* as to *Particulars*; Or whether he thought, that though his Author did attempt it, yet he was too concise and obscure; and therefore judged it expedient to comment on his hints: It is remarkable, that he addresses himself very strenuously, to make out this important point. "Atheism" (saith his Lordship) "did never perturb States: for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no farther: And we see, the times inclined to Atheism, as the time of Augustus Cæsar, were civil times. But Superstition hath been the confusion of many States; and bringeth in a new *primum mobile*, that ravisheth all the spheres of Government. The Master of Superstition is the People."

This is a paragraph totally unworthy so great a Genius. *Atheism*, he says, *did never perturb States*. The observation might, perhaps, pass for true, when he wrote. But, true or false, to make it to his purpose, he must suppose, that this negative advantage ariseth from the *essential* nature and intrinsic quality of Atheism, and not from mere *accident*; and so he plainly insinuates, in the reason subjoined —*For it makes men wary of themselves*, &c. but falsely. It is not from the nature of things, but by mere accident, that *Atheism never perturbed States*; it having rarely, or never, spread amongst the People, but hath been confined to a few speculative men. If ever it should become thus extensive, if ever it should infect the Sovereign, it must not only *perturb States* (as we have sad experience that it does, even under its negative form of IRRELIGION) but, as we have shewn at large,† would certainly *overturn Society*. Indeed his Lordship himself fairly confesseth thus much, where, charging this very mischief on Superstition, he subjoins the *cause* of its malignity— *the Master of Superstition is the People*, i. e. the people are they

* Οὐκ ἄμεινον οὖν ἦν Γαλάταις ἐκείνοις καὶ Σκύθαις τοπαράπαν μήτε ἔννοιαν ἔχειν θεῶν, μήτε φαντασίαν, μήτε ἱστορίαν, ἢ θεοὺς εἶναι νομίζειν χαίροντας ἀνθρώπων σφαττομένων αἵμασι;—τί δὲ Καρχηδονίοις οὐκ ἐλυσιτέλει Κριτίαν λαβοῦσιν ἢ Διαγόραν νομοθέτην ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, μήτε τινὰ θεῶν μήτε δαιμόνων νομίζειν, ἢ τοιαῦτα θύειν οἷα τῷ Κρόνῳ ἔθυον; —P. 297. † Book I. sect. 4.

who are infected with this error. *Atheism*, he says, *makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further:* This argument in favour of Atheism seems to have been borrowed from CARDAN; and (as miserable as it is) hath been considered in its place.*

The times, inclined to Atheism, he says, *were civil times:* I know of no times inclined to Atheism; that is, when the people had a *propensity* to it, unless, perhaps, two or three centuries ago in Italy; and then the times were as miserable as civil distractions could make a bad and wicked Government. His Lordship, indeed, refers to the age of Augustus Cæsar. But it is certain, that, at that time, no Roman troubled his head with Grecian principles, (and Atheism was then to be had no where else) except it were a few of the Nobility: Then, indeed, part of their Grandees, to make themselves easy under Servitude, espoused the principles of EPICURUS: But a much larger part followed the doctrine of the PORCH. Either served their turn. If they could persuade themselves to believe that their miseries were *inevitable*, it was just as well as if they could force themselves to think that these miseries were *no evils*. The soft, the delicate, the luxurious, espoused the *first:* The more rigid, and severe of morals, the *latter*. But still we must observe that their PRINCIPLES were the *effect* of their acquiescence in a state of Servitude; not the *cause;* as his lordship would insinuate: And did then, in reality, no more concern the Public, than their different tastes for *wild-boar* or *mullets*.

The time of Augustus Cæsar, he says, *was a civil time*. And this must be placed to the score of Atheism, although other causes be so very obvious: The miseries of the preceding civil wars, in support of Liberty, often renewed, with still greater violence, and still less success, made men weary both of struggling and suffering; and willing, at last, to thrust their necks under the yoke of a well-established Master. And this, together with the want of Instruments (for the general slaughter of them had made Confusion cure itself) were the real causes which, in the ceaseless round of human actions, produced that still calm of real slavery, after a long tempestuous season of nominal Freedom.

However, the general observation we made on PLUTARCH may be well applied to BACON: What he wants in fact and argument, he makes up in wit, and the ornaments of fancy: as where he says, *Superstition bringeth in a new primum mobile, that ravisheth all the spheres of government*. By which pompous figure, borrowed of the Peripatetic Philosophy, no more is meant than the *Churchman's destructive claim of independency on the State;* which conceals a vile ambition under the cloak of Religion: A claim, which, at that time, those two capital enemies of the established Church, the PAPIST and

* See vol. i. p. 128.

the PURITAN, alike pursued; as then to the disturbance, so, wherever they succeed, to the certain ruin of civil Government.

But to return to Plutarch, and conclude. The only sage part of his Declamation is in his last words; where he observes, "That, for the reasons he hath given, we ought to shun and avoid SUPERSTITION; but so cautiously, as not to fall into the other extreme of ATHEISM; like those giddy travellers, who flying from wild beasts and robbers, fall down rocks and precipices, where they perish."* But to enforce so plain a conclusion, there was no need of all that expence of wit and sophistry to prove (what the conclusion did not want) That *Atheism was in all things preferable to Superstition.* To proceed,

III. *As to the Inventors of Religion, their not believing what they taught concerning it,* which is the last pretence, This comes with an ill grace from an Atheist, who, under cover of an unquestionable maxim, *That, in matters of speculation, reason and not authority should determine the judgment,* despiseth all Authority, so as to oppose his own singularities against the common voice of mankind. Was it true, then, that the inventors did not believe what they taught, this would be seen to be a very poor argument against the truth of religion.

But indeed, the supposition is absolutely false; and betrays gross ignorance of the true character of the ancient Lawgivers. The idea, our adversaries have formed of these Civilizers of mankind (as men are but too apt, in their representations of others, to copy from themselves) is of a species of sly cold-headed Cheats, whose capacity arose only from the predominancy of their phlegm. But the History of all times might have told them, that, amongst the infirmities of Heroes, a deficiency of Faith is not one. Diodorus was so sensible of their propensity to be on the believing side, that he makes it a question, Whether those ancient Lawgivers whom he there enumerates, did not *really believe* the divine Mission they professed to execute? "They did this" (says he) "either because they really thought that the conceptions which they had formed, so productive of public good, must needs be strictly supernatural and divine." †— And I may venture to affirm, That there never was a great *Conqueror,* a *Founder of Civil Policy,* or the *Preacher up of a new Religion,* (if he succeeded by mere human means) but who was naturally much inclined to ENTHUSIASM. Not that I suppose the heat of *Enthusiasm* is not always tempered, in Heroes, with an equal share of CRAFT and *policy.* This extraordinary composition makes their true

* Φευκτέον οὖν αὐτὴν ἀσφαλῶς τε καὶ συμφερόντως, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ληστῶν ἢ θηρίων ἔφοδον, ἢ πῦρ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ἀλογίστως φεριφεύγοντες, ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς ἀνοδίας βάραθρα καὶ κρημνοὺς ἐχούσας· οὕτως γὰρ ἔνιοι φεύγοντες τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς ἀθεότητα τραχεῖαν καὶ ἀντίτυπον, ὑπερπηδήσαντες ἐν μέσῳ κειμένην τὴν εὐσέβειαν.—P. 298. † Εἴτε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θείαν ὅλως ἔννοιαν εἶναι κρίναντας τῆς μέλλουσαν ὠφελήσειν ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος, εἴτε.—Lib. i. p. 59. Steph. edit.

character: A character so much better conceived than expressed, that it hath embarrassed the pen even of a LIVY to delineate correctly.*

But the necessity of this odd-paired union appears plainly from the nature of things. A *mere cold-headed Contriver*, without any tincture of natural enthusiasm, can never succeed in his designs; because such a One can never supply those surprising freaks, which a heated imagination, working on a *disordered*, though, for this purpose, *fitly-framed* temper of body, so speciously exhibits. For the spirits of the PEOPLE who are to be taken in, can never be allured but by raising their Admiration, and keeping up their confidence, by the aid of an inspired Leader. Besides, new doctrines and new ideas are never so readily received as when the Teacher of them is in earnest, and believes *himself:* for then there is something so natural in his conduct, so alluring in his behaviour, as easily conciliates wavering opinions; and acts, on his followers, like fascination, or a charm. This made an ingenious French writer not scruple to say; "Give me but half a dozen men whom I can thoroughly persuade that it is not the Sun makes the day, and I would not despair of seeing whole nations brought over to the same opinion."†

On the other hand, a *mere Enthusiast*, who by virtue of his fanaticism, hath gone so far in his purpose, as to raise the admiration, and captivate the spirits of the Populace, must *here* begin to fail for want of the other quality, of *sectarian craft;* for his imagination not being under the government of his judgment, he will want the proper dexterity to apply the different views, tempers, and stations of the People, now enflamed, and ready to become his instruments for the attainment of his purpose.

But when these two talents of *Fraud* and *Fanaticism* unite to furnish out a Hero, or Leader of a sect, great will be the success of his undertakings. The sallies of enthusiasm will be so corrected by his cunning, as to strengthen and confirm his supernatural pretences: And the cold and slow advances of a too cautious policy, will be warmed and pushed forward by the force of his fanaticism. His *craft* will enable him to elude the enquiries and objections of the more rational; and his visions will irrecoverably subdue all the warmer noddles. In a word, they will mutually strengthen and enforce each other's power; and cover and repair each other's defects. St. Jerom seems to have had some idea of this extraordinary combination, when he said, "Nullus potest Hæresin struere, nisi qui ARDENTIS INGENII est, et habet DONA NATURÆ." Which may be thus paraphrased,— *No Heretic will ever be able to raise a Sect, but he, in whose constitu-*

* See note MM, at the end of this book. † "Donnez moi une demi-dozaine de personnes, à qui je puisse persuader que ce n'est pas le Soleil qui fait le jour, je ne desesperai pas que des nations entieres n'embrassent cette opinion."—FONTENELLE, *Hist. des Oracles*, cap. xi.

tion Nature hath enabled Fraud and Fanaticism to act in concert. And indeed, there are so many powerful and opposite interests to overcome and reconcile, so much caprice and humour to cajole, and artfully to apply; that it is not strange, if no one ever yet succeeded in any great design, where a whole People was the instrument, who had not reconciled in himself, by a happy union, these two qualities seemingly incompatible.

Several things concur to facilitate this conjunction. An Enthusiast considers himself as an instrument employed by Providence to attain some great End, for the sake of which he was sent out. This makes him diligent in his Work; impatient under let or impediment, and disposed to practise every means for removing them. Persuaded of the necessity of the END, and of the reality of the divine Commission intrusted to him, for procuring it, he begins to fancy that One so employed, is dispensed with, in breaking, nay is authorized to break, the Common-Law of Morality; which, in the cant of that fatal time when Fanaticism had its full swing amongst us, was called the BEING ABOVE ORDINANCES. In the first application of these extraordinary MEANS the People are the Dupes of their Leader: But the success being frequently even beyond his own expectation, he becomes, in his turn, the Dupe of his own contrivance; and begins in good earnest to believe that the trick which he played them was indeed not of his own invention, but the inspired instigation of Heaven.* This may serve to explain an obscure passage of Tacitus, where speaking of this sort of Character, he says, in his Oracular way, FINGUNT SIMUL CREDUNTQUE.

To confirm all this, it might be easily made appear, by an historical deduction from ancient and modern Times, that all those successful *Disturbers* or *Benefactors* of mankind, who have prospered in their designs, were indebted for their good fortune to the mutual assistance of these two Qualities. By this operation, under the management of such as MAHOMET, IGNATIUS LOIOLA, and OLIVER CROMWELL, great and powerful empires have been created out of nothing.

And again, it might be shewn, that those, who are upon the records of History for having failed, were either *mere Enthusiasts*, who knew not how to push their projects, when they had disposed the People to support them; or else *mere Politicians*, who could never advance their wise schemes so far, as to engage a fanatic Populace to second them; or lastly, which most deserves our observation, such as had the two qualities in conjunction, but in a reverted order. Of each of which defects, we have domestic examples in the three great Companions of the last successful Impostor, mentioned above; I mean in FLEETWOOD, LAMBERT, and VANE.—CROMWELL had

* See note NN, at the end of this book.

prepared the way for their succession to his power, as thoroughly as Mahomet had done for that of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman. Yet these various wants defeated all their efforts, and rendered all his preparations fruitless. *Fleetwood* was a *frank enthusiast*, without parts or capacity; *Lambert* a cool contriver, without fanaticism; and Sir *Harry Vane*, who had great parts, and as great enthusiasm, yet had them, and used them, in so preposterous an order as to do him no kind of service. For the history of those times informs us, that he began a sober and sedate plotter: But, when now come in view of the goal, he started out the wildest and most extravagant of Fanatics: In a word, he ended just where his MASTER began: so that we need not wonder his fortune proved so different. But this was a Course as rare as it appears to be retrograde. The affections naturally keep another Order. And the reason is evident. *Enthusiasm* is a kind of ebullition, or critical ferment of the Mind; which a vigorous nature can work through; and, by slow degrees, be able to cast off. Hence the most successful Impostors, as we say, have set out in all the blaze of Fanaticism, and completed their schemes amidst the cool depth and stillness of Politics. Though this be common to them all, yet I don't know any who exemplifies it so strongly as the famous IGNATIUS LOIOLA. This illustrious personage, who confirms the observation of one who came after him,* and almost equalled him in his trade, "that a man never rises so high as when he does not know whither he is going," began his extasies in the mire: and completed his schemes with the direction and execution of Councils, that, even in his own life-time, were ready to give the law to Christendom. Yea, the same spirit of Enthusiasm so regulated and conducted is no less serviceable to Nations and to Bodies of Men than it is to particulars. This built up *old* and *new* ROME. Prophane history tells us, that when the City had not six miles of dominion beyond it's Walls, it indulged the dream of UNIVERSAL MONARCHY; and we learn by the *ecclesiastical*, that when the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Rome extended not beyond a small Diocese, they entertained the celestial vision of a POPEDOM. And it was this spirit, which, in defiance, and to the destruction, of Civil Policy and Religion, made the fortune of Both.

But these things belong rather to the History of the human Mind than to the work I have in hand: and besides, would keep me too long from the conclusion of the volume,† to which I am now hastening. I will only observe, that this high Enthusiasm was so conspicuous in the character of ancient Heroism, and so powerful in making easy the most difficult undertakings, that the learned Varro scruples not to say, "It is of great advantage to Society, that

* CROMWELL. † The second volume of the edition in 8vo. 1766.

Heroes should believe themselves the offspring of the Gods, whether indeed they be so or not. That by this means, the mind, confiding in its divine original, may rise above Humanity; so as more sublimely to project, more boldly to execute, and more happily to establish the grand schemes it labours with, for the service of mankind."*

Hence it appears, that if Religion were a cheat, the LEGISLATORS themselves were among the first who fell into the deceit.

On the whole then we see, That of all these *mediums*, whereby our adversaries would infer that Religion is false, because invented by Statesmen, the *third*, which is most to their purpose, proves nothing: While, of the other *two*, the *first* is a high presumption of its truth; and the *second*, a demonstration of it.

I have said, that it was (I don't know how) taken on all hands for granted, *that the invention of Religion by Politicians inferred its falshood*. But, on second thoughts, I am persuaded, the too great facility in agreeing to this conclusion arose from hence; The popular argument of the *innate idea of God*, had been for many ages esteemed a demonstration of his Being and Attributes: And the *political origin of Religion* overthrowing *that argument*, it was too hastily concluded that it overthrew the *truth of Religion in general*: For prejudice had established this consequence, *If no innate idea of God, Then no God at all.*

II.

But now, although (as hath been proved) the granting this infidel pretence doth not at all affect the truth of NATURAL RELIGION; yet it doth by accident, and by accident only, affect the truth of REVELATION: Because Holy Scripture hath given us a different account of the origin of divine worship.

I shall shew therefore, in the next place, that the Notion is as *false* and *visionary*, as it is vain and *impertinent*; first, by examining the circumstances from which its pretended truth is inferred; and secondly, by producing plain matter of fact to the contrary.

I. The first of these circumstances is, *That the Lawgiver employed his utmost pains and labour in teaching, propagating, and establishing Religion.* But what can be inferred from this but that he employed his pains from a full conviction of its utility? And how should he come by that conviction but from observing the effects of its influence on the actions of men? Which must needs suppose him to have *found*, and not to have *invented* Religion.

If this argument against Religion hath any weight, we must conclude the Magistrate was not only the inventor of *natural* RELIGION,

* "Utile est civitatibus, ut se viri fortes, etiamsi falsum sit, ex diis genitos esse credant, ut eo modo animus humanus, velut divinæ stirpis fiduciam gerens, res magnas aggrediendas præsumat audacius, agat vehementius, et ob hoc impleat ipsa securitate felicius."—Apud AUGUST. *Civ. Dei*, lib. iii. cap. 4.

but of *natural* JUSTICE likewise; for he took the same pains in teaching, propagating, and establishing both. But will any one pretend to say, that men, in a state of nature, had no ideas of *justice?* Indeed, both one and the other had lost much of their efficacy, when men applied to the civil Magistrate for relief: And this explains the reason why, on their entering into Society, the Legislator was always so intent upon RELIGION; namely, that he might recover it from the powerless condition, to which it was then reduced.

It will be said, perhaps, that the Atheist doth, in fact, contend, that *natural justice* was an invention of Politicians, as well as *Religion.* We have seen, indeed, a Countryman of our own, who hath made this proposition the foundation of his Philosophy, *that Just and Unjust arose from the Civil Magistrate.* But then, he never supposed, that men, before Society, had no idea of these things: All he would contend for was, that the idea (when and wherever got before) was merely fantastic.

II. The other, and more peculiar circumstance from which our adversaries infer their paradox, is, *that the first and original idolatry was the worship of* DEAD MEN: And these being Lawgivers, Magistrates, and public Benefactors, Religion appears to have been a political Institution. So among the Ancients. EUHEMERUS, surnamed *the Atheist,* wrote a treatise to prove that *the first gods of Greece were dead men;* which, Cicero, who saw his drift, rightly observed, tended to overturn all religion.* And so, amongst the Moderns, TOLAND, the pious author of the PANTHEISTICON, with the same design, wrote a pamphlet, intitled, *Of the origin of Idolatry, and reasons of Heathenism.* It is not unpleasant to observe the uniform conduct of this noble pair of writers, which one never fails to find in authors of a like character, how distant soever in time or country. Euhemerus pretended his design was only to expose the popular religion of Greece; and Toland, that his great learning was only pointed against Pagan idolatry, while the real end of both was the destruction of Religion in general.

It must be owned, that this circumstance, *of the first and original idolatry,* hath a face (but a very false one) of plausibility; being manifestly founded on this sophism, That the *first idolatry,* and the *first religious worship,* are one and the same thing. Whereas, it is not only *possible* that the *worship of the first Cause* of all things should be prior to any *Idol worship;* but, in the highest degree, *probable* that it was: *Idol worship* having none of the marks of an original practice; and all the circumstances attending a depraved and corrupt Institution.

But it being utterly false that the *worship of dead men* was the

* *Nat. Deor.* lib. i. cap. 42.

primitive Idolatry, We shall endeavour to convince these men of a FACT they are so unwilling to see or acknowledge.

I was pleased to find a book, like this of Toland's, written professedly on the subject; being in hopes to meet with something like argument or learning, that would justify an examination of it: For an *answer* to a licentious writer arrests the attention of common readers, better than *general reasoning*, though this goes more directly to the fact, and determines the question with greater precision. But I had the mortification to find nothing there but an indigested heap of common-place quotations from the *Ancients;* and an unmeaning collection of common-place reflexions from *modern* infidels; without the least seasoning of logic or criticism, to justify the waste of time to the Reader, or to make the labour supportable to one's self. And the authority of the man, which is nothing, could not engage me to any farther notice of his book. But another, whose name stands justly highest in the learned world, and whose heart was as unlike this writer's as his head, seems to be of the same opinion concerning the primitive idolatry. It is the incomparable NEWTON in his *Chronology of the* Greeks. His words are these: "Æacus the son of Ægina, who was two generations older than the Trojan war, is by some reputed one of the first who built a temple in Greece. Oracles came first from Egypt into Greece about the same time, as also did the *custom of forming the images of the gods with their legs bound up in the shape of the Egyptian mummies:* For IDOLATRY began in Chaldæa and Egypt, and spread thence, &c.—The countries upon the Tigris and the Nile being exceeding fertile, were first frequented by mankind, and grew first into kingdoms, and *therefore* began first to adore their dead kings and queens."* This great man, we see, *takes it for granted*, that the worship of *dead men* was the FIRST kind of idolatry: And so only *insinuates* a reason for this supposed fact, namely, *that the worship of dead men introduced image worship:* For, the Egyptians first worshipped dead men *in person*, that is, in their *mummies;* † which when lost, consumed, or destroyed, were worshipped by *representation*, under an image made *with its legs bound up*, in likeness of the *mummies*. The reader now will be curious to know how *this* infers the other, that the worship of dead men was the primitive idolatry? All I can say to it is, that the excellent person seems to have put the change upon himself, in supposing *image worship* inseparably attendant on idolatry in *general;* when it was but commonly attendant on *Hero*-worship; and rarely upon the *Elementary*. As to the elementary, Herodotus tells us that the Persians, who worshipped *the celestial bodies*, had no *statues of their*

* "Chronology of ancient Kingdoms," p. 160.

† See book IV. plate IX. fig. 1, 2, and 3, compared together.

Gods at all: And as to *Hero-worship*, we are assured by Dionysius Halicarnasseus, that the Romans, whose Gods were *dead men deified*, worshipped them, during some ages, without statues.

But to come closer to the point: Our Adversaries overturn their position, on the very entrance on the question. The grand symbol of the Atheistic school is, that FEAR FIRST MADE GODS:

"Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor."

And yet, if we will believe them, these first gods were *dead men*, deified for their PUBLIC BENEFITS to their country or mankind: "Not only" (says Toland) "kings and queens, great generals and legislators, the patrons of learning, promoters of curious arts, and authors of useful inventions, partook of this honour; but also such private persons, as by their virtuous actions had distinguished themselves from others." *

But to pass this over. Their great principle of FEAR is every way destructive of their System: For those very ages of the world, in which FEAR most prevailed, and was the predominant passion of mankind, were the times BEFORE civil society; when every man's hand was against his brother. If *fear* then *was the origin of Religion*, Religion, without question, was BEFORE civil Society.

But neither to insist upon this: Let us hear what the ancient *Theists* thought of the matter. They said it was LOVE, and not FEAR, which was the origin of Religion. Thus Seneca: "Nec in hunc furorem omnes mortales consensissent alloquendi surda numina et inefficaces deos; nisi nossent illorum BENEFICIA nunc ultro oblata, nunc orantibus data; magna, tempestiva, ingentes minas interventu suo solventia. Quis est autem tam miser, tam neglectus, quis tam duro fato, et in pœnam genitus, ut non tantam deorum munificentiam senserit? Ipsos illos complorantes sortem suam, et querulos circumspice, invenies non ex toto beneficiorum cœlestium expertes; neminem esse, ad quem non aliquid ex illo BENIGNISSIMO FONTE manaverit."†

But as HOPE and FEAR, LOVE and HATRED, are the cardinal hinges, on which all human actions and cogitations turn, I suppose it was neither one nor other of these passions alone, but both of them together, which opened to those early Mortals (whose uncultivated reason had not yet gained the *knowledge*, or whose degenerate manners had now lost the *tradition* of the TRUE GOD) the first idea of superior Beings.

I. Such men, in a state of nature, whose subsistence was *immediately* to be supplied by the product of the earth, would be exact observers of what facilitated or retarded those supplies: So that of

* "Letters to Serena," Tract of the Origin of Idolatry, p. 73. † *De Benef.* lib. iv. cap. 4.

course, the grand genial Power of the system, that visible God the SUN, would be soon regarded by them as a most beneficent Deity: And *thunder* and *lightning, storms* and *tempests,* which his Qualities produced, would be considered as the effects of his anger. The rest of the celestial Orbs would, in proportion to their use and appearance, be regarded in the same light. That noble fragment from SANCHONIATHO, quoted above,* as part of the *History* rehearsed in the *ἀπόῤῥητα* of the *Mysteries,* gives this very original to idolatry. It tells us that "*Genos* and *Genea* (begotten of the two first mortals, *Protogonus* and *Æon)* in the time of great droughts, stretched out their hands towards the SUN, whom they regarded as a God, and sole Ruler of the heavens. After two or three generations, came *Upsouranios* and his brother *Ousous.* These consecrated two pillars to FIRE and WIND, and then offered bloody sacrifices to them, as to Gods." This is a very natural account of the origine and FIRST species of Idolatry. That it is the true, we shall now endeavour to shew.

1. Those ancient people of the North and South, the Suevi, the Arabs, and Africans, who lived long uncivilized, and in tribes, were all worshippers of the celestial bodies. The same appears to have been the case of the Chinese; of the North Americans; and of the people of Mexico and Peru; as may be collected from what is said above, of their first Lawgivers pretending to be the offspring of the *Sun* and *Heaven:* † For we may be assured they had the sense to chuse a well-established authority, under which to set up their own Pretensions.

2. But all Antiquity concurs in asserting, that *the first religious adoration, paid to the Creature, was the worship of heavenly Bodies.* This was so evident, and so universally acknowledged, that CRITIAS himself, as we see,‡ was forced to allow its truth. And this being the entire overthrow of his system of the origin of religion, nothing but the fullest evidence could have extorted the confession from him.

To support so manifest a point with a long heap of quotations, would be trifling with the reader's patience.

To cut the matter short, EUSEBIUS expressly affirms, and attempts to strengthen his position by an etymology of the word ΘΕΟΣ, that no Beings were anciently accounted Gods or divine, neither dead men, nor demons good or bad; but the STARS of heaven only.§

* "Divine Legation," vol. i. p. 213. † "Le SOLEIL est la divinité des peuples de l'Amerique, sans en excepter aucun de ceux qui nous sont connus."—LAFITAU, *Mœurs des sauvages Ameriquains,* tom. i. p. 130. ‡ See his Iambics in note KK, at the end of this book, p. 80. § Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ παλαιότατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε ναῶν οἰκοδομίαις προσεῖχον—ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα κατωνομασμένων θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων μνήμη τις τοῖς τοτε παρῆν, οὔτ' οὖν τις ἦν αὐτοῖς Ζεὺς, οὐ Κρόνος, &c.—ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ δαίμων τις ἀγαθὸς ἢ φαῦλος ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐθαυμάζετο· μόνα δὲ τὰ φαινόμενα τῶν οὐρανίων Ἀστρῶν, παρὰ τὸ θέειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τρέχειν, θεῶντε προσηγορίας, ὡς αὐτοί φασιν ἐτύγχανε.—*Præp. Evang,* lib. i. cap. 9.

But as GREECE and EGYPT, the two Countries where civil Policy took deepest root, and spread its largest influence, had, by the long custom of deifying their public Benefactors, so erased the memory of a prior idolatry, as to have this *second* species of it, by some moderns, deemed the *first*; I shall produce an ancient testimony or two, of the highest credit, to shew that the adoration of the celestial Bodies was the first idol-worship in those two grand Nurseries of Superstition, as well as in all other places.

1. IT APPEARS TO ME (says PLATO in his *Cratylus*) THAT THE FIRST MEN WHO INHABITED GREECE, HELD THOSE ONLY TO BE GODS, WHICH MANY BARBARIANS AT PRESENT WORSHIP; NAMELY, THE SUN, MOON, EARTH, STARS, AND HEAVEN.* The *barbarians*, here hinted at, were both such as remained in, and such as had got out of, the *state of nature*. As first, the civilized Persians, of whom HERODOTUS gives this account: "They worship the Sun, Moon, and Earth, Fire, Water, and the Winds: And this adoration they have all along paid from the very beginning. Afterwards, indeed, they learned to worship Urania," † &c. And so goes on to speak of their later idolatry of dead mortals. Secondly, the savage Africans, of whom the same Herodotus says, "They worship only the Sun and Moon: The same do all the Africans." ‡

2. DIODORUS SICULUS, speaking of the EGYPTIANS, tells us, THAT THE FIRST MEN LOOKING UP-TO THE WORLD ABOVE THEM, AND TERRIFIED AND STRUCK WITH ADMIRATION AT THE NATURE OF THE UNIVERSE, SUPPOSED THE SUN AND MOON TO BE THE PRINCIPAL AND ETERNAL GODS.§ The reason which the historian assigns, makes his assertion general; and shews he believed this idolatry to be the *first* every where else, as well as in EGYPT. But that it was so *there*, we have likewise good internal evidence, from a circumstance in their hieroglyphics, the most ancient method of recording knowledge: Where, as we are told by Horus Apollo, *a* STAR *denoted* or *expressed the idea of the* DEITY.‖

Such was the genius and state of Idolatry in the UNCIVILIZED world. So that the Author of the book called, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, said well, "Surely vain are all men by nature who are ignorant of God; and could not by considering the *Work*, acknowledge the *Work-master*: but deemed either FIRE or WIND, or the

* Φαίνονταί μοι οἱ πρῶτοι των ἀνθρώπων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνους θεοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. Ἥλιον, καὶ Σελήνην, καὶ Γῆν, καὶ Ἄστρα, καὶ Οὐρανόν. † Θύουσι δὲ Ἡλίῳ τε καὶ Σελήνῃ, καὶ Γῇ, καὶ Πυρί, καὶ Ὕδατι, καὶ Ἀνέμοισι· τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μούνοισι θύουσι ἀρχῆθεν· ἐπεμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν.—Lib. i. cap. 131. ‡ Θύουσι δὲ Ἡλίῳ καὶ Σελήνῃ μούνοισι· τούτοισι μὲν νῦν πάντες Λίβυες θύουσι.—Lib. iv. cap. 188. § Τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ παλαιὸν γενομένους ἀναβλέψαντας εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν καταπλαγέντας καὶ θαυμάσαντας, ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι θεοὺς ἀϊδίους τε καὶ πρώτους, τόν τε Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην.—Lib. i. ‖ Ἀστὴρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραφόμενος Θεὸν σημαίνει.—Lib. ii. cap. 1.

swift air, or the *circle of the stars*, or the *violent water*, or the LIGHTS OF HEAVEN, to be the GODS which govern the World." *

II. But when now SOCIETY had produced those mighty blessings, which exalt our brutal nature to a life of elegance and reason; and, in exchange for penury, distress, and danger, had established safety, and procured all the accommodations of Civil intercourse, the RELIGIOUS system received as great, though far from so advantageous, a change as the POLITICAL.

1. GRATITUDE and ADMIRATION, the warmest and most active affections of our nature, concurred to enlarge the object of Religious worship; and to make men regard those BENEFACTORS OF HUMAN NATURE, the Founders of Society, as having more in them than a common ray of the Divinity. So that, god-like benefits bespeaking, as it were, a god-like Mind, the deceased PARENT OF A PEOPLE easily advanced into an IMMORTAL. From hence arose, though not till some time after, their metaphysical distribution of Souls into the several classes of *human*, *heroic*, and *demonic*. A distinction which served greatly to support this species of Idolatry.

2. When the religious bias was in so good a train, NATURAL AFFECTION would have its share in advancing this new mode of Adoration. PIETY TO PARENTS would easily take the lead; as it was supported by gratitude and admiration, the "primum mobile" of this whole system: The *natural Father* of the Tribe often happening to be the *political Father* of the People, and Founder of the State.

3. FONDNESS FOR THE OFFSPRING would next have its turn. And a disconsolate Father, at the head of a People, would contrive to sooth his grief for the untimely death of a favourite child, and to gratify his pride under the want of *Succession*, by paying divine honours to its memory. "For a Father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he had made an image of his child, soon taken away, now honoured him as a God, which was then a dead man, and delivered, TO THOSE THAT WERE UNDER HIM, ceremonies and sacrifices." †

4. Lastly, the SUBJECT'S REVERENCE for his Master, the CITIZEN'S VENERATION for the Law-giver, would not be far behind, to complete this religious Farce of mistaken gratitude and affection.

This was the course of the SECOND SPECIES OF IDOLATRY; as we may collect from ancient history both sacred and profane: And, especially, from the famous fragment of SANCHONIATHO, which partakes so much of *both*; where these various motives for this species of Idolatry are recounted in express words: "After many generations came Chrysor; and he INVENTED *many things useful to civil life*; for which, after his decease, he *was worshipped as a God*.

* Chap. xiii. 1, 2. † "Wisdom of Solomon," xiv. 15.

Then flourished Ouranos and his sister Ge; *who deified and offered sacrifices to their* FATHER *Upsistos*, when he had been torn in pieces by wild beasts. Afterwards *Cronos consecrated Muth his* SON, and was *himself consecrated by his* SUBJECTS." *

III. But Idolatry did not stop here. For when men, as the Apostle says, would *not retain God in their knowledge, He gave them up to their own vain imaginations*, whereby they *changed the truth of* God *into a lye—into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and to four-footed beasts, and to creeping things.*† How this last monstrous *change* was effected, I have discoursed of at large, elsewhere.‡ It is sufficient to observe at present, that it was begun in EGYPT, and was propagated from thence: Where the method of their Learned, to record the history of their Hero-gods, in *improved hieroglyphics*, gave birth to BRUTE-WORSHIP. For the characters of this kind of writing being the figures of animals, which stood for marks of their ELEMENTARY GODS, and principally of their HEROES, soon made their Hieroglyphics, sacred. And this, in no great space of time, introduced a SYMBOLIC worship of their Gods, under hieroglyphic Figures. But the People (how naturally, we may see by the practice of saint-worship in the church of Rome) presently forgot the *symbol* or *relation;* and depraved this superstition still farther, by a *direct* worship: till at length, the animals themselves, whose figures these hieroglyphic marks represented, became the object of religious adoration. Which species of Idolatry, by the credit and commerce of the EGYPTIANS, and their Carriers and Factors the PHŒNICIANS, in course of time, spread amongst many other nations. And this was the THIRD AND LAST SPECIES of Pagan Idolatry.

And here again, as well for the *original* as the *order* of this Idolatry, we have the confirmation of SANCHONIATHO'S authority: "Ouranos" (says he) "was the Inventor of the *Bætylia*, a kind of ANIMATED STONES framed with great art. And *Taautus* [the Egyptian] formed ALLEGORIC FIGURES, CHARACTERS AND IMAGES of the *celestial* Gods and *Elements*." §

By these *animated stones* (as is observed above) must needs be meant, *stones cut into a human figure*. For, before this invention, brute, unformed, or *pyramidal* Stones, were consecrated and adored. The *allegoric figures and characters* more plainly describe Hieroglyphic writing: From whence, as we say, this species of Idolatry was first derived.

This is a plain, consistent account of THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF PAGAN IDOLATRY; supported as well by the scattered evidence of

* See vol. i. p. 213. † Rom. i. 23. ‡ Book iv. sect. 4. § See vol. i. p. 213.

Antiquity, as by the more certain reason of things. I say, "the *scattered* evidence of Antiquity:" For I know of no writer who hath given us a direct, or so much as consistent, account of this matter. And it is no wonder. For a system of Religion, of which the MORTAL GODS are so considerable a part, would appear too hard even for the digestion of the People. An expedient therefore was soon found, and by a very natural incident, to throw a veil over this shocking absurdity; and this was by pretending one while, to those who grew inquisitive concerning the nature of the *Hero-Gods*, that these Gods were only SYMBOLIC of the *Celestial:* and at another, to those who pried too closely into the ELEMENTARY *worship*, that this was only SYMBOLICAL of their Heroes: who were not *dead men*, as might be suspected, but a species of superior Beings, which, in affection to mankind, had once been conversant on Earth: and whom, now, a deification had reinstated in their original Rights. Thus the popular belief presented nothing but one *uniform order* of IMMORTALS: The SECRET of the *human original* of one part of them being reserved for the private instruction of the MYSTERIES.

This cover for their absurd Idolatries, would naturally produce two orthodox Parties of Symbolizers in the Pagan Church. They, who most favoured HERO-*worship*, would find the Symbol in ELEMENTARY: And they, who best liked the *Elementary*, would find the Symbol in the *Heroic*. Both parties, as usual, laid claim to primitive Antiquity. For true it is, that the DEGREES and MANNER by which the early Mortals SUPERINDUCED the worship of *dead men* on the primary idolatrous worship of the *heavenly Bodies*, gave countenance to either side. This was the *natural incident* I spoke of above, as favouring the expedient employed to hide the dishonours of Paganism. The matter is worth knowing; and I shall endeavour to explain it.

1. The first step to the APOTHEOSIS was the complimenting their Heroes and public BENEFACTORS, with the Name of that Being, which was most esteemed and worshipped. Thus a King, for his beneficence, was called the *Sun;* and a Queen, for her beauty, the *Moon*. Diodorus relates, that SOL FIRST REIGNED IN EGYPT; CALLED SO FROM THE LUMINARY OF THAT NAME IN THE HEAVENS.* This will help us to understand an odd passage in the fragment of Sanchoniatho, where it is said, "that Cronus had seven sons by Rhea, the youngest of which was made a God, as soon as born." † The meaning, I suppose, is, that this youngest son was

* Πρῶτον μὲν Ἥλιον βασιλεῦσαι τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ὁμώνυμον ὄντα τῷ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἄστρῳ.—Lib. i. In the language of Egypt called *men*, as we see in Herod. lib. ii. cap. 99. The practice of Assyrian superstition was the same; their king Belus being named from *Baal* the Sun.

† Τῷ αὐτῷ [Κρόνῳ] γίνονται ἀπὸ Ῥέας παῖδες ἑπτά· ὧν ὁ νεώτατος ἅμα τῇ γενέσει ἀφιερώθη.

called after some luminary in the Heavens, to which they paid divine honours: and these honours came, in time, to be transferred to the terrestrial name-sake. The same Historian had before told us, that the sons of Guenos, mortals like their father, were called by the names of the elements, *light*, *fire*, and *flame*, whose use they had discovered.*

2. As this adulation advanced into an Established worship, they turned the compliment the other way: And now the Planet or Luminary was called after the Hero; I suppose, the better to accustom the people, even in the act of *Planet-worship*, to this *new* adoration. Diodorus, in the passage quoted a little before, having told us that the SUN and MOON were the first Gods of Egypt, adds, THE FIRST OF WHICH, THEY CALLED OSIRIS, AND THE OTHER ISIS.† But this was the general practice. So the Ammonites called the SUN, *Moloch*; the Syrians, *Adad*; the Arabs, *Dionysius*; the Assyrians, *Belus*; the Persians, *Mithra*; the Phœnicians, *Saturn*; the Carthaginians, *Hercules*; and the Palmyrians, *Elegabalus*.‡ Again, the MOON, by the Phrygians was called *Cybele*, or the mother of the Gods; by the Athenians, *Minerva*; by the Cyprians, *Venus*; by the Cretans, *Diana*; by the Sicilians, *Proserpine*; by others, *Hecate*, *Bellona*, *Urania*, *Vesta*, *Lucina*,§ &c. Philo Byblius, in Eusebius, explains this practice: "It is remarkable" (says he) "that they [the ancient idolaters] imposed on the ELEMENTS, and on those parts of nature which they esteemed Gods, the NAMES OF THEIR KINGS: For the natural Gods, which they acknowledged, were only the Sun, Moon, Planets, Elements, and the like; they being, now, in the humour of having Gods of both classes, the MORTAL and the IMMORTAL." ‖

3. As a further proof that *Hero*-worship was thus *superinduced* upon the *planetary*, let me add a very singular circumstance in the first formation of STATUES, consecrated to the *Hero-Gods*; of which circumstance, both ancient ¶ and modern ** writers have been at a loss to assign a reason. It is, that these *first Statues* were not of *human* form, but CONICAL and PYRAMIDAL. Thus the Scholiast, on the Vespæ of Aristophanes, tells us, that the Statues of Apollo and

* Ἐξῆς, φησὶν, ἀπὸ Γένους γενηθῆναι αὖθις παῖδας Θνητοὺς, οἷς εἶναι ὀνόματα, Φῶς καὶ Πῦρ καὶ Φλόξ· οὗτοι, φησὶν, ἐκ παρατριβῆς ξύλων εὗρον πῦρ, καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ἐδίδαξαν. —EUSEBII *Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10. † Ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι θεοὺς ἀἰδίους τε καὶ πρώτους, τόν τε Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην, ὧν τὸν μὲν Ὄσιριν, τὴν δὲ Ἶσιν ὀνόμασαι. —Lib. i.
‡ See MACROBII *Saturnal.* lib. i. cap. 17, et seq. § See APUL. *Metamorph.*
‖ Ἐξαιρέτως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σφετέρων βασιλέων, τοῖς κοσμικοῖς στοιχείοις, καί τισι τῶν νομιζομένων θεῶν τὰς ὀνομασίας ἐπέθεσαν, φυσικοὺς δὲ, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πλανήτας ἀστέρας, καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα, καὶ τὰ τούτοις συναφῆ Θεοὺς μόνους ἐγίνωσκον· ὥστ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν Θνητοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἀθενάτους θεοὺς εἶναι.—*Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 9. ¶ See CLEMENS ALEX. *Strom.* lib. i. p. 348, Par. ed. ** See SPENCER *De Legibus Heb. Rit.* lib. ii. cap. 28, sect. 3.

Bacchus were *conic* pillars, or *Obelisks:* * and Pausanias, that the Statue of Jupiter Meilichius represented a *Pyramid:* † That of the Argive Juno did the same, as appears from a verse of Phoronis,‡ quoted by Clemens, intimating, that these *pyramidal* columns were the first Statues of the Gods: And this practice was universal, as well amongst the early Barbarians as the Greeks. Now it is well known that the Ancients represented the rays of Light under pillars of this form: And we find, from the fragment of Sanchoniatho, that Usous consecrated two COLUMNS to the *Wind* and *Fire:* Hence, the erecting them as representatives of their *Hero-gods* shews how These succeeded to the titles, rights, and honours of the *natural and celestial* Deities.

To explain this matter at large would require a volume: It is sufficient to have given this hint: which, if pursued, might perhaps direct us to the right end of the clew of that hitherto inexplicable labyrinth of PAGAN MYTHOLOGY. The Reader sees clearly, by what has been already said, that this unheeded, but very natural way of superinducing *Hero-worship* on the *Planetary*, easily confounded the different specieses: and afforded a plausible pretence for the two Parties mentioned above, to make Either, SYMBOLICAL of the Other.

Here matters rested: and the vulgar Faith seems to have remained a long time undisturbed. But as the Age grew refined, and the Greeks became inquisitive and learned, the common MYTHOLOGY began to give offence. The Speculative and more Delicate were shocked at the absurd and immoral stories of their Gods; and scandalized, to find such things make an authentic part of their story. It may indeed be thought matter of wonder how such tales, taken up in a barbarous age, came not to sink into oblivion as the age grew more knowing; from mere abhorrence of their indecencies, and shame of their absurdities. Without doubt, this had been their fortune, but for an unlucky circumstance: The great POETS of Greece, who had most contributed to refine the public taste and manners, and were now grown into a kind of sacred authority, had sanctified these silly Legends by their writings, which Time had now consigned to immortality.

Vulgar Paganism, therefore, in such an Age as this, lying open to the attacks of curious and inquisitive men, would not, we may well think, be long at rest. It is true, FREE-THINKING then lay under great *difficulties and discouragements.* To insult the Religion of one's

* Πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἔθος εἶχον κίονας εἰς ὀξὺ λήγοντας, ὡς ὀβελίσκους ἱδρύειν εἰς τιμὴν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀγυιέως—ἰδίους δὲ φασὶν αὐτοὺς εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος· οἱ δὲ Διονύσου· οἱ δὲ ἀμφοῖν.—Σφηκές, ver. 870. † In *Corin.* p. 132.

‡ Ἥρης Ἀργείης, ἣ στέμμασι καὶ θυσάνοισι,
Πρώτη ἐκόσμιζεν περὶ κίονα μακρὸν ἀνάσσης.—*Strom.* lib. i.

Country, which is now the mark of learned distinction, was branded, in the ancient world, with public infamy. Yet *Free-thinkers* there were: Who (as is their wont) together with the public worship of their Country, threw off all reverence for Religion in general. Amongst these was EUHEMERUS, the Messenian; and, by what we can learn, the most distinguished of this tribe. This man, in mere wantonness of heart, began his attacks on Religion, by divulging the *secret of the Mysteries*. But as it was capital to do this directly and professedly, he contrived to cover his perfidy and malice by the intervention of a kind of *Utopian Romance*. He pretended, "that in a certain City, which he came to, in his travels, he found this GRAND SECRET, that *the Gods were dead men deified*, preserved in their sacred writings; and confirmed by monumental records, inscribed to the Gods themselves; who were there said to be interred." So far was not amiss. But then, in the genuine spirit of his Class, who never cultivate a truth but in order to graft a lye upon it, he pretended, "that DEAD MORTALS WERE THE FIRST GODS: And that an imaginary Divinity in these early Heroes and Conquerors *created* the idea of a superior Power; and *introduced* the practice of religious worship* amongst men." The learned reader sees below, that our *Free-thinker* is true to his cause, and endeavours to verify the fundamental principle of his Sect, *that* FEAR *first made Gods*, even in that very instance where the contrary passion seems to have been at its height, the time when men made Gods of their deceased BENEFACTORS. A little matter of address hides the shame of so perverse a piece of malice. He represents those Founders of Society, and Fathers of their Country, under the idea of *destructive* Conquerors, who by mere force and fear had brought men into subjection and slavery. On this account it was that indignant Antiquity concurred in giving EUHEMERUS the proper name of ATHEIST: which, however, he would hardly have escaped, though he had done no more than divulge the *Secret of the Mysteries;* and had not poisoned his discovery with this impious and foreign addition, so contrary to the true spirit of that *Secret*.

This detection had been long dreaded by the orthodox Protectors of Pagan Worship: And they were provided of a temporary defence in their intricate, and properly perplexed, system of SYMBOLIC ADORATION. But this would do only to stop a breach for the present, till a better could be provided; and was too weak to stand alone, against so violent an attack. The PHILOSOPHERS, therefore,

* Εὐήμερος δὲ, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Ἄθεος, φησὶν ὅτ' ἦν ἄτακτος ἀνθρώπων βίος, οἱ περιγενόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχύι τε καὶ συνέσει ὥστε πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν κελευόμενα πάντας βιοῦν, σπουδάζοντες μείζονος θαυμασμοῦ καὶ σεμνότητος τυχεῖν, ἀνέπλασαν περὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπερβάλλουσάν τινα καὶ θείαν δύναμιν, ἔνθεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνομίσθησαν θεοί.—SEXT. EMPIR. *Adversus Mathem.*

now took up the defence of Paganism, where the PRIESTS had left it: And, to the other's SYMBOLS, added their own ALLEGORIES, for a second cover to the absurdities of the ancient Mythology. So, MINUCIUS FELIX—"ZENON, interpretando *Junonem* Aëra, *Jovem* Cœlum, *Neptunum* Mare, Ignem esse *Vulcanum*, et ceteros similiter vulgi Deos clementa esse monstrando, publicum arguit graviter et revincit errorem. Eadem fere CHRYSIPPUS, vim divinam, rationalem naturam, et mundum interim, et fatalem necessitatem Deum credit: ZENONEMque interpretatione Physiologiæ in HESIODI, HOMERI, ORPHEIque *carminibus* imitatur. *Babylonio* etiam DIOGENI disciplina est exponendi et disserendi, Jovis partum et ortum *Minervæ* et hoc genus cetera, *rerum vocabula* esse non *Deorum*."* For, all the genuine Sects of Philosophy, as we have observed, were steady patriots; LEGISLATION making one essential part of their Philosophy. And, to legislate without the foundation of a national Religion, was, in their opinion, building castles in the air. So that we are not to wonder, they took the alarm; and opposed these Insultors of the public Worship with all their vigour. But, as they never lost sight of their proper character, they so contrived, that the defence of the national Religion should terminate in a recommendation of their philosophic speculations. Hence, their support of the public worship, and their evasion of *Euhemerus's* charge, turned upon this proposition, "That the whole ancient MYTHOLOGY was no other than the vehicle of PHYSICAL, MORAL, and DIVINE knowledge." And, to this it is that the learned *Eusebius* refers, where he says, "That a new race of men refined their old gross THEOLOGY, and gave it an honester look; and brought it nearer to the truth of things."†

However, this proved a troublesome work; and, after all, ineffectual for the security of men's PRIVATE MORALS; which, the *example* of the licentious story according to the *letter*, would not fail to influence, how well soever the allegoric interpretation was calculated to cover the PUBLIC HONOUR of Religion: So that the more ethical of the Philosophers grew peevish with what gave them so much trouble, and answered so little to the *interior* of religious practice: this made them break out, from time to time, into hasty resentments against their capital Poets; unsuitable, one would think, to the dignity of the Authors of such noble recondite truths, as they would persuade us to believe were treasured up in their Writings. Hence it was that PLATO banished HOMER from his *Republic*: and that PYTHAGORAS, in one of his extramundane adventures, saw both HOMER and HESIOD doing penance in Hell, and hung up there, for

* *Octavius*, cap. xix. † Τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς Θεολογίας, ἣν μεταβαλόντες νέοι τινὲς, χθὲς καὶ πρώην ἐπιφυέντες, λογικώτερόν τε φιλοσοφεῖν αὐχοῦντες, τὴν δὴ φυσικωτέραν τῆς περὶ Θεῶν ἱστορίας δόξαν εἰσηγήσαντο, σεμνοτέρας εὑρεσιολογίας τοῖς μύθοις προσεπινοήσαντες.— *Præp. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 6.

examples, to be bleached and purified from the grossness and pollution of their ideas.

The first of these Allegorizers, as we learn from Laertius,* was Anaxagoras; who, with his friend Metrodorus, turned Homer's Mythology into a system of *Ethics*. Next came Heraclides Ponticus, and, of the same fables made as good a system of *Physics*: which, to shew us with what kind of spirit it was composed, he intitled Ἀντίῤῥησις τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ [Ὁμήρου] βλασφημησάντων. And last of all, when the necessity became more pressing, Proclus undertook to shew that all Homer's Fables were no other than *physical, ethical,* and *moral* ALLEGORIES. For we are to observe, that the Philosophers INVENTED and REVIVED this way of interpretation, as at two different times, so on two different occasions.

1. It was invented to encounter such men as EUHEMERUS, who attempted to overthrow all Religion, by this pretended fact, That the FIRST Worship was paid to *dead men deified;* which they supported on a *real* one, namely, that the *greater Gods* of Greece were only deified Mortals; as appeared from HOMER and the other early Greek Poets: whose writings being become a kind of SCRIPTURE in the popular Religion, the Defenders of the *common faith* had it not in their power to REPUDIATE their fables as only the idle visions of a poetic fancy: Nothing was left but to SPIRITUALIZE the sense, by allegorical interpretations. And this proved so lucky an expedient, that, at the same time that it covered their fables from the attacks of their adversaries, it added new reverence and veneration both to them and their Authors. So TERTULLIAN. "Ipsa quoque vulgaris superstitio communis Idololatriæ, *cum in simulacris de nominibus et fabulis veterum mortuorum pudet,* ad interpretationem *naturalium* refugit, et *dedecus suum ingenio obumbrat,* figurans *Jovem* in substantiam fervidam, et *Junonem* ejus in aëream," † &c.

2. What *These* began for the sake of their THEOLOGERS, their successors continued for the sake of their THEOLOGY. For it is to be noted, that the first CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS took up so much of the argument of EUHEMERUS and his Fellows, as concerned the real nature and original of the *greater Gods* of Greece. And as they had disencumbered this truth, of the false consequence with which those audacious Freethinkers had loaded it, they were enabled to urge it with superior force. But if the CHRISTIANS added new vigour to this attack, the PHILOSOPHERS became still more animated in their defence: for they hated this new Sect as an enemy equally to the PHILOSOPHY and to the RELIGION of Greece. And their *accidental* advantages in the application of this revived method of *allegory,* were not inferior to their *most studied* arts of improving it: For their

* Lib. ii. *Anaxag. Vita.* † *Adversus Marc.* lib. i.

Christian Adversaries could with no grace object to a way of interpretation which they themselves had just borrowed from Paganism, to SPIRITUALIZE, forsooth, their sacred Scriptures, which the Philosophers had long used with more sense and better judgment, to make theirs, REASONABLE.

But here we are to take notice of this difference between these Allegorizers BEFORE, and the Allegorizers AFTER the time of Christ. The *first* were principally employed in giving a *physical** or *moral* interpretation of the Fables; the *latter*, a THEOLOGICAL. As we may see in the case of Plutarch; who was both Priest and Philosopher in one. His famous tract, OF ISIS AND OSIRIS, is directly written to support the national Religion, which had just taken the alarm; and not without reason. His purpose, in it, is to shew, That all its MULTIFORM worship was only an address to the SUPREME BEING, under various names and covers. But then ancient history, which acquaints us with the origin of their Gods, stood in his way. He denies therefore, what these histories invariably attest. He calls *Euhemerus*, who inforced their evidence, an Impostor:† And hath many other evasions to elude such circumstances as are most decisive. Thus, when he cannot deny, that, what is recorded of their Gods shews them to be subject to *human passions*, he will not yet allow the inference for their *humanity;* because the Genii and Demons are agitated by the like passions.‡ Thus again, the *bewailing* and *lamenting* gestures, in many of their established Rites, which looked so like mourning for the dead, signified, he assures us, no more than an allegorical representation *of corn sown and buried*.§ In this manner, the postulate having supported the allegories; the allegories come, in good time, to the assistance of the postulate.

Thus stood the matter in the ancient World. Let us see now what use the Moderns have made of what they found recorded there. Our *Freethinkers*, such as *Toland* and his school, have revived the old rank doctrine of Euhemerus. That PANTHEISTIC Philosopher's understanding had so strong a bias to impiety, that it seemed rather a

* So ARNOBIUS. "*Vulnerari, vexari, bella inter se gerere* furialium memorantur ardore discriminum: Vobis illa est descriptio voluptati, *atque ut scriptorum tantam defendatis audaciam,* ALLEGORIAS res illas, et NATURALIS SCIENTIÆ *mentimini* esse doctrinas."—*Adversus Gentes*, lib. iv. p. 150, ed. quarto.

† Ὁς αὐτὸς [Εὐήμερος] ἀντίγραφα συνθεὶς ἀπίστου καὶ ἀνυπάρκτου μυθολογίας, πᾶσαν ἀθεότητα κατασκεδάννυσι τῆς οἰκουμένης, τοὺς νομιζομένους θεοὺς πάντας ὁμαλῶς διαγράφων, εἰς ὄνομα Στρατηγῶν καὶ Ναυάρχων καὶ Βασιλέων, ὡς δὴ πάλαι γεγονότων.—P. 641.

‡ Βέλτιον οὖν, οἱ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ Ὄσιριν καὶ Ἶσιν ἱστορούμενα, μήτε θεῶν παθήματα, μήτε ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ Δαιμόνων μεγάλων εἶναι νομίζοντες, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ξενοκράτης καὶ Χρύσιππος, ἐπόμενοι τοῖς πάλαι Θεολόγοις, ἐρρωμενεστέρους μὲν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι λέγουσι, καὶ πολλῇ τῇ δυνάμει τὴν φύσιν ὑπερφέροντας ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὐκ ἀμιγὲς, οὐδὲ ἄκρατον ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς φύσει καὶ σώματος αἰσθήσει ἐν συνειλημμένους, ἡδονὴν δεχομένην καὶ πόνον καὶ ὅσα ταύταις ἐγγενόμενα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς πάθη, τοὺς μὲν μᾶλλον, τοὺς δὲ ἧττον ἐπιτείνει· γίνονται γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ Δαίμοσιν, ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ καὶ κακίας.—P. 642.

§ See note OO, at the end of this book.

natural sympathy than any thing acquired, which drew him to it at all distances. Hear how aukwardly he represents *Euhemerus's* system to us: and yet he labours hard to set it off. *The* FIRST *Idolatry* (says he) *did not proceed, as is commonly supposed, from the beauty, or order, or influence of the* STARS.. *But men observing Books to perish* [before there were any] *by fire, worms, or rottenness; and Iron, Brass, and Marble, not less subject to violent hands or the injuries of the weather, they* IMPOSED ON THE STARS, *as the only everlasting monuments, the proper names of their* HEROES, *or of something memorable in their History.** All this, his Predecessors, the *Freethinkers* of Antiquity, (who knew how to express themselves) informed us of when they said, *That Star-worship was only symbolical of Hero-worship;* and, consequently, of later date: the thing they aimed at, to induce their conclusion, that therefore *Religion was a political invention.* Toland treads in their footsteps, though he treads awry. But our *Religionists* in general, have not been so happy in the choice of their arms, nor in their sagacity of knowing their friends from their enemies.* The excellent G. J. Vossius (to mention him amongst a multitude) hath, in his very learned collection of *Gentile Theology*, gone, *bona fide*, into the old pagan method of *allegorizing* their Theology; as if it were doing service to true Religion to shew, that the Pagan Idolatry was, at bottom, tolerably reasonable.

It is true, a late ingenious Person seems to have understood his subject better, and to know to what it all tends; I mean the learned Writer of the *Letters concerning Mythology*. We have observed, that the ancient defenders of Paganism had by their *Symbols* and *Allegories* resolved the *Hero-gods* into the *Elementary;* and these again, into the various attributes of the *first Cause*.* In which they were so successful, that they not only changed their *Idolatry*, but their *Idols* likewise. For the SIGNA PANTHEIA expressive of this new Theology have all the marks of the later times of pagan Antiquity. The ancient FATHERS of the Church are very copious in exposing this subterfuge. In which service they employed all that was found in the system of *Euhemerus;* that is to say, That the *Greater Gods of Greece and Rome, the Dii majorum Gentium, were Dead men deified.* And I have endeavoured throughout this work to support their Cause. There are hardly now, I believe, two opinions on this matter, amongst knowing men. But the Author of the *Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* attempts, in these *Letters*, to bring us back again to the old MUMPSIMUS. He saw, I suppose, the necessary connexion between *Allegories* and *Ideal Gods:* a principle which could produce nothing more than a SHADOWY IDOLATRY at worst. And therefore, in honour of Pagan Antiquity, hath laid it down as an

* "Of the Origin of Idolatry and Reasons of Heathenism," p. 74.

axiom, *That the powers producing, and parts composing the Universe, were their* GREATER GODS; * or the *Dii majorum Gentium.* This He calls, *the grand Key of Mythology.* And here it is worth while to observe, (but by the way only) that these admirers of the wisdom of *prophane* Antiquity, are not so favourable to that of *sacred:* but are generally amongst the first to laugh at what Divines call *the* DOUBLE SENSE *in Scripture prophecies.* And yet they make the greatest part of *pagan wisdom* to consist in the use and invention of DOUBLE SENSES: "Witness" (says this writer to his friend) "the DOUBLE view you have already had of the rise of things, and government of the world from *Orpheus,* in the description of *Pan:* and from *Hesiod* in his borrowed Theogony: and still plainer in the DOUBLE moral of *Prometheus,* as signifying either the divine Providence in the formation of the world, and particularly of man, or human foresight perpetually on the rack, for the necessaries and conveniences of life." † The difference is, the *pagan double sense* connects together two things that are foreign to one another in the constitution of Nature: The *scripture double sense* connects together two things that are as nearly related, as the various parts of one moral Dispensation. But to return:

As these LETTERS seem to be written as much in opposition to what is here, and elsewhere throughout this work, advanced, concerning the rise, progress, and various fortunes, of ancient Idolatry, as in favour of the now exploded MYTHOLOGY; which was, as we say, invented, and, from time to time, improved by the early, middle, and later Philosophers, to hide the deformities of vulgar Polytheism; I think proper to consider what he hath to say in support of such an undertaking.

Now against my various reasoning in *confutation* of this pagan System, I find not so much as one argument opposed; and in *support* of the System itself, but one; and this one, borrowed from Cudworth.‡ It is put thus: "*Euhemerus* and his FOLLOWERS, ere we join with them in *mortalizing* the first Divinities, must satisfy us, Why the Poetical Sages, the Instructors of mankind, termed their grand Work, the basis of their doctrine, not only a THEOGONY, or an account of the birth and pedigree of the *Gods,* but a COSMOGONY, or an account of the birth and creation of the *World?* Or, plainer still, a COSMOPOEIA, a making or framing of the *Universe?* The PLATONIC *Philosophy* had no hand in the Cosmogonies, or histories of the Creation written by *Taaut* or *Thoth,* by *Linus,* by *Orpheus,* &c. It was plain, therefore, *the Allegory did not come too late,*" § &c. —These last are my words.

* Page 409, of the "Letters concerning Mythology." † Pp. 120, 121. ‡ See "Intellectual System." Contents annexed to first edition, p. 234. § Pp. 211, 212.

If *Euhemerus* supposed, as it appears he did, that the FIRST pagan Divinities were *mortal Men*, he would have found it difficult to answer this objection of Cudworth. But the FOLLOWER of *Euhemerus* (for with this title he honours the Author of the *Divine Legation)* who supposes no such thing, but hath evinced the contrary, will find no difficulty at all. For he holds,* that the *first* Gods of Greece were the *heavenly Bodies*. And if the Makers of these *Cosmogonies*, such as *Thoth, Linus*, and *Orpheus*, held the same, then *their* THEOGONIES, *or accounts of the birth and pedigrees of these Gods*, could be no other than COSMOGONIES, or *accounts of the birth and creation of the world;* these *Gods* being *parts* of it.

But things seem here to be confounded by our Letter-Writer. These *Cosmogonies* have just as much, and no more, to do with *Platonic allegories*, than the *elements of Speech* with the *ornaments of Rhetoric*.

There are two errors likewise, in this matter, which our Letter-Writer seems to have laboured under. The one is, that *Euhemerus* was the *Inventor* of the *mortalizing system:* Whereas, I had shewn, it was taught in all the *Mysteries* long before *Euhemerus* had any being. He, indeed, maliciously carried it much farther than the *Mysteries* intended: He made *planetary worship symbolical of the Heroic:* and, from thence, inferred the *political origin of Religion:* for which, he passed with Antiquity, and perhaps justly, for an Atheist. Whereas the *Mysteries*, as we see from the fragment of *Sanchoniatho*,† kept these two species of Idolatry distinct; and assigned the proper order of time to each of them.

The other error this lively Writer falls into, is in supposing, that this *Follower of Euhemerus*, against whom he writes, holds all the *first*, as well as *last*, Gods of Greece to have been *mortal men:* Whereas he distinguishes between the Gods of civilized and uncivilized Greece: The first, he supposes to have been *heavenly bodies;* and the latter only, *dead men deified*.

From censuring the *Learning* of Euhemerus's *Followers*, the Letter-Writer proceeds to censure their *Morals*. "It is not easy" (he says) "to ascertain what should make some warm Ecclesiastics, for the wiser are far above such weakness, so angry at the Allegories of ancient Poets, *now*, when all danger from their Deities is over. Of old, indeed, when Temples and *Revenues* belonged to them; when *wealth, and Dignities of the Church*, were annexed to the allegorical Devotion, and vested in its Teachers, no wonder the *good* FATHERS should fulminate against the wild and impious Worship. But *now*, when the struggle is long since over, when the Father of Gods and men has not so much as a lamb offered, nor his *Daughter* [i. e.

* See above. † See above, and likewise p. 212 of the first volume.

Minerva or WISDOM] a single grain of incense burnt upon her altar for near a thousand years, it is hard to tell what should awake this *preposterous* zeal, or make them so eager to *mortalize* the EMBLEMS of Antiquity. Is there not, as I was hinting, some *infection* in the case? Has not the reading the FLAMING INVECTIVES of the primitive Fathers, who were actually in the struggle, a little *infected* their Followers with the same fiery spirit and INDECENT LANGUAGE?" *

As to these *flaming Invectives*, the Letter-Writer seems to lie under a small mistake. For though such *invectives* may perhaps be thought characteristic of the FATHERS' zeal, the *terms* are not here in their place. They reserved their *invectives* for a better occasion, to fulminate the malice of their Enemies, and the follies of their Friends.—On this point, viz. the *mortalizing the emblems of antiquity*, I can assure him, they appeared much at their ease; and more disposed to quibble than to rail; as he might have seen by one of the most serious of them, and who least understood raillery when he was pressed, I mean St. Austin; who, in his confutation of Varro and his *emblems*, could afford to be thus jocular: "Sed, hæc omnia inquit [Varro] referuntur ad *mundum;* videatne potius ad *immundum*." †

As to the *indecent language;* it is to be found in the third ‡ volume of the *Divine Legation;* where it is said, that *the Ancients adopted into the number of their greater Gods, Ravishers, Adulterers, Pathics, Vagabonds, Thieves, and Murderers.* § But it is pleasant to hear this Letter-Writer talk of *decency* to a set of PHANTOMS, EMBLEMS, and SYMBOLS; for such he esteems these *Greater Gods* to be; and yet observe it so little to the MINISTERS of the Christian Religion. For he is at a loss, the Reader sees, to account for their *warmth*, where their *private interest is not concerned.* And in seeking for the *cause* of it, when he cannot fix it on their *avarice* and *ambition*, rather than allow them a motive becoming their character and office, he will throw it upon their *passions* and *prejudices.* He supposes, they *catched the infection from the Fathers*, whose worldly interests, he imagines, were much concerned in the quarrel. But if he deserves the opinion I have of his candour, he will be pleased to find his suspicions ill grounded: And that the ECCLESIASTICS, who engage so *warmly* in this question, do it on important reasons, becoming their character of Ministers of the Truth.

The Bible represents ancient Idolatry, in the most odious colours; and the whole Gentile World as given up to its delusions. A species of modern Mythologists, hinted at above, had, on the revival of learning in the West, endeavoured to evade this charge, by borrowing

* Pp. 226, 227. of the present edition.
† *Civitas Dei*, lib. vii. cap. 27.
‡ In the *second* volume
§ Book iv. sect. 4.

the defences of the ancient Philosophers; who allegorized the fables of the popular Religion, to screen it from the contempt of the more knowing Vulgar; as *Learning*, at one time, and *Christianity*, at another, had severally shaken the Seat of Superstition.* In those *Allegories*, all the national Gods were reduced to mere SYMBOLS, expressive of the Attributes of the first Cause: and, consequently, the Scripture-charge against the Gentiles, of *worshipping the Creature for the Creator*, rendered groundless, or at least, uncandid. These modern Mythologists, a late French Writer hath well described in the following words,—"Au commencement du Seizième Siécle quelquesuns des Savans, qui contribuérent au retablissement des lettres, etoient, dit-on, Païens dans le cœur, plus encore par PEDANTERIE, que par libertinage: ensorte qu'il n'eût pas tenu à eux de ramener le culte des Dieux d'HOMERE et de Virgile—ils emploïoient ce qu'ils avoient de litérature et d'esprit, pour donner au Paganisme un tour plausible, et en former un système moins insensé. Ils avoüoient que la MYTHOLOGIE étoit insoutenable prise à la lettre: mais, en même tems, elle contenoit, selon eux, sous l'EMBLEME des fictions les profondeurs de la PHYSIQUE, de la MORALE, et de la THEOLOGIE."†—In this state and representation of things, some *Ecclesiastics* have thought it of their office to MORTALIZE these pretended *emblems of Antiquity*; and to shew, that the *greater national Gods* were *dead men deified*: and, consequently, that their worshippers were REAL IDOLATERS; and of the worst sort too, as they frequently had for their objects the worst kind of men.

But so little of this matter entered into the Letter-Writer's views, that he says, "This, which was formerly a grand religious controversy, is now turned to a point of pure speculation. What, in the days of Polytheism, raised the indignation of the Priests, and inflamed the *rival* zeal of the Fathers of the Church, now raises *a little squabble amongst the Antiquaries*, as a question of mere curiosity: to wit, *whether all the Gods of Antiquity were not mortal men*." ‡

Now, if the Letter-Writer will needs suppose, that where the CLERGY have no *oblique and interested designs*, they have no *reasonable ones*, he will be often out in his reckoning: And (what to be sure is greatly to be lamented) unequal to the office of a Censor on their Manners.

After all, perhaps I may understand Him as little, as he appears to have understood Me, if I think him in earnest. The whole of his *Letters*, if one may judge by hints dropt here and there, seems to be only the wanton exercise of a Sophist; and just such an *encomium* on the WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS, as Erasmus's was on the FOLLY OF THE MODERNS. It is certain, at least, that in the prosecution of his

* See pp. 38—40. † *Vie de l'Emp. Julien*, pp. 48, 49. ‡ P. 208.

argument, his chief concern is for FICTION AND ITS INTERESTS, Thus, in one page, he tells us, "That this eager zeal to MORTALIZE these emblems of Antiquity is DESTRUCTIVE TO ALL TRUE POETRY." * And in another, "That *this prevailing* PROSAIC TASTE *has neither dignity of manners, nor strength of genius, nor extent of fancy.*"† But he explains himself more fully, where speaking of SYMBOLS and ALLEGORIES, and the *inseparable* as well as *accidental marks* by which they may be unravelled, he illustrates his subject by Abbé Pluche's Hypothesis: Which, however, in several places, he treats for what it is, an idle and a groundless fancy. "Symbols" (says he) "carry natural marks that strike a sagacious mind, and lead it, by degrees, to their real meaning. A hint in one author brightens the obscurities in many others; as one single observation of Macrobius proved the *clue* to Abbé Pluche's *(how justly* I say not) to *unravel* the whole mystery of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Grecian Gods." He had no occasion to consider *how justly,* if he were in jest. Otherwise, a man might have seen, that the *justness of unravelling* depended on the *reality of the Clue:* Which, too, though dignified by the name of Clue, is indeed no other than a number of *odd ends,* that wanted to be made *consistent,* rather than to be *unravelled.* For the rest, as our learned Critic would *immortalize* the Pagan Deities in reverence to the CLASSICS, so this Abbé Pluche (of whom he speaks with so much honour) has attempted to draw them out of their *mortal state,* in order to cover the disgraces of POPERY; to which that superstition is obnoxious, from the protestant parallels between *Saint* and *Hero-worship.*

But as if all this had not been enough to shew us that his concern was not for TRUTH but FICTION, he gravely professes to credit all BACON'S visions, as the genuine *Wisdom of the Ancients,* which every body else admires as the sportive effort of modern wit. As he is in so pleasant an humour, he may not be displeased to hear the *Determination* of DOCTOR RABELAIS upon this question, who thus addresses the Allegorizers of his time, "Croyez-vous, en vostre foy, qu'oncques HOMERE, escripvant l'Iliade et l'Odyssée, pensast és ALLEGORIES lesquelles de luy ont calefreté Plutarche, Heraclide de Ponticq, Eustatie, Phornute, et ce que d'iceulx POLITIAN ha descrobé? Si le croyez, vous n'approchez ne de piedz, ne de mains à mon opinion: qui DECRETE icelles aussi peu avoir esté songées de Homere, que d'Ovide en ses Metamorphoses, les Sacremens de l'Evangile, lesquelz ung *Frere Lubin,* vray croquelardon, s'est efforcé demonstrer si d'adventure il rencontroit gens aussi folz que luy." This facetious Satirist had here in his eye those very Mythologists of the sixteenth

* P. 215. † P. 214.

Century, whom the learned Author of *the Life of Julian*, quoted above, so very justly censures.

And thus much for this GRAND KEY OF MYTHOLOGY, as this Letter-Writer is pleased to call his Fancies.*

To return to the Patrons of the other extreme, that the *heavenly bodies* were only SYMBOLS of the *Hero-Gods*.—Having thus shewn, the worship of the *elements* to be prior to that of *dead men*, I have not only overthrown this *argument*, for the proof of the *atheistic notion of the origin of Religion*, but likewise the *notion itself*. For if (as our adversaries own) the worship of dead men were the first religious institution after entering into civil society; and if (as I have proved) the worship of the heavenly bodies preceded that of dead men; the consequence is, that Religion was in use before the Civil Magistrate was in Being. But I need not our Adversaries' concession for this consequence; having proved from ancient testimony, that *planetary worship* was the only Idolatry *long before* Civil Society was known; and continued to be so, by all unpolicied nations, *long after*.

II. I come, in the next place, to direct *Fact*: from whence it appears, *that the Lawgiver, or Civil Magistrate, did not invent Religion.*

Here the Atheist's gross prevarication ought not to pass uncensured. —From the notoriety of the Magistrate's care of *Religion*, he would conclude it to be *his* INVENTION: And yet, that very Antiquity, which tells him this, as plainly and fully tells him *this other*; namely, *that Religion was not invented by him*: For, look through all Greek, Roman, and Barbarick Antiquity; or look back on what we have extracted from thence in the second section of the foregoing book, and it will appear, that not one single Lawgiver ever found a People, how wild or unimproved soever, *without a Religion*, when he undertook to civilize them. On the contrary, we see them all, even to the Lawgivers of the Thracians and Americans, addressing themselves to the savage Tribes, with the credentials of that God who was there professedly acknowledged and adored. But this truth will be farther seen from hence: It appears by the *history* of the Lawgivers; by the *sayings* recorded of them; and by the *fragments* of their writings yet remaining, that they perceived the error and mischief of the gross idolatries practised by those People, whom they reduced into Society; and yet, that they never set upon reforming them. From whence we reasonably conclude, that they found the People in possession of a Religion which they could not unsettle; and so were forced to comply with inveterate prejudices. For, that they were willing and desirous to have reformed what they found, appears not only from the PROEMS to their Laws, mentioned above, but from the testimony of one of the most knowing Writers of Antiquity, I mean *Plutarch*; who, in his

* P. 409.

Tract of *Superstition*, speaking of the unruly temper of the People, says they ran headlong into all the follies which the makers of Graven images propagated; and in the mean time, turned a deaf ear to their Lawgivers, who endeavoured to inform them better.* This forced even Solon himself to establish the Temple-worship of *Venus the Prostitute*.† But the reform was seen to be so impossible, that Plato lays it down as an axiom in his *Republic*, That nothing ought to be changed in the received Religion which the Lawgiver finds already established; and that a man must have lost his understanding to think of such a project. All they could do, therefore, when they could not purify the SOUL *of Religion*, was more firmly to constitute the BODY of it, for the service of the state. And this they did by NATIONAL RITES AND CEREMONIES. Nay; when the visible folly of a superstitious Rite, would have enabled them to abolish it, they sometimes for the sake of turning it to the civil service chose to give it the public sanction. This, Cicero confesses where he says—"Equidem adsentior C. Marcello—existimoque jus augurum, etsi Divinationis opinione principio constitutum sit, tamen postea REIPUBLICÆ CAUSA conservatum ac retentum." ‡

Indeed, in course of time, though insensibly, the genius of the Religion, as we observed before,§ followed that of the civil Policy; and so grew better and purer, as it did in ROME; or more corrupt and abominable, as it did in SYRIA. But had the Legislators given an entire NEW RELIGION, in the manner they gave LAWS, we should have found *some* of those, at least, nearly approaching to the purity of natural Religion. But as we see no such, we must conclude they FOUND Religion, and did not MAKE it.

On the whole then, I have proved, what the most judicious HOOKER was not ashamed to profess before me, That "a POLITIQUE USE of Religion there is. Men fearing GOD are thereby a great deal more effectually than by positive Laws restrayned, from doing evil: inasmuch as those Laws have no further power than over our outward actions only; whereas unto men's inward cogitations, unto the privie intents and motions of their hearts, Religion serveth for a bridle. What more savage, wilde, and cruell than man, if he see himselfe able, either by fraude to overreach, or by power to overbeare, the Laws whereunto he should be subject? Wherefore in so great boldness to offend, it behoveth that the World should be held in awe, not by a VAINE SURMISE, but a TRUE APPREHENSION of somewhat, which no man may think himself able to withstand. THIS IS THE POLITIQUE USE OF RELIGION." ||—Thus far this great man; where

* Φιλοσόφων δὲ καὶ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ἀνδρῶν καταφρονοῦσιν, ἀποδεικνύντων τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ σεμνότητα μετὰ χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, μετὰ βίας καὶ κηδεμονίας.
† Παυδήμου Ἀφροδίτης.—ATHENÆI *Deip.* lib. xiii. ‡ *De Divin.* lib. ii. cap. 36.
§ See vol. i. p. 174, et seq. || "Ecclesiastical Polity," book v. sect. ii.

he takes notice how certain Atheists of his time, by observing *this use* of Religion to Society, were fortified in their folly of believing that Religion was invented by Politicians to keep the World in awe. An absurdity, I persuade myself, now so thoroughly exposed, as to be henceforth deemed fit only to go in rank with the tales of Nurses, and the dreams of Free-thinkers.

I HAVE *now at length gone through the* two first *Propositions:*

1. THAT THE INCULCATING THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, IS NECESSARY TO THE WELL-BEING OF CIVIL SOCIETY.

2. THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BELIEVING, AND TEACHING, THAT THIS DOCTRINE WAS OF SUCH USE TO CIVIL SOCIETY.

The next Book begins with the proof of the third; *namely,*

3. THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF, THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Hitherto we have been forced to move slowly, to feel for our way in the dark, through the thick confusion of many irrational RELIGIONS, and mad schemes of PHILOSOPHY, independent of, and inconsistent with, one another: Where the labour of the search, perhaps, has been much greater to the Author, than the pleasure will be to the Reader, in finding this CHAOS reduced to some kind of order; the PRINCIPLES developed, from whence the endless diversity and contradiction have arisen; and the various USE that may be made of these Discoveries for our *demonstration* of the truth of *revealed Religion.*

We now emerge into open day:

> "Major rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
> Majus opus moveo."

And having gotten the PROMISED LAND in view, the labour will be much easier, as the Discoveries will be more important, and the subject infinitely more interesting: For having now only one single System and Dispensation to explain, consistent in all its parts, and absolute and perfect in the Whole, which though, by reason of the profound and sublime views of its Author, these perfections may not be very obvious, yet, if we have but the happiness to enter rightly, we shall go on with ease, and the prospect will gradually open and enlarge itself, till we see it lost again in that IMMENSITY from whence it first arose.

Full of these hopes, and under the auspices of these encouragements, let us now shift the Scene from GENTILE to JEWISH Antiquity; and prepare ourselves for the opening of a more august and solemn Theatre.

APPENDIX,

SHEWING THAT THE OMISSION OF A FUTURE STATE IN THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION DOTH NOT MAKE IT UNWORTHY OF THE ORIGINAL TO WHICH BELIEVERS ASCRIBE IT.

As both Believers and Unbelievers have, by some blind chance or other, concurred to make this *Objection* to the OMISSION; I think it not improper, before I enter upon the Subject of the MOSAIC LAW, which comes next into consideration, to remove this common prejudice concerning it. And as a celebrated Writer has collected together what hath been said in support of the Objection, and given to it all the strength that the force of his own genius could impart, I suppose his words will be the best text to my discourse.

"L'Evêque Warburton, auteur d'un des plus savants ouvrages qu'on ait jamais fait, s'exprime ainsi, page 8. tome I. 'Une Religion, une Société qui n'est pas fondée sur la créance d'une autre vie, doit être soutenue par une Providence extraordinaire. Le Judaïsme n'est pas fondé sur la créance d'une autre vie; donc, le Judaïsme a été soutenu par une providence extraordinaire.' Plusieurs Theologiens se sont élevés contre lui, et comme on rétorque tous les arguments, on a retorqué le sien, on lui a dit: 'Toute Religion, qui n'est pas fondée sur le dogme de l'immortalité de l'ame, et sur les peines et les rècompenses eternelles, est necessairement fausse; Or le Judaïsme ne connut point ces dogmes, donc le Judaïsme, loin d'etre soutenu par la Providence, était par vos principes une Religion fausse et barbare qui attaquait la Providence.' Cet Evêque eut quelques autres adversaires qui lui soutinrent que l'immortalité de l'ame était connue chez les Juifs, dans le temps même de Moïse; mais il leur prouva tres-évidemment que ni le Décalogue, ni le Levitique, ni le Deuteronome, n'avaient dit un seul mot de cette creance, et qu'il est ridicule de vouloir tordre et corrompre quelques passages des autres livres, pour en tirer une vérité qui n'est point annoncée dans le livre de la Loi.

"Mr. l'Evèque ayant fait quatre Volumes pour demontrer que la Loi Judaïque ne proposait ni peines ni recompenses après la mórt, n'a jamais pû répondre à ses adversaires d'une manière bien satisfaisante. Ils lui disaient: 'Ou Moïse connaissait ce Dogme, et alors il a trompé les Juifs en ne le manifestant pas; ou il l'ignorait, et en ce cas il n'en savait pas assez pour fonder une bonne Religion. En effet si la Religion avait été bonne, pourquoi l'aurait-on abolie? Une Religion vraie doit être pour tous les temps et pour tous les lieux, elle doit être comme la lumiere du Soleil, qui éclaire tous les Peuples et toutes les Générations.'

"Ce Prelate tout éclairé qu'il est, a eu beaucoup de peine à se tirer de toutes ces difficultés; mais quel Systême en est exempt?" *

——*The trouble I have had in disengaging myself from these difficulties* will now be seen.

The Objections, as here stated by this ingenious man, respect, we see, both the LEGISLATOR and the LAW.

1. *Either Moses* (says he) *was acquainted with a future State, and in that case he deceived the Jews in not teaching it: or he was ignorant of the doctrine, and in this case he did not know enough to become the Author of a good Religion. Indeed, if the religion had been good, Why was it abolished? a true religion should be for all times and places. It's light should be like that of the Sun, which illumines all nations and all generations.*

2. *All Religion which is not founded on the doctrine of the Soul's immortality and future rewards and punishments is necessarily false: but, in Judaism, these doctrines were not contained: therefore Judaism, so far from being supported by an extraordinary Providence, was, on your own Principles* (says he to the Bishop) *a religion false and barbarous, which attacked and insulted Providence.*

1. The first argument, against the *integrity of Moses's conduct* from this *Omission*, had been urged at large by the late Lord BOLINGBROKE; and the Reader may find it at large confuted, in the *Appendix* to the Fifth Book of the *Divine Legation*.

2. The second argument, against the *integrity of the Law* from this *Omission*, has been clamoured by a large Body of *Answerers*, led up by Dr. STEBBING. But these men pretending to believe Revelation, their reason, for want of *integrity* in such a Religion, was founded in a supposed defect in it's Essence; so their conclusion from this reasoning was, "That a future State was certainly in the Mosaic Religion, how much soever it might walk there in Masquerade." The celebrated Frenchman, who pretends to no such belief, founds his argument on the *reality* of the Omission, and from thence concludes, "that the Mosaic Law was an imposture."

I shall examine what they have to say, in their order.

I.

The English Doctor comes first. "You consider" (says this candid Divine, addressing himself to the Author of the Divine Legation) "the Ignorance of the Jews as to the doctrine of a future State, as one of the most *momentous truths* that Religion has to boast of. I, on the other hand, look upon it as a DISGRACE to Revelation; as by the very act of God himself, it shuts out his own chosen People, for many ages, from that single point of Knowledge, which could be the foundation of a reasonable Worship; while, by the directions of his Providence, all the world besides were permitted to have the benefit of it." †

* *Dictionnaire Philosophique Portatif*; article (*Religion*, premiere question.)
† "An Examination of Mr. Warburton's second Proposition, &c. in an Epistolary Dissertation addressed to the Author," pp. 131, 132.

Here we see the Doctor proposes to confute *my representation of the omission* of a future State in the Mosaic Religion: But, for mine, he gives us *his own*, and very notably confutes *that*. My idea of the *omission* I declared to be this, that, as the Jews, to whom the Mosaic Religion was given, were, at the time of giving, under an *extraordinary* Providence, they had no absolute need of the doctrine. The Doctor's idea of the *omission* is, that when the Mosaic Religion was given to the Jews, they were under an *ordinary* Providence, and therefore the doctrine was necessary. That I do him no wrong in charging him with this sophistical chicanery, appears from his own words, where he gives his reason for saying that *my* (meaning *his own*) representation of the omission is a disgrace to Revelation; namely, because *this single point of Knowledge* [i. e. a future state] *is the only* FOUNDATION *of a reasonable Worship.* Now, it is obvious to common sense, that this can be only predicated of a future state under an *ordinary* Providence: And that under an *extraordinary* it is no *necessary* FOUNDATION at all.

If it should be pretended (for it will hardly be owned that the Doctor, with all his zeal, was an Unbeliever) that by *the many ages* in which *the people of God were shut up* (as he expresses it) *from this knowledge*, he meant, those ages in which the Jews lived under a *common* providence, this subterfuge will not serve his turn, for I have shewn, that when the *extraordinary* dispensation ceased, the Jews, like all the world besides, and by the same means of information, had all the benefit which the knowledge of this FUTURE STATE, such as it was, could afford them.

But let us take the Doctor as we find him.

He tells us why he looks upon my representation of the Mosaic Religion as a *disgrace to Revelation.—Because* (says he) *by the very act of God himself it shuts out his own chosen people from that single point of Knowledge which could be the foundation of a reasonable Worship.*

Let us examine this curious period on all sides.

By the act of God himself he must mean, (for nothing else can be meant; and it is only when his meaning is thus circumstanced, that I can be certain, I do not mistake it) he must mean, I say, *God's act, by the ministry of Moses.* Now this very Doctor, in his several Pieces against *The Divine Legation*, has, over and over again, told his Reader, that *Moses did not teach,* NOR HAD IT IN HIS COMMISSION TO TEACH *a future state to the Israelites.* For, at every step, he brings himself into these distresses (if such a trifle as a contradiction can be supposed to distress him) by a *false modesty.* He was ashamed of the absurdity of his Brethren, who all along maintained, that *Moses taught, or* OUGHT *to have taught, a future state:* and therefore, at this turn, leaves them in the lurch; and slyly steals in the better principle of his Adversary, that *Moses had no Commission to teach it:* for he must have been duller than any Doctor can be supposed to be, not to discover that this was his *Adversary's principle*, after having seen him write a large book to prove that, *Moses did not teach it.* I call this desertion of his Friends, a *false modesty;* For what is it else, to be shocked at one of their absurdities, while he is defending all the rest?

whose only support, too, happens to be in that ONE which he rejects. Indeed, good Doctor,

——PUDOR TE MALUS *urget*
Insanos qui inter vereare Insanus haberi.

But "God" (says he) "by this very act, *shut out his own chosen people* from the knowledge of a future state." It is very true, *God's own chosen people were shut out.* But not, as our Doctor dreams, *by the very act of God himself:* but (if he will have the Truth, who never seeks it, for itself) *by the very act* of their Forefather, ADAM. It was the *First Man* who *shut them out;* and the door of Paradise was never opened again, till the *coming of the Second Man, the Lord from Heaven.* But this is the Language of Scripture: and this language his Sums and Systems do not teach him. But more of this secret hereafter.

A *future state* (says our Doctor absolutely and without exception) *is that single point of knowledge which could be the foundation of a reasonable worship.* Here Doctors differ. St. Paul places the *foundation of a reasonable worship* in another thing. He saith, that, HE THAT COMETH TO GOD MUST BELIEVE THAT HE IS; AND THAT HE IS A REWARDER OF THEM THAT DILIGENTLY SEEK HIM.*—What is Man's purpose *in coming to God?* Without doubt, to *worship* him. And what doth the great Doctor of the Gentiles tell us is the true, the *reasonable foundation of this worship?* Why, TO BELIEVE THAT HE IS A REWARDER OF THEM THAT DILIGENTLY SEEK HIM. He places this *foundation* (we see) in a REWARD simply, and generically; not in that particular species of it, a FUTURE STATE. He places it in the *nature;* not (as our modern Doctor) in the *inessential circumstances,* of REWARD. The consequence is, that a *reward* given HERE was as solid a *foundation of a reasonable Worship* to the early Jews, living under an EXTRAORDINARY Providence, as a *reward* given HEREAFTER, is to us Christians, living under the ORDINARY one. Another consequence (though it be but a trifle) is, that our learned Doctor is mistaken. But to come a little closer to this formidable man, now I have got the Apostle on my side. I will undertake to DEMONSTRATE (how much soever he and his Fellows take offence at the word) that a FUTURE STATE is so far from being *the only foundation of a reasonable Worship,* that, as *a* MODE *of existence,* it is no foundation at all. The *true foundation of a reasonable Worship,* being this and this only, that *God is a rewarder of them who seek him.* He may reward *here,* or he may reward *hereafter.* But, which he chuses is indifferent, as to the solidity of the foundation; because PIETY and MORALITY, which constitute a REASONABLE WORSHIP, spring only from the belief that *God is, and that he is a Rewarder.* The Mosaic Religion, teaching this, enjoins that men should love *God with all their hearts, with all their soul,* &c. for the excellence of his nature; and that they should *love their neighbours as themselves,* for the equality of their common nature, which requires an equal measure for ourselves and others. Now Jesus says, that, *on the Love of God and of our Neighbour hang all the Law and*

* Heb. xi. 6.

the Prophets, i. e. in the most confined sense, it is the foundation of a *reasonable Worship*. Our Doctor says, No; a *future state is the only foundation*. In a word then, since PIETY, which constitutes a *reasonable Worship*, and since VIRTUE, which constitutes a *reasonable service*, are both raised and supported by the belief, that *God is, and that he is a Rewarder;* What more forceable inducement is there in our selfish nature to cherish them, than that which the Law of Moses holds forth, when it teaches that *every work shall receive it's full recompence of reward* HERE?—Here or hereafter, in this life or in another, being only the *modes* of receiving one and the same thing, cannot possibly affect either piety or morality. But it hath been taken for granted, that there is in *future rewards* something of a virtue to PURIFY the mind, which *present rewards* have not. I shall consider, before I have done with the question, on what ground this opinion stands. In the mean time, let us hear the famous Orobio, the Jew; who, though little to his own purpose, yet much to ours, and to such Objectors to the purity of the Mosaic Law, as our Doctor—"Omnes [Christiani] cultum internum prædicant, quasi a Deo internus cultus summa cum perfectione in Lege non fuisset præscriptus; Tota quidem interni cultus perfectio consistit in vero et constantissimo Dei amore, et Proximi propter ipsum Deum: Hic est totus cultus internus ex quo omnia opera externa, seu moralia, seu ritualia sint, debent profluere: quæ si ex hoc principio non emanaverint, imperfectissima sunt, et divinæ Legi prorsus adversa." *

Our Doctor proceeds—"God's chosen people were shut out, for many ages, from that point of knowledge, which, *by the directions of his Providence, all the world besides were* PERMITTED *to have the* BENEFIT *of*."—In examining the predicate of this proposition, I shall first consider the PERMISSION, and then the BENEFIT.

All the World besides (says he) *were permitted*. By what instrument? I ask; for they had no *Revelation*—By the use of their *Reason*, says he.—And had not the Jews the use of theirs? No, replies he, not the *free* use: for their Prophet (according to you) delivering to them, from God, a new Law and a new Religion in which the doctrine of a future state was *omitted*, this would naturally lead them to conclude against it?—What? in defiance of all the clear deductions of Reason, which, from God's demonstrable attributes of justice and goodness, made the Pagan world conclude, that as moral good and evil had not their retribution *here*, they would have it, *hereafter*?—Yes, for Moses PROMISED they should have their retribution *here*.—What then? other ancient Lawgivers *promised* their People the same thing. Yet this did not hinder their having recourse to a *future state* to secure the foundation of Religion, which, St. Paul tells us, is *the belief that God is, and that he is the Rewarder of them that seek him*. The matter now begins to pinch: and the Doctor must be dumb, or confess that the only possible reason one can assign why the Jews had not recourse to the same expedient for securing the *foundation of Religion*, which the Gentiles had recourse to, was because they *felt the performance* as well as *heard the*

* P. 110.

promise: For when that was no longer felt (the *extraordinary providence* being withdrawn in punishment for their crimes) the Jews, like all other people, had their doctrine of a future state, which, by its complexion, is seen to be of foreign, and very spurious birth.

See then, to what this PERMISSION amounts; so invidiously urged, not against me, for that is nothing, but against the Scriptures of God! Just to thus much—"That *all the world besides were permitted* to find out, by REASON as they could, what his *chosen people* were taught, by the practical demonstration of an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE; namely, that God would act with justice and goodness towards man."

Come we next to the BENEFIT. The benefit of the doctrine of a *future state* is twofold; to *Society* as such, by encouraging Virtue and suppressing Vice, under an *unequal* distribution of things; to *Religion* as such, by affording a *solid foundation* to it, under the same distribution. But both these aids from the doctrine of a *future state* were more effectually afforded by an *extraordinary Providence.* We find then, the learned Doctor to be miserably mistaken, in supposing the Gentiles enjoyed any *spiritual benefit* which the Jews were deprived of. The former indeed had a *future state* to support Society and Religion; the latter had an *extraordinary Providence.* Which of them was, in its nature, the most efficacious support, common sense will not suffer us to remain in doubt. But the benefit of *believing* is one thing; the benefit of *having* is another. I have only yet spoken to the *first.* Now, the Doctor seems to think the *latter* affected by the OMISSION. We commonly hear it said, that *seeing is believing;* but I suspect our learned Doctor has been imposed on by another Aphorism (as absurd in the thought as that is in the expression) that *believing is having;* else how came he to place so great a *benefit* in the point in question, if he did not suppose that the Jews' want of the DOCTRINE would deprive them of the THING.

And now, in taking my final leave of this Champion in Ordinary to the Party Orthodoxal, let me not be here again misunderstood as I have so often been by them. I deny, indeed, that the want of a future State, in the Mosaic Religion, at all affected the true *foundation of a reasonable* Worship. Yet I am very far from denying, that the frame and constitution of this Religion rendered it, on many accounts, partial and incomplete. In my address to the Jews, prefixed to the second part of the *Divine Legation,* I have shown in what particulars it was so. As first, in the whole turn of the *Ritual Law:* and secondly, in that OMISSION, at what time the Jews came under the ordinary and common Providence of Mankind. For I am there placing before these mistaken People a view of the Mosaic Religion as it appears and operates at present, in order to convince them of the necessity of its receiving its completion from the Religion of Jesus. In which conclusion, I suppose, all Christians are agreed. At least, they who have escaped the thick darkness of controversy will see that these two assertions are very distinct and different, and at the same time consistent. 1. That a Religion without a future state, wanted not, during the existence of an *extraordinary* providence, a solid *foundation of a reasonable worship;*

And, 2*dly*, that such a Religion, if supposed to serve *for all times and places*, must needs be deemed incomplete.

This *Omission* of a future state in the Mosaic Religion is now generally acknowledged by all who read the Bible with the same impartiality that they read other Histories. Should not our Doctor therefore, who pretends to believe the divinity of the Mosaic Religion, blush at his rashness in calling it, A DISGRACE TO REVELATION? He does it, indeed, in *confidence* that the early Jews were *not* ignorant of this matter. But will his *confidence* persuade impartial men against their senses? Were there but a chance of being mistaken in this supposed *knowledge* of the early Jews, a sober Minister of God's word would have avoided the scandal of so irreverend an assertion; so unsuitable to the veneration he owes to his Maker, when speaking of a dispensation which he professes to believe did indeed come from him; and not have dared to measure this Dispensation of Providence by his scanty and obscure ideas of fit and right. The Author of *The Divine Legation demonstrated* might, indeed, say, and I hope without offence, that the *ignorance of the early Jews concerning a future state* was a truth of SO HIGH IMPORTANCE, that from thence might be *demonstrated* the divinity of their Religion; because, though he should be mistaken, no injury was done to Revelation; He left it whole and entire, just as he took it up. But should our Doctor be mistaken, his calling this *ignorance* (now found to be real) A DISGRACE TO REVELATION, would be supplying the Enemies of Religion with arms to insult it. The only excuse he can make for himself (an excuse full as bad as the offence) is, that he had now gone back to the common principle of his Party, which before he seemed to have rejected, That *if God did not teach his chosen People a future state, he ought to have taught it.* A species of folly, which the sage HOOKER, to whom their Orthodoxy may haply be disposed to pay attention, has admirably reproved in another set of men, possessed with the same impious and presumptuous spirit—"As for those marvellous discourses" (says this great man) "whereby they [the *Puritans*] adventure to argue, *that God must needs have done the thing which they imagined was to be done*, I must confess, I have often wondered at their exceeding boldness herein. When the question is, Whether God have delivered in Scripture (as they affirm he hath) a complete particular immutable Form of Church-politie, Why take they that other, both presumptuous and superfluous, labour to prove; that HE SHOULD HAVE DONE IT, there being no way, in this case, to prove the deed of God, saving only by producing that evidence wherein he hath done it; for if there be *no such thing apparent upon Record*, they do as if one should demand a Legacie by force and virtue of some written Testament, wherein there being no such thing specified, he pleadeth, that THERE IT MUST BE; and bringeth arguments from the love or good-will which always the testatour bore him; imagining that these or the like proofs will convict a testament to have that in it, which other men *can no where, by reading, find.* In matters which concern the actions of God, the most dutiful way, on our part, is to search what God *hath done;* and with meekness to ADMIRE that, rather than to DISPUTE what he, *in congruity*

of reason, ought to do. The wales which he hath, whereby to do all things for the greatest good of his Church, are more in number than we can search, other in nature than we should presume to determine, which, of many, should be the fittest for him to choose, till such time as we see he hath chosen, of many, some one; which one we then may boldly conclude to be the *fittest*, because he hath taken it before the rest. When we do otherwise, surely we exceed our bounds: who, and where we are, we forget; and therefore needful it is that our PRIDE, in such cases, be controled, and our disputes beaten back with those demands of the blessed Apostle, *How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his Counsellor?*" *

We have now done with the Orthodox DIVINE; and come, in good time, to the Freethinking PHILOSOPHER.

Dr. STEBBING, who sees a future state in the Mosaic Religion by a kind of SECOND SENSE, just as northern Highlanders see *things to come* by a SECOND SIGHT, affirms, only *hypothetically*, that this Religion was a DISGRACE TO RELIGION: Our Philosopher, who can see in it nothing of *futurity*, affirms *positively*, that it was such a DISGRACE.

The Philosopher's Principles incur no discredit, though he should fail in his conclusion, since he had discarded Revelation before-hand: But should the Divine be mistaken, he exposes his Principles to the scorn and contempt of Freethinkers, since he professes to believe Revelation.

For the rest, the Philosopher stands charged with the same SOPHISTRY, of which the Divine hath been found guilty; the *taking for granted the thing in dispute*, viz. that the Jews were under an *unequal* Providence. Yet here again both his sense and his modesty triumph over the Divine's. The Philosopher, in the Opinion that the Jews were under an *unequal* Providence, betrays no Principles of *Natural Religion*, which he pretends to follow: The Divine, in avowing the same Opinion, betrays all the Principles of *Revealed Religion*, which he pretends to believe.

Indeed, the *Sophistry* in both, is equally contemptible. For no principles, whether of belief or unbelief, can authorize a Disputant to take for granted the thing in question. The Author of *The Divine Legation* undertook to prove, that the early Jews were under an equal Providence, by this Medium, the *Omission* of a Future State in their Law; and from thence concluded, that the Religion revealed by the ministry of Moses was true; which, reduced to a syllogism, runs thus:

Whatever Religion and Society have no future state for their support must be supported by an extraordinary Providence:

The Jewish Religion and Society had no future state for their support:

Therefore the Jewish Religion and Society were supported by an extraordinary Providence.

To deny the *major*, as our Philosopher should have done; to deny the *minor*, as our Divine did; was fair argument. But to leave both, as the First hath done, without an answer, and deny only the *conclusion*, is, amongst all nations and languages, a BEGGING OF THE QUESTION. If our

* Book iii. sub fin.

Philosopher would argue to the purpose, he should either shew that the premisses are false, and then he attacks the *minor*; or that they do not infer the conclusion, and then he attacks the *major*. He does neither; but, instead of this, having begged the question, he falls to syllogizing, in his turn—*Every Religion* (says he) *which is not founded in the Doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and eternal rewards and punishments, is necessarily false. But Judaism was ignorant of these doctrines. Therefore Judaism, so far from being upheld by a providence, was even, on the Principles of the Author of the Divine Legation, a Religion false and barbarous, which attacked Providence itself.* The Argument we see is in form: And, if you will believe the Philosopher, inforced *upon my Principles*. But, to bring his syllogism to bear against me, he must go upon this Postulatum, *that the Law was not administered by an extraordinary Providence:* And then, I dare appeal to his own venerable Bench of PHILOSOPHERS (if Logic hold any place in their school) whether the upshot of all his syllogizing be not *taking for granted the thing in dispute*. And if this were all, As these men have accustomed us to this beggarly way of reasoning, we might pass it over in silence and contempt: But there is something more than ordinary perverse in the conduct of this syllogism. For, not content to beg the question, our Philosopher *falsifies my Principles.—On the* PRINCIPLES (says he) *of the Author of the Divine Legation, Judaism was a false Religion.*

Now the *Principles* which, as a Christian, I *believe*, are these, "That Moses *promised* an extraordinary providence, and that he *omitted* a future state."

The *Principles*, which, as a Logician, I have *proved*, are these, "That the *promise* was fulfilled, and therefore that the *Omission* was attended with no hurtful consequences either to Religion or Society."

The *Principles believed*, I had collected from my Bible: the *Principles proved*, I had deduced from what I understood to be the conclusions of right reason.

How then (I would fain learn) can it fairly be inferred, from *these Principles*, that the Religion of Moses is FALSE?

In the mean time, let me acquaint the Philosophers, in what manner I infer from these *Principles*, that the Religion of Moses is TRUE.

That Moses *promised* an extraordinary Providence, is held by all Believers; and that he *omitted* a future state, is seen by all Unbelievers. Neither of them are mistaken. These are my *Principles* of belief.—My purpose was to convince Unbelievers, on their own grounds, that the *promise* was PERFORMED, and this I do by the MEDIUM of the *Omission*. How strongly let the Book itself declare. These are my *Principles of proof*.

It was amongst my more general *Principles*, That whatever Religion, under *a common Providence*, omits to teach a future state, is certainly false. And it seems to be amongst our Philosopher's logical conclusions, that, therefore, on this *Principle* of mine, whatever Religion under an *extraordinary Providence* omits to teach a future state is false likewise.

But the Philosopher's syllogism seems to have been made up out of an Objection ill understood, which certain Divines brought against my argu-

ment; (for, of objections, against an *offensive* truth, there is neither end nor measure.) These Doctors of the Church objected, "That I should first of all have proved from Scripture that the *promised* Providence was actually *bestowed*, before I used the service of my MEDIUM." Let me ask them for what end? Should it be to convince Unbelievers? But that it could not do; for they reject the *extraordinary or supernatural part* of Scripture-History. Did they mean, that it should have been done for their own satisfaction? But what need of that? Believers profess to hold that all which Moses *promised* was performed. What was it then that brought forth this Objection? A mere blunder in their reasoning; in the course of which, they had confounded two very different things, with one another—The *promise* of an extraordinary providence, with the *actual administration* of it. They saw, that it was necessary previously to prove that Scripture *speaks* of the Administration of an extraordinary Providence, otherwise the *medium*, which I employ, would be vague in its aim, and uncertain in its direction. But they did not see, that this was done by simply producing the *promises* of Moses on this point: And that as Unbelievers professed to allow thus much (and with Unbelievers *only*, I had to do) my point was to prove to them, on their own principles, the *actual performance* of those promises, by the *medium* of the OMISSION. It is true, indeed, had no extraordinary providence been *promised*, it had then been incumbent on me previously to have shewn, that Scripture represented the Israelites as living under such a providence, in order to give my *medium* that certain direction, which leads to my Conclusion. But as it was *promised*, the Unbeliever's confession of that *promise* was all I wanted.

Yet both Believers and Unbelievers have thought it of such consequence that the Argument of *The Divine Legation* should be discredited, that they have not scrupled to reverse all the Laws of Logic in this important service. Hence the Conclusion is turned into the premisses for the use of our *Doctors;* and the premisses, into the Conclusion for the use of our *Philosophers*.

The ingenious Frenchman's second Argument against *The Divine Legation* is in these words—"Either Moses was acquainted with this doctrine [*a future state*], and, in this case, he deceived the Jews in not communicating it to them; Or he was ignorant of it, and, in this case, he did not know enough for the Founder of a Good Religion."

As to the first charge of *his deceiving the Jews*, I have answered it long ago, in my animadversions on Lord BOLINGBROKE, from whom the argument is taken.

As to the second, that *Moses's ignorance made him incapable of founding a good Religion*,—it receives all its strength from an equivocation in the term, *good;* and a misrepresentation of the nature of the *Mosaic History*.

Good may signify either relative or absolute; good for some, or good for all. Our Philosopher confounds these two meanings. A *good Religion* designed for all men cannot be without a future state: But a *Religion* given to a single Tribe, singularly circumstanced, may be *good*, without a future state.

Moses (says he) *ignorant of a future state, knew not enough to found a good Religion.* Had Moses, when he said nothing of a *future state*, been equally silent concerning an *extraordinary Providence*, He might, I will confess, be concluded by our Philosopher (who supposes him a mere civil Lawgiver and uninspired) *not to know enough to found a good religion:* But when the Philosopher himself tells us that Moses had *promised this extraordinary providence* when he *omitted a future state;* then, even on his own Idea of the Character of Moses, he can never rationally conclude, that the Lawgiver was not knowing enough in his office *to found a good Religion*, since we find that he did indeed know the use of a future state, as he provided a succedaneum for the want of it. Now, a Religion which teaches all that *natural Religion* teaches, viz. that *God is, and that he is a rewarder of them who seek him*, must needs be a *good Religion;* and the Founder of it a perfect Master of his business.

Let us consider what all other Lawgivers did, whom our Philosopher will allow to have known enough. They founded their Religions on this common Principle, *That God is, and that he is a Rewarder*, &c. The doctrine of a *future state* was no more than a security for this *Foundation*, by a proper sanction, under an *unequal* Providence. Moses, under an *equal* dispensation of things, wanted not this sanction for the security of his Foundation, and therefore did not employ it.

But then (adds the Philosopher) *if the Mosaic Religion was* A GOOD *Religion, Why was it abolished?* His equivocation in the use of the word *good*, which may signify either relative or absolute *good*, hath been already taken notice of. Had the Mosaic Religion been *absolutely good*, that is, *good* for all men as well as for the Jews, it had certainly never been *abolished.* But *good*, in this sense, he well knows, the Religion of Moses was never said to be, by the Author of *The Divine Legation*, or any other Believer. They only contend for its *relative goodness.* It was *relatively good*, they say, as it fully answered the design of God who gave it; which was, to preserve a chosen people, separate from the rest of mankind, to be a repository for the doctrine of the UNITY; and to prepare the way for the further Revelation of a Religion *absolutely good*, or a Religion for the use of all Mankind. Now, to ask, Why a Religion only *relatively good* was abolished, to make way for another *absolutely good*, for the sake of which, the first was given in the *interim*, is a question that could be kept in countenance by nothing but the impertinence of a formal answer.

But, as our Philosopher, by his question, "If the Mosaic Religion was a *good* religion, Why was it abolished?" seems to deny the justice and reasonableness of such a conduct in the Deity, I shall attempt, a little more fully,

to justify the ways of God to man.

—"TRUE Religion" (says he) "should be for all times and all places."—I have rarely found any other labour in solving an objection to Revelation, than in detecting and exposing the ambiguity and equivocation of the terms, in which such are almost always delivered. It is the case here.

True Religion (as we before observed of *good*) may either signify a *perfect Religion*, or a *Religion truely coming from God*. *True* Religion, in the sense of a *perfect Religion*, hath certainly the attributes here assigned to it, of *being for all times and places;* and this, we say, is amongst the attributes of the CHRISTIAN. But *true Religion* in the sense only of a *Religion truely coming* from God, like the MOSAIC, doth imply no such *universality;* as shall be now shewn.

The assertion stands on this Principle, "That it is not agreeable to what the best Philosophy teacheth concerning the Nature and Attributes of the Deity, to give a rule of life to one particular people, exclusive of the rest of Mankind:" because such a dispensation would imply partiality and an impotent fondness for one above the rest. Now if God's revealing himself to one Race or Family doth imply *in the act itself* such a partiality, the Principle is well founded. But, it is apparent to common sense, that it doth not imply it; since various other reasons, besides *partial fondness*, may be assigned for the act. To know whether a *partial fondness* be the motive, we must attend to the reasons which the Divine Author hath given for the Dispensation; either explicitely by words in the declarations of his Messengers, or implicitely by circumstances attending the Gift.

Now, we say, that the Jewish Religion (the Dispensation in question) contains all these proofs, both express and implied, of its not being given out of *fondness* for the Jews, or under a *neglect* of the Gentiles; but, on the contrary, for the sake of Mankind in general.

It is notorious to all acquainted with ancient History, that, at the time Moses revealed the *Law of God* to the Jews, the whole Posterity of Adam, by some disaster or other, had forgot the Lord their Creator, and were sunk into the grossest Idolatries. It is agreeable to all the ideas we have of God's *goodness*, that he should rescue the human Race from the miserable condition into which they had fallen, through the abuse of their free-will; and out of which, by their own strength, they were unable to extricate themselves.

The only remaining question, then, will be, Whether, in this charitable work, GOD should seek the way of performing it, in our ideas, or in his own? The Philosopher says, without all doubt *in ours:* God should have relieved his labouring Creatures all at once, and have proceeded directly to the END, an universal Religion like the Christian; instead of stopping so long at the MEANS, a partial Religion like the Jewish. If God had any thing to do in the matter, we may be assured, the *universal Religion* would be delayed no longer than to the time in which he foresaw, that the giving of it would produce the best effects. And as Ages and Seasons are in the hand of God, HE only knows the proper time for the accomplishment of his *end*. Indeed, were *Man a machine*, and to be governed only by the Laws of matter and motion, we can conceive no reason why infinite Wisdom did not pursue that direct course which led immediately to the END, instead of exercising its Providence so long in the support and continuance of the MEANS. But as, in the opinion of Religionists of all kinds, *man is not a machine*, but was created an accountable Creature; and as none can be

accountable without the power and use of FREE-WILL; this Creature was to be *drawn* (according to God's own expression) *with the cords of a man.* But He only, who formed the human heart, and *knows what is in man,* can tell when these cords are to be relaxed, and when drawn strait. In other words, the best means or method of bringing all mankind to God's truth cannot possibly be known by any but Himself. When we have seen the method employed, and the effects it hath produced, we have a sure way of knowing that it was the *best;* because it was employed by an all-wise Conductor.

Now the *Jewish Religion* was the great MEAN, employed by Providence, of bringing *all men to* CHRIST. If this can be proved, and that the Mosaic Law was not given to the Jews out of any partial fondness for them, it will appear that a Religion may be *true,* though it were not designed *for all times and places.*

ABRAHAM (as appears by the history of his Race) was called by God out of an *idolatrous City,* to be the Father and founder of a People, which, sequestered from all other, was to preserve amongst them, as in a sure Repository, the name and memory of the Creator; at this point of time, in imminent danger of being obliterated and lost; to preserve it, I say, till *the fulness of time should come;* that is, till an *Universal Religion,* founded in the mystery of Redemption, should be revealed. In the very entrance on this MEANS, the END was imparted to *the Father of the Faithful,* viz. that IN HIS NAME ALL THE FAMILIES UPON EARTH SHOULD BE BLESSED.

When the race of Abraham were now become numerous enough to support themselves in a National sequestration, God informs them, by the ministry of Moses, that the *immediate blessings* attending this sequestration, were bestowed upon them for the sake of their Father, Abraham, as the *sequestration itself* was ordained for the sake of all Mankind, intimated in the promise, that *in his name all the Families upon earth should be blessed.* By the ministry of his Prophets He repeats the same Lesson to them, viz. that this distinction was *not for their sakes, but for his holy name's sake;* that is, for the better manifestation of his gracious Dispensation to all mankind. And, without question, the exceeding perversity and unworthiness of this People was recorded in sacred story, as for other uses to us unknown, so for this, to obviate that egregious folly both of Jews and Gentiles, in supposing that the Israelites were thus distinguished, or represented to be thus distinguished, as the peculiar *Favourites of Heaven.* An absurdity which all who attended to the nature of the God of Israel could confute: and which the Jewish History amply exposes.

But if their HISTORY informs us *for what they were not selected,* their LAW and their PROPHETS inform us, *for what they were.* These declare, in their different modes of information, that this *Religion* was given, to prepare men for, and to facilitate the reception of, one UNIVERSAL.

In the first place, Let us consider the RITUAL or CEREMONIAL Law. If what I have here assigned to be, was, in truth, the *end* of the Jewish Dispensation, we may expect to find this Ritual *declarative* of such a purpose. And on examination it will be found to be so. The whole body of the

ritual Law being framed, in part, to oppose to the prevailing superstition of the Age in which it was given; and, in part, to prefigure that future Dispensation, which was to take it away. By virtue of the *first part* of it's nature, the Jews were kept separate: and by virtue of the *second*, they were prepared to receive, and enabled to understand, the Religion of their promised Messiah. This, for the sake of mankind in general, was a necessary provision, since the first Preachers of the Gospel were preordained to be taken from amongst the Jewish People.

As to the PROPHETS, which from time to time were sent amongst them for the support of the LAW: These (as appears by their predictions) had it principally in their Commission to acquaint their Countrymen occasionally, and by slow degrees, with the approaching CHANGE of their Oeconomy, and with the different NATURE of the new Dispensation.

Amongst the several intimations given them of the *change*, I shall select only two of the most capital; the one is concerning *the punishment of Children for the crimes of their Fathers*; the other, of *the abolition of the Temple-Worship*.

I have shewn that the first was promulged in aid of the sanction of the Jewish Law, in the absence of a *future state*; but of no further use after the revelation of *Life and immortality*. So that Jeremiah, prophesying of this future Dispensation, says,—*In those days, they shall say no more, The Fathers have eaten a sowre grape, and the Children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity; every man that eateth the sowre grape his teeth shall be set on edge.** Yet such hath been the fortune of this illustrious evidence of the *connexion* between the old and new Law, that it has been represented as a *contradiction* between the Law and the Prophets.† Although Jeremiah, as if on set purpose to obviate so foolish a calumny, immediately adds—*Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a* NEW COVENANT *with the house of Israel and Judah*; ‡ i. e. "The Reason why I take away this support of the sanction is, because the sanction itself will be abolished."

Another intimation of the *change* of the Dispensation is the Prophecy concerning the abolition of the *Temple Worship*. From the account given of the nature of the Jewish Law it appears, that the principal Rites of their Religious Worship were to be performed and celebrated in some appropriated and determined Place. This, the *object* and *subject* of their CEREMONIAL seemed equally to require: For the ideas of a *tutelary God and King* implied a LOCAL RESIDENCE: and a *national Act*, created and arising from these relations, required a *fixed and certain place* for it's celebrations. This, which the nature and reason of things so evidently point out, the institutes of the Law expresly order and enjoin. During the early and unsettled times of the Republic, the sacrifices prescribed by the Mosaic Ritual were directed to be offered up before the door of an ambulatory Tabernacle: But when they had gained the establishment decreed for them, and a magnificent Temple was now erected for the God of Israel,

* Jer. xxxi. 29, 30. † See book v. sect. 5, of this work. ‡ Jer. xxxi. 31, 32, 33.

from henceforth all sacrifices were to be offered at Jerusalem only. Now sacrifices constituting the very essence of their national Worship, their Religion could no longer subsist than while that celebration continued. Yet the Prophets foretold, that a time would come when there should be no longer any TEMPLE-WORSHIP; which, in other words, was to foretell a *change* in the Dispensation. Zephaniah says, *The Lord shall be terrible—Men shall worship him every one* FROM HIS PLACE, *even all the Isles of the* GENTILES*—*every one from his place;* that is, "they were not to go up to JERUSALEM to worship." This he expresses more precisely in another place—*In that day, there shall be an* ALTAR *to the Lord* in *the midst of the Land of* EGYPT;† i. e. "the *Temple-service* shall be abolished." Which Malachi thus confirms, in a diversified expression—*And* IN EVERY PLACE *incense shall be offered unto thy name, and a* PURE OFFERING;‡ i. e. "it shall not be the less acceptable for not being offered up at the *Temple of Jerusalem.*"

But the Prophets not only give information of the CHANGE of the *old,* but explain the NATURE of the *new* Dispensation. Isaiah, speaking of this *change,* intimates its *nature* in these words—*As the Heavens are higher than the Earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts.*§ And explains it more clearly by the following figure; *Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree;*‖ i. e. "the *new* Religion shall as far excel the *old* as the fir-tree does the thorn; or, the myrtle, the brier."—*Behold* (says the same Prophet speaking in the name of God) *I create* NEW HEAVENS *and a* NEW EARTH; *and the former shall not be remembered or come in mind.*¶—*Behold the days come, saith the Lord,* (by the Prophet Jeremiah) *that I will make a* NEW COVENANT *with the house of Israel—not according to the covenant that I made with their Fathers—But this shall be the covenant—I will put my Law into their* INWARD PARTS, *and write it in their* HEARTS.** What Isaiah figuratively names, a *new Heaven* and *a new Earth,* Jeremiah, more simply and literally, calls a *new Covenant.* And what kind of *Covenant?—I will put my Law into their inward parts, &c.,* i. e. "this Law shall be *spiritual,* as the other given to their Fathers was *carnal.*" But, concerning the *nature* of this prophetic phraseology, and the *reasons* of it's use, the Reader may see it explained at large in the second part of this Work.††

From all this it appears (if we may credit the clearest conclusions of human reason) that *a Religion may be true though it be not fitted for all times and places.* A proposition which (although our Philosopher takes for granted) carries its absurdity in the very face of it.

But, says this ingenious Writer—*True Religion should be like the splendour of the Sun, which extends its beams to all People and to all Generations.* —When the controversy runs from reasoning to simile, it begins to smell of the *Poet* rather than the *Philosopher.* What relation, what connexion is there between the *Sun* and *Religion* more than in a fanciful analogy? *Light*

* Chap. ii. 11. † Isaiah xix. 19. ‡ Chap. i. 11. § Chap. lv. 9.
‖ Chap. lv. 13. ¶ Chap. lxv. 17. ** Chap. xxxi. 31. †† Book vi. sect. 6.

is a physical emanation operating on this material Globe: *Revelation*, a voluntary gift bestowed upon the rational Inhabitants of it. All they hold in common is, that they are both *blessings*, but of very different kinds.—Or was it the *Poet's* intention, in this simile, to insinuate the *Philosopher's* system of NATURALISM?

II.

So much for the strait-laced *Divine* and the loose-bodied *Philosopher*; but to the SOBER RELIGIONIST, of whatever denomination, I have something more to say; and I hope so much to his satisfaction, that this objection to the Mosaic Law, from the OMISSION of a future state, shall never hereafter be considered in the learned world, as any other than an ignorant prejudice.

Now to understand how Revelation in general is affected by the representation which I have given of the Jewish, it will be necessary to consider, What the light of Nature teacheth us concerning RELIGIOUS SANCTIONS.

The true idea of *natural Religion* (defining and including the essence wherein it consists) is no where so concisely, so fully, and so elegantly delivered as by St. PAUL in these words,—*He who cometh to God must believe that he is; and that he is a Rewarder of them who diligently seek him:* In other words, the sum of *natural Religion* (he tells us) is this, "Belief in God, and that he rewards his Faithful Worshippers; which implies his punishing the unfaithful."—While this is steadfastly believed, natural Religion stands on a solid Basis. If any thing be seen in God's dispensing Providence here, which shews that God is not always a *Rewarder*, &c., the Belief is shaken, and Religion is in danger. The unequal distribution of things here below endangers it; and it becomes re-established by the intervention of the Doctrine of a FUTURE STATE. Thus, we see, the belief of a *future state* is not of the *Essence* of NATURAL RELIGION, but one of the *accidents* of it only; for were the distribution equal, as from the Being and Attributes of the Deity (abstractedly considered) one might be led to expect, a *future state* had never come into the definition of *natural Religion*.

The *Mosaic Religion* was a REPUBLICATION of *natural Religion* to the Jews. And all it taught, concerning it's sanction, was, *that God is, and that he is a Rewarder*, &c. The reason why a *future state* was omitted is apparent: Moses assured them they were under the dispensation of an *equal Providence here*. And now let me ask, How it comes to pass that the self-same system of Religion, which, one way *(by the light of reason)* revealed to man, does honour to God, if we believe St. Paul; yet, another way, revealed *(by Moses)* does dishonour him, if we give credit to our modern Divines?

When God separated a chosen People, he gave them, for their Belief, the principles of NATURAL RELIGION *(republished* by the Ministry of Moses) in its ORIGINAL and most perfect Form, under an *equal Providence*. And yet this circumstance, which sets it far above it's *publication* amongst the Gentiles by natural light, is esteemed a disgrace to it; and men rather chuse to piece-out God's Dispensation from what they can find in the lumber and

rubbish of Paganism, than receive it in it's native simplicity and genuine grandeur: And, because *natural Religion*, disturbed and corrupted amongst the Gentiles, was forced to lean on the Crutch of a *future state*, they will needs find the same prop for the pure and perfect, as REPUBLISHED by Moses, though it stands upright, under an *extraordinary Providence*.

The truth is, this false idea arises from an inveterate error (to be exposed at large in the last volume of this Work) that *natural Religion* not only teaches a *future state*, (which it does indeed, though by accident only) but that it teaches *this state* to be ENDLESS, which it neither does, nor can do. All it teaches is, that *God is, and that he is a Rewarder;* whether here or hereafter is to be collected from the mode of God's dispensing Providence *here*.

This error, which confounds all our reasoning on God's moral Government, arose, in part, from a later Revelation, the *Christian*, ill understood (of which, more hereafter); and, in part, from false and visionary Metaphysics.

1. But say they, "Admitting, that *natural Religion* taught no more than St. Paul learned of it, yet surely a *Revelation*, such as the Mosaic, must contain more, or why was it given?"—I will answer these men in their own way—It was given as a *republication of the Religion of Nature:* For though they were egregiously mistaken in receiving the *Christian Religion* for no more; yet it is very certain, the *Mosaic*, with regard to *Doctrine*, was, indeed, just such a *Republication*, and no other. Nor, does human conception discover any thing incongruous in the moral conduct of the Deity, when he RENEWS those Laws, first revealed in an *ordinary* way, and by the folly of men become almost erased; to *renew* them, I say, in an *extraordinary*. For we do not oppose the talk of Christianity's being only such a *republication* on account of any incongruity in the thing itself; but because, that, when applied to the *Christian Religion*, this definition of it is both false and imperfect, and averse to the whole genius and nature of the Dispensation.

2. But, secondly, it may be said, That "the *Doctrine of future rewards* is of force to purify and spiritualize the mind; which that of *temporal rewards* is not." To this, I reply, That the *known* rewards here, or the *unknown* hereafter, leave the mind just in that state in which Religion itself, or Piety towards God, hath put it. It is the FREE OBEDIENCE to his commands, not the sense of the necessary consequence of that obedience, which rectifies the Will, and purifies the Affections.

But the mistake, here confuted, arises from men's having confounded a *future state*, as discoverable by natural light, with the *future state* as announced in the Gospel. Now, Natural light discovers to us nothing of the *Nature* of that State; and therefore leaves the mind in that situation in which an indefinite Reward puts it. The Gospel, indeed, defines a future state so fully, as to enable the doctrine to purify and spiritualize the Mind, above all other modes of Religion.

But what does this concession infer? That the Mosaic Religion, which taught an *equal Providence*, but *omitted* to teach a *future state*, was unwor-

thy of God? Surely not. For then it would follow, that natural Religion, that other revelation of God's will, which taught no future state, till Providence here was found to be unequal, was likewise unworthy of Him. What then, does it infer? This, and this only, that the *Mosaic Religion* wants much of that perfection which the *Christian* hath. Now, this truth is not only acknowledged, but contended for.

The Question then may return, Could God, according to the idea we have of his attributes, give a *less perfect* Religion, in order to facilitate the reception of one *more perfect*? The question may return, I say, but in order to be sent back for its confutation, to the answer already bestowed upon it, in the examination of Mr. Voltaire's Objections.

NOTES

ON

THE THIRD BOOK.

P. 411, vol. i. A. It may not be improper, on this occasion, to present the Reader with an extract from a Letter of the late President Montesquieu to the Author, who had given him some account of Lord Bolingbroke's Posthumous Works, just then on the point of publication—"J'ay lu quelques ouvrages de My Lord Bolingbroke—Or, Monsieur, dans cet ouvrage posthume, dont vous me donnes une idée, il me semble qu'il vous prepare une matiere continuelle de triomphe. Celui qui attaque la Religion revelée n'attaque que la Religion revelée; mais celui qui attaque la Religion naturelle attaque toutes les Religions du monde. Si l'on enseigne aux hommes qu'ils n'ont pas ce frein ci, ils peuvent penser qu'ils en ont un autre: Mais il est bien plus pernicieux de leur enseigner qu'ils n'en ont pas du tout. Il n'est pas impossible d'attaquer une Religion revelée, parce qu'elle existe par des faits particuliers, et que les faits, par leur nature, peuvent être une matiere de dispute: mais il n'en est pas de même de la Religion naturelle; elle est tirée de la nature de l'homme, dont on ne peut pas disputer, et du sentiment interieur de l'homme, dont on ne peut pas disputer encore. J'ajoute à ceci, Quel peut être le motif d'attaquer la Religion revelée en Angleterre? on l'y a tellement purgé de tout prejugé destructeur qu'elle n'y peut faire de mal, et qu'elle y peut faire, au contraire, une infinité de biens. Je sais, qu'un homme en Espagne ou en Portugal que l'on va bruler, ou qui craint d'être brulé, parce qu'il ne croit point de certains articles dependans ou non de la Religion revelée, a une juste sujet de l'attaquer, parce qu'il peut avoir quelque esperance de pourvoir à sa defence naturelle: Mais il n'en est pas de même en Angleterre, où tout homme qui attaque la Religion revelée l'attaque sans interest, et où cet homme quand il reussiroit, quand même il auroit raison dans le fond, ne feroit que detruire une infinité de biens pratiques pour établir une verité purement speculative.

"J'ay eté ravi, &c.

A Paris, ce 26 *May*, 1754. "Montesquieu."

P. 411. B. Strabo's words are—Καὶ φόβους, καὶ ἀπειλὰς, ἢ διὰ λόγων, ἢ διὰ

τύπων ἀώρων, "Fears and threatnings either by words or dreadful forms." Casaubon, who corrected the last word very justly, has given us no explanation of the allusion in this obscure sentence. I am persuaded, the author had in his mind the dreadful words spoken, and the representations exhibited in the *Mysteries*, for the very purpose the author here mentions: so ἀπειλὰς refers to λόγων, and φόβους to τύπων ἀώρων. The reader, who remembers what has been said in the section of the *Mysteries*, in the foregoing book, concerning this matter, will be inclined to believe this to be the true explanation.

P. 415. C. And, without doubt, this was amongst the reasons for his declining, throughout the whole course of his life, the study and the teaching of *physics*, or *natural philosophy*, which had a direct tendency to shake and overturn one half of the national religion, namely the worship of, what were called, the celestial Gods, or *Host of Heaven*.

P. 415. D. We have, indeed, been told, that, to his *Cock* he might have added a *Bull;* for that the Philosopher was now in a delirium, occasioned by the cicuta, to which, Scribonius Largus attributes this effect. But I apprehend, the eminent persons who then attended the last moments of the expiring Philosopher (and must have been well apprised of the nature of a draught, whose legal application to criminals of state had made its effects familiar to every one) would have been the *first* to observe this symptom, if, indeed, the drug had any such property. Whereas they speak of Socrates as perfectly in his senses when he made this request; and I think *They* are rather to be relied on who understood what related both to the *sacrifice* and the *drug*, than *They* who know so little of either; especially as we find this rite was exactly suitable to the foregoing declaration of CONFORMITY, in his defence before his judges.

P. 416. E. "Duplex enim erat doctrinæ genus apud antiquas gentes, δημώδες καὶ ἀπόῤῥητον, doctrina vulgaris et doctrina arcana: idque non tantum ob diversitatem materiæ, sed eandem sæpe materiam duplici modo tractabant, populari et philosophica."—*Archæol. Phil.* l. i. c. 8.—See this matter explained at large by the very learned author of the *Critical inquiry into the opinions and practice of the ancient philosophers, &c.* second edit. chap. 11, 12, 13.

P. 417. F. "The author of the philosophical piece commonly ascribed to Origen, says, *That he sometimes complied with the popular opinion, and declared that the* universe would be one day destroyed. Καὶ Παρμενίδης ἐν μὲν τὸ πᾶν ὑποτίθεται, ΑΙΔΙΟΝ ΤΕ, καὶ ἀγέννητον, καὶ σφαιροειδὲς· οὐδ' αὐτὸς ΕΚΦΕΥΓΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ πολλῶν ΔΟΞΑΝ, πῦρ λέγων καὶ γῆν ΤΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΑΣ, τὴν μὲν γῆν, ὡς ὕλην· τὸ δὲ πῦρ, ὡς αἴτιον, καὶ ποιοῦν· ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΕΙΠΕ ΦΘΕΙΡΕΣΘΑΙ. It appears too from this passage that he spoke *popularly*, when he said that the world was made, or had a beginning; and that this doctrine was *merely popular*, may be seen too from the following words of Themistius. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Παρμενίδης ἐν τοῖς πρὸς δόξαν, τὸ θερμὸν ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν ἀρχὰς, ὧν τὸ μὲν πῦρ, τὸ δὲ γῆν προσαγορεύει. It is then evident from these passages that, in his *exoterics*, he gave the world both a beginning and an end. But then in his other writings he denied that it had either. I need not quote Cicero, Plutarch, or Eusebius, to prove this; the following verses of his own are sufficient for my present purpose;

> Αὐτὰρ ἀκίνητον μεγάλων ἐν πείρασι δεσμῶν
> Ἔστιν ΑΝΑΡΧΟΝ, ΑΠΑΥΣΤΟΝ, ἐπεὶ ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ καὶ ΟΛΕΘΡΟΣ
> Τῆδε μαλ' ἐπλάγχθησαν, ἄπωσε δὲ πίστις ἀληθής."

See the *Critical enquiry into the opinions and practice of the ancient philosophers*, p. 225, 2d edit.

P. 420. G. One of the *Answerers* of *The Divine Legation* says, "What a noble field would have been here opened for the FATHERS, could they have charged the Pagan sages and philosophers with the dissimulation which Mr. W. has here done! Could they have loaded them with the crime of *believing one thing and teaching another*, with LYING, with imposing on the credulity of the people; what a display of rhetoric should we have had! Could there have been a more fit occasion for *satire or declamation?*—BUT THEY NEVER REPROACH THEM ON THAT ACCOUNT."—Dr. Sykes's Exam. p. 88. The gravity of all this is so rarely contrasted with its profound knowledge, that the Reader cannot find in his heart to be angry with him for what follows, from these FATHERS; with whom the good Doctor appears to be so well acquainted.

ARNOBIUS, speaking of this custom of *believing one thing and teaching another*, says: "Nunc vero, cum ALIUD CREDITIS et ALIUD FINGITIS, et in eos estis contumeliosi, quibus id attribuitis, quod eos confitemini non esse: et *irreligiosi* esse monstramini, cum id adoratis quod fingitis, non quod in re esse, ipsaque in veritate censetis."—*L.* iii. *p.* 109. Lugd. ed.

EUSEBIUS reproaches *Plato* on this very account: charges him with mean dissimulation for teaching doctrines which he believed to be false, merely out of reverence to the laws of his country. Καὶ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην δὲ ταῦτα λέγειν τῶν νόμων ἕνεκα διαῤῥήδην παρίστησιν ὁμολογήσας, ὅτι δέοι ἑπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς. Præp. Evang. c. xiii. 1.—ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτων δὲ χάριν ἀπολειπτέος ἡμῖν οὗτος, δέει θανάτου τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον καθυποκρινάμενος. c. 15.

LACTANTIUS reproves *Cicero* for the same practice: "Cum videamus etiam doctos et prudentes viros, cum religionum intelligant vanitatem, nihilominus tamen in iis ipsis, quæ damnant, colendis, NESCIO QUA PRAVITATE, perstare. Intelligebat Cicero falsa esse, quæ homines adorarent: nam cum multa dixisset, quæ ad eversionem religionum valerent: ait tamen non esse illa vulgo disputanda, ne susceptas publice religiones disputatio talis extinguat: Quid ei facies, qui, cum errare se sentiat, ultro ipse in lapides impingat, ut populus omnis offendat? Ipse sibi oculos eruat, ut omnes cæci sint? Qui nec de aliis bene mereatur, quos patitur errare; nec de seipso, qui alienis accedit erroribus; nec utitur tandem sapientiæ suæ bono, ut factis impleat, quod mente percepit." *Div. Instit.* l. ii. c. 3.

St. AUSTIN's account of *Seneca* is not at all more favourable. "Sed iste quem philosophi quasi *liberum* * fecerunt, tamen quia illustris populi Romani Senator erat, colebat quod reprehendebat; agebat, quod arguebat; quod culpabat, adorabat.—Eo *damnabilius*, quod illa quæ MENDACITER *agebat* sic ageret, *ut populus veraciter* agere existimaret." *De civ. Dei*, l. vi. c. 10.

But this *Father* concludes all the Pagan sages and philosophers under the same condemnation, for IMPOSING (as Dr. Sykes expresses it) ON THE CREDULITY OF THE PEOPLE, and with *satire and declamation* enough of conscience, if that will satisfy the Doctor.—"Quod utique non aliam ob causam factum videtur, nisi quia homines velut *prudentium et sapientium* negotium fuit, POPULUM IN RELIGIONIBUS FALLERE, et in eo ipso non solum colere, sed *imitari etiam Dæmones*. Sicut enim Dæmones nisi eos quos fallendo deceperint, possidere non possunt, sic et *homines principes* non sane justi sed *Dæmonum similes*, ea quæ vana esse noverant, religionis nomine populis tanquam vera suadebant, hoc modo eos civili societati velut arctius alligantes." *De civit. Dei*, l. iv. c. 132.

* Alluding to the Stoical wise man.

P. 424. H. One scarce meets with any thing in antiquity concerning Pythagoras's knowledge in *physics*, but what gives us fresh cause to admire the wonderful sagacity of that extraordinary man. This story of his *predicting earthquakes* has so much the air of a fable, that I believe it has been generally ranked (as it is by Stanley) with that heap of trash, which the enthusiastic Pythagoreans and Platonists of the lower ages have raked together concerning him. Yet we learn from the collections of Pliny the Elder, which say—"futuro terræ motu, est *in puteis turbidior aqua*," l. ii. c. 83, that the ancients profited of this discovery, verified by a modern relation of Paul Dudley, Esq. in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 437. p. 72, who, speaking of an earthquake which lately happened in New England, gives this remarkable account of its preceding symptoms: "A neighbour of mine, that has a Well thirty-six feet deep, about three days before the earthquake, was surprized to find his water, that used to be very sweet and limpid, stink to that degree that they could make no use of it, nor scarce bear the house when it was brought in; and thinking some carrion was got into the Well, he searched the bottom, but found it clear and good, though the colour of the water was turned wheyish, or pale. In about seven days after the earthquake, his water began to mend, and in three days more returned to its former sweetness and colour."

P. 426. F. "Cæsar" *(says Cato)* "bene et composite paulo ante, in hoc ordine, de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea quæ de inferis MEMORANTUR." *Apud eund.* Cicero's reply is to the same purpose: "Itaque ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejusmodi quædam illi ANTIQUI supplicia impiis *constituta esse voluerunt:* quod videlicet intelligebant, his remotis, non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam." *Orat.* iv. *in Catilin.* § 4. I cannot conceive what the very ingenious Mr. Moyle could mean in his *Essay on the Roman Government*, by saying,—*if the immortality of the soul* (by which he means the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments) *had been an* ESTABLISHED *doctrine, Cæsar would not have derided it in the face of the whole senate.*—Do not the words of Cicero—*Antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt*, expressly declare it to be an *established doctrine?*

When Juvenal speaks of the impiety of Rome, with regard to this religious opinion, he exhorts the sober part of them to adhere to it, in these words:

> "Sed tu vera puta. Curius quid sentit, et ambo
> Scipiadæ? quid Fabricius manesque Camilli?
> ——— quoties hinc talis ad illos
> Umbra venit? cuperent lustrari, si qua darentur
> Sulphura cum tædis, et si foret humida laurus.
> Illuc, heu! Miseri traducimur"———

Those who understand these lines can never doubt whether a future State was the *established doctrine* in Rome.—Yet, stranger than all this, the very learned Mosheim, in his *De Rebus Christ. Comment.* p. 15, speaking of this licentious part of Cæsar's speech, seems to copy Mr. Moyle's opinion (whose works he had translated) in these words—"Ita magni hi Homines et Romanæ civitatis principes nunquam ausi fuissent loqui, in Concilio Patrum conscriptorum *si Religio credere jussisset*, mentes hominum perennes esse." By his, *si Religio credere jussisset*, he must mean—*if this had been the established Doctrine*—He could not mean—*had the Pagan Religion in general enjoined it to be believed*—For there was no national Religion of Paganism without it. But the reason he gives for his opinion exceeds all belief. He says, "Cato is so far from blaming Cæsar for this declaration,

that he rather openly applauds it"—"Quam orationem M. PORTIUS CATO, illud Stoicæ Familiæ præsidium et decus, tantum abest, ut reprehendat, ut potius publice pariter in Senatu laudat." What are these terms of praise?—"Sic enim BENE ET COMPOSITE," inquit, "*Cæsar paulo ante in hoc Ordine de vita et morte disseruit: falsa, credo, existimans quæ de inferis memorantur.*" Surely this *bene et composite disseruit*, was so far from being intended by the rigid *Stoic* as a compliment on his capital Adversary, that it was a severe censure, implying, in every term made use of, that Cæsar's opinion was no crude or hasty sentiment, taken up, as an occasional topic, out of an ill-judged compassion for the Criminals, but that it was the System of his School in this matter, deliberately dressed out with all the charms of his own eloquence, in a studied and correct dissertation.

P. 431. K. *Acad. Quæst.* l. iv.—The learned Mosheim has done me the honour of abridging my reasoning on this head in the following manner—"*Academici*, meliores licet et sapientiores *Scepticis videri vellent*, æque tamen mali et perniciosi erant. Id ipsum enim dogma, in quo vis et ratio disciplinæ Scepticæ posita erat, probabant 'Nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse, et de omnibus idcirco rebus, nullo interposito judicio, disputandum esse.' Hoc unum inter utrosque intererat, quod cum Sceptici statuerent, "nulli rei ad sentiendum, sed perpetuo disputandum esse.' Academici e contrario sciscerent 'in illis quæ veri speciem haberent seu probabilia viderentur, acquiescendum esse.' *Atqui hoc ipsum* PROBABILE *cui sapientem adsentiri volebant Academici*, NUNQUAM ILLI REPERIEBANT. Quare non secus ac Sceptici infirmare omnia et incerta reddere studebant. Id vero qui agunt, ut dubium prorsus et anceps videntur Utrum—*Animi moriantur an supersint*," &c. *De rebus Christ. Comment.* p. 22.

P. 431. L. The reader may not be displeased to see the judgment of a learned French writer on the account here given of the *Academics*—"L'on fait voir que l'on doit exclure de ce nombre [des sectes dogmatistes] les nouveaux Academiciens, purs sceptiques, quoy qu'il y aît quelques auteurs modernes qui pretendent le contraire, et entre autres M. Middleton, auteur de la nouvelle Vie du Ciceron Anglois. Mais si l'on examine la source où il a puisé ses sentimens, l'on trouvera que c'est dans les apologies que les Academiciens eux mêmes ont faites pour cacher le scepticisme qui leur étoit reproché par toutes les autres sectes; et de cette maniere on pourroit soutenir que les Pyrrhoniens mêmes n'étoient point sceptiques. Qu'on se ressouvienne seulement que, suivant le raport de Ciceron, Arcesilaus, fondateur de la nouvelle Academie, nioit que l'on fut certain de sa propre existence. Après un trait semblable, et plusieurs autres qui sont raportés—on laisse au lecteur à décider du caractere de cette secte et du jugement qu'en porte M. Middleton."—M. De S. *Dis. sur l'Union de la Religion, de la Morale, et de la Politique, Pref.* p. 12.

P. 432. M. Tully assures us that those of the *Old Academy* were Dogmatists, *Quæst. Acad.* lib. i. "Nihil enim inter PERIPATETICOS et ACADEMIAM illam VETEREM differebat;" for that the Peripatetics were dogmatists no body ever doubted. Yet the same Tully, towards the conclusion of this book, ranks them with the sceptics, "Hanc Academiam NOVAM appellabant, quæ mihi VETUS videtur;" for such certainly was the *New Academy*. The way of reconciling Cicero to himself I take to be this: Where he speaks of the conformity between the Peripatetics and the *Old Academy*, he considers Plato as the founder of the *Old Academy*; this appears from the following words, *Academ.* l. ii. c. 5. "Alter [nempe Plato] quia reliquit perfectissimam disciplinam, Peripateticos et Academicos, nominibus differentes, re congruentes;" And where he speaks of the conformity between

the *New Academy* and the *Old*, he considers Socrates as the founder of the *Old Academy*. For the *New*, as we here see, claimed the nearest relation to their master. Thus *De Nat. Deor.* l. i. c. 5, he says, "Ut hæc in philosophia ratio contra omnia disserendi, nullamque rem apertè judicandi, *profecta à Socrate*, repetita ab *Arcesila*, confirmata à *Carneade*," &c. But Tully, it may be said, in the very place where he speaks of the agreement between the *New* and *Old* Academy, understands Plato as the founder of the old; "Hanc Academiam novam appellant; quæ mihi vetus videtur, si quidem *Platonem* ex illa vetere numeramus; cujus in libris nihil adfirmatur, et in utramque partem multa disseruntur; de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur." But it is to be observed, that Plato had a twofold character: and is to be considered, on the one hand, as the *Disciple* and *Historian* of Socrates; and on the other, as the *Head of a Sect himself*, and master of Xenocrates and Aristotle. As the disciple, he *affirms nothing*; as the master, he is a *Dogmatist*. Under the *first* character, Socrates and he are the same; under the *second*, they are very different. Tully here speaks of him under the *first*, as appears from what he says of him, *nihil adfirmatur*, &c. Plato, in this place, therefore, is the same as Socrates. The not distinguishing his double character, hath occasioned much dispute amongst the Ancients; as the not observing that Cicero hath, throughout his writings, made *that* distinction, hath much embarrassed the moderns. Diogenes Laertius tells us, there were infinite disputes about Plato's character; some holding that he did dogmatize, others that he did not. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὴ στάσις ἐστὶ, καὶ οἱ μέν φασιν αὐτὸν δογματίζειν, οἱ δ' οὔ. Lib. iii. Seg. 51. *Sextus Empiricus* says the same thing: τὸν Πλάτωνα οὖν, οἱ μὲν δογματικὸν ἔφασαν εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ἀπορητικόν. He then tells you, some distinguished better: Κατά δέ τι δογματικόν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς γυμναστικοῖς φασὶ λόγοις, ἔνθα ὁ Σωκράτης εἰσάγεται ἤτοι παίζων πρός τινας ἢ ἀγωνιζόμενος πρὸς σοφιστὰς, γυμναστικόν τε καὶ ἀπορητικόν φασιν ἔχειν αὐτὸν χαρακτῆρα· δογματικὸν δὲ, ἔνθα σπουδάζων, ἀποφαίνεται ἤτοι διὰ Σωκράτους, ἢ Τιμαίου, ἤ τινος τῶν τοιούτων. That Cicero made the distinction, delivered above, we shall now see. In the Academic Questions, he speaks of him as the *disciple and historian* of Socrates; and, under that character, "nihil adfirmatur, et in utramque partem multa disseruntur, de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur." In his *Offices* he speaks of him as different from Socrates, and the *founder of a sect:* and then he is a Dogmatist, and, as he says elsewhere, "reliquit perfectissimam disciplinam Peripateticos et Academicos nominibus differentes, re congruentes." His words to his son are: "Sed tamen nostra [nempe Academica] leges non multum a Peripateticis dissidentia, quoniam utrique et Socratici et Platonici esse volumus;" i. e. He tells his son, that he would both dogmatize like Plato, and scepticize like Socrates. But Grævius, not apprehending this double character of Plato, would change Socratici to Stoici. For, says he, "qui dicere potest se utrumque esse voluisse Platonicum et Socraticum; perinde est ac si scripsisset utrumque se velle esse Peripateticum et Aristoteleum." But there was a vast difference between Plato, founder of the Academy, and Socrates; though none between Plato the disciple and historian of Socrates, and Socrates.—The fortune of this note has been very singular; and will afford us a pleasant picture of the temper and genius of Answerers and their ways. One man writing something about *Plato* and the *ancients;* and reading what is here said of Plato's dogmatizing, abuses the author for making him a *dogmatist:* And another who had to do, I do not know how, with *Socrates* and the *moderns*, and reading what relates to Plato's scepticizing, is as plentiful, in his ribaldry and ill language, for making him a

sceptic: while the author was, all the time, giving an historical relation of what others made him; and only endeavoured to reconcile their various accounts.

P. 435. N. *Tusc. Disp.* l. i. c. 16.—*Honore* refers to his *philosophic* character; and *auctoritate* to his *legislative*. The common reading is, "cum honore et disciplinâ, tum etiam auctoritate." Dr. B. in his emendations on the *Tusc. Quæst.* saw this was faulty; but not reflecting on the complicated character of Pythagoras, and perhaps not attending to Cicero's purpose (which was, not to speak of the *nature* of his philosophy, but of the *reputation* he had in Magna Græcia) he seems not to have hit upon the true reading. He objects to *honore*, because the particles *cum* and *tum* require a greater difference in the things spoken of, than is to be found in *honos* and *auctoritas:* which reasoning would have been just, had only a *philosophic* character, or only a *legislative*, been the subject. But it was Cicero's plain meaning, to present Pythagoras under both these views. So that *honos*, which is the proper consequence of succeeding in the first; and *auctoritas*, of succeeding in the latter; have all the real difference that *cum* and *tum* require; at least Plutarch thought so, when he applied words of the very same import to the Egyptian *soldiery* and the *priesthood;* to whom, like the legislator and philosopher, the one having *power* and the other *wisdom*, *auctoritas* and *honos* distinctly belong:—τοῦ μὲν δι' ἀνδρίαν, τοῦ δὲ διὰ σοφίαν, μένους ΑΞΙΩΜΑ καὶ ΤΙΜΗΝ ἔχοντος. *De Isid. et Osir.* Another objection, the learned critic brings against the common reading, has more weight; which is, that in *honore et disciplina*, two words are joined together as very similar in sense, which have scarce any affinity or relation to one another: on which account he would read MORE *et disciplina*. But this, as appears from what has been said above, renders the whole sentence lame and imperfect: I would venture therefore to read, (only changing a single letter) "tenuit Magnam illam Græciam cum honore EX disciplina, tum etiam auctoritate:" and then all will be right, *disciplina* referring equally to *honore* and *auctoritate*, as implying both his philosophic and civil institutions.*

P. 438. O. *Demonstratio Evangelica;* which, because the World would not accept for *demonstration*, and because he had no better to give, after a long and vain search for *certainty* throughout all the Regions of Erudition, he attempted, by the help of *Sextus Empiricus*, in order to keep himself in credit, to shew that no such thing was to be had. And so composed his book *of the Weakness of human understanding*. Malebranch has laid open his ridiculous case with great force and skill—"Il est vrai qu'il y en a quelques-uns qui reconnoissent après vingt ou trente années de temps perdu, qu'ils n'ont rien appris dans leurs lectures; mais il ne leur plaît pas de nous le dire avec sincerité. Il faut auparavant qu'ils ayent prouvé, à leur mode, *qu'on ne peut rien sçavoir;* et puis après ils le confessent; parce qu'alors ils croyent le pouvoir faire, sans qu'on se mocque de leur ignorance."

P. 448. P. Geddes, or his *Glasgow editors*, (to mention them for once) in the *essay on the composition of the ancients*, are here very angry at the author for charging Plato with making a *monstrous mis-alliance*, merely (as they say) because he added the study of *physics* to that of *morals;* and employ six pages in defending Plato's conduct. As these insolent scribblers could not see then, so possibly they will not be ready to learn now, that the term of *monstrous mis-alliance*, which I gave to Plato's project, of incorpo-

[* In the references to the notes N and O in pages 435 and 438, the edition of 1811 has been followed, which by mistake quotes them as M and P.]

rating the *Pythagoric* and *Socratic* Schools, referred to the opposite and contrary geniuses of those Schools in their MANNER of treating their Subjects, not to any difference which there is in their Subjects themselves. The mis-alliance was not in joining *Physics* to *Morals;* but in joining a Fanatic Mysticism to the cool logic of common sense.

P. 454. Q. The unfairness of readers when their passions have made them become writers, is hardly to be conceived: some of these have represented the three last testimonies as given to prove that Plato believed no future state at all: though the author had plainly and expresly declared, but a page or two before, p. 452, as well as at p. 414, that there was a sort of *future state* which Plato did believe; he refers to it again at p. 455, and, what is more, observes here, on this last passage, that Celsua slludes to this very future state of Plato. And what was it but this,—that future happiness and misery were the natural and necessary consequences of Virtue and Vice; Vice being supposed to produce that imbecility and sluggishness which clogged and retarded the Soul, and hindered it from penetrating into the higher regions.

P. 456. R. This will explain the cause of a fact which Cicero observes concerning them, where he speaks of the liberty which the Greek Philosophers had taken, in inventing new Words—"ex omnibus Philosophis STOICI plurima novaverunt." *de Fin.* l. ii. c. 2. For the more a Teacher deviates from common notions, and the discipline of Nature, the less able he will be to express himself by Words already in use.

P. 457. S. This strange Stoical fancy, that the same Scenes of men and things should revive and re-appear, can be only well accounted for by the credit they gave to the dotages of Judicial Astrology, to which their doctrine of Fate much disposed them. This renovation was to happen in the GREAT PLATONIC YEAR, when all the heavenly Bodies were supposed to begin their courses anew, from the same points from which they first set out at their Creation. So Ausonius,

> ——"Consumpto *Magnus* qui dicitur anno
> Rursus in antiquum venient vaga sidera cursum,
> Qualia dispositi steterant ab Origine Mundi."

P. 459. T. Cicero makes the famous orator, M. Antonius, give this as the reason why he hid his knowledge of the Greek Philosophy from the People.—"Sic decrevi [inquit Antonius] philosophari potius, ut Neoptolemus apud Ennium, *paucis: nam omnino haud placet.* Sed tamen hæc est mea sententia, quam videbar exposuisse, Ego ista studia non improbo, moderata modo sint: opinionem istorum studiorum, et suspicionem artificii apud eos, qui res judicent, oratori adversariam esse arbitror. Imminuit enim et oratoris auctoritatem et orationis fidem." *De Orat.* l. i. c. 17.

P. 459. U. *Orat. pro Muræna.* It must be owned, that these words, at first sight, seem to have a different meaning. And the *disputandi causa* looks as if the observation was confined to *Stoicism.* For this Sect had so entirely engrossed the *Dialectics,* that the followers of Zeno were more frequently called *Dialectici* than *Stoici.* Notwithstanding this, it plainly appears, I think, from the context, that the other sense is the true. Tully introduces his observation on Cato's singularity in these words: *et quoniam non est nobis hæc oratio habenda aut cum imperita multitudine, aut in aliquo conventu agrestium, audacius paulo* de studiis humanitatis, *quæ et mihi et vobis nota et jucunda sunt, disputabo.* Here he declares, his design is not to give his thoughts of the Stoics in particular (though they furnished the occasion) but of the Greek philosophy in general, *de studiis humanitatis.* He

then runs through the Stoical *paradoxes*, and concludes—Hæc *homo ingeniosissimus M. C. arripuit, &c.* But had it been his intention to confine the observation to the Stoics, on account of their great name in Logic, he must have said *hanc*, not *hæc:* it being their *Logic*, not their *Paradoxes*, which was of use in *disputation.*

P. 461. X. Lucullus had been declaiming very tragically against the Academy, when Tully entered on its defence; in which he thought it proper to premise something concerning himself. "Aggrediar igitur," (says he) "si pauca ante, quasi de FAMA MEA, dixero." He then declares, that, had he embraced the Academy out of vanity, or love of contradiction, it had not only reflected on his sense, but on his honour: "Itaque nisi ineptum putarem in tali disputatione id facere, quod cum de republica disceptatur fieri interdum solet: jurarem per Jovem," &c. From hence, I gather that though the question here be of the Academic philosophy, and of Cicero as an Academic; yet, as he tells us, he is now to vindicate himself in a point in which his honour was concerned; the protestation is general, and concerns his constant turn of mind; which always inclined him, he says, to speak his sentiments.

P. 465. Y. The learned Author of the exact and elegant *History of Cicero*, hath since turned this *circumstance* to the support of the contrary opinion, with regard to his Hero's sentiments:—"But some" (says he) "have been apt to consider them [*i. e.* the passages in Tully's philosophic writings in favour of a future state] as the flourishes rather of his eloquence than the conclusions of his reason. Since in other parts of his works he seems to intimate, not only a diffidence, but a disbelief of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments, and especially in his letters, where he is supposed to declare his mind with the greatest frankness. But—in a melancholy hour, when the spirits are depressed, the same argument would not appear to him with the same force, but doubts and difficulties get the ascendant, and what humoured his present chagrin find the readiest admission. The passages alleged [*i. e.* in this place of *the Divine Legation*] were all of this kind, written in the season of his dejection, when all things were going wrong with him, and in the height of Cæsar's power," &c. Vol. ii. p. 561. ed. 4. Thus, every thing hath two Academical handles. But still, my candid friend will allow me to say, they cannot both be right. It is confessed, that a desponding temper, like that of Cicero, will, in a melancholy hour, be always inclined to fear the worst. But to what are its fears confined? Without doubt to the issue of that very affair, for which we are distressed. A melancholy hour would have just the contrary influence on our other cogitations. And this by the wise and gracious disposition of Nature; that the mind may endeavour to make up by an abundance of hope in one quarter, what through the persuasion of its fears, it hath suffered itself to part from, in another. So that unless Cicero were made differently from all other men, one might venture to say, his *hopes of future good* (had Philosophy permitted him to entertain any hopes at all) would have risen in proportion to his *fears of the present.* And this is seen every day in fact. For it is nothing but this natural disposition that makes men of the world so generally fly even to Superstition for the solace of their misfortunes. But the excellent author of the *Critical Inquiry into the Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers* goes further. "Cicero" (says he) "very frankly declares in his *Tusculans* themselves that this [the *mortality* or the *no separate existence* of the soul] was the most real and effectual, the most solid and substantial comfort that could be administered against the fear of death. In his first Tusculan, he undertakes to prove, that death

was not an evil; and this, 1*st*, Because it was not attended with any actual punishment, or positive and real misery. 2*dly*, He rises higher, and labours to prove, that men ought to look upon death as a blessing rather than an evil, as the soul, after its departure from the body, might be happy in another life. In the first part he supposes the mortality and extinction of the soul at death; in the second he plainly supposes, that it will survive the body. Now the question is, on which doctrine does he lay most stress; or, which of these two notions, in the opinion of Cicero, would serve best to fortify and prepare men against the fear of death? And luckily Cicero himself has long since determined this point for us; having in the first Tusculan brought several reasons to prove the immortality of the soul, he after all very frankly declares, that they had no great *validity* and *force;* that the most solid and substantial argument, which could be urged against the fear of death, was the very consideration advanced in his letters, or *the doctrine which makes it the utter period of our being:* And in the remaining part of the book he proceeds to argue chiefly on this supposition, as *being the best calculated to support men against the fear and terror of death.* The arguments which he urged to prove the immortality of the soul, seem sometimes to have had great weight with the person to whom they were immediately addressed; he declares himself fond of the opinion, and resolves not to part with it. 'Nemo me de *immortalitate* depellet.' To this Cicero replies, 'laudo id quidem; etsi nihil nimis oportet confidere: movemur enim sæpe aliquo acutè concluso; labamus mutamusque sententiam clarioribus etiam in rebus; in his est enim aliqua obscuritas. Id igitur si acciderit, simus armati,' c. 32. He does not seem to lay any great stress on the notion of a future state; 'nihil oportet nimis confidere.' He owns that the arguments, alleged in support of it, were rather specious than solid: 'movemur enim sæpe aliquo acutè concluso.' That they were not plain and clear enough to make any strong and lasting impression: 'Labamus mutamusque sententiam clarioribus etiam in his rebus; in his est enim aliqua obscuritas.'—That therefore the best remedy at all events, would be the notion that the soul dies with the body; 'id igitur si acciderit, simus *armati.*' Having then explained what he had to say on the immortality of the soul, he proceeds to shew, that death could not be considered as an evil, on the supposition that the soul was to perish with the body.

"When therefore he would teach men to contemn the terrors of death, he grounds his main argument on the mortality of the soul. As to the notion of a future state, it was maintained by arguments too subtile to work a real and lasting conviction; it was not thought clear enough to make any deep and strong impression. He has therefore recourse to the extinction of the soul, as the most comfortable consideration that could be employed against the fear of death. This was not then a topic that was peculiar to the season of dejection and distress; it was not thrown out only accidentally, when he was not considering the subject, but was used in the works that were deliberately and professedly written on this very point. It could not therefore be *occasional* only, and suited to the present circumstances, as Dr. Middleton in his reasoning all along supposes."

P. 475. Z. Dion Cassius tells us, that in the year of Rome 689 the Government consulted, what the Historian calls, the *Augury of safety;* a sort of divination to learn, if the Gods received in good part the Prayers for the Safety of the People. This ceremony was only to be performed in that year, during the course of which, no Allies of Rome had defected from her, no Armies had appeared in the field, and no Battle had been fought. A ceremony which plainly arose from the ancient notion of an

envious Demon, then most to be dreaded when the felicity of States or of private men was at its height.

P. 480. AA. *Tusc. Disp.* l. v. c. 13. The words, *si hoc fas est dictu*, had been omitted by accident, in my quotation.—But *Answerers* saw a mystery in this omission, which could be nothing but my consciousness that the omitted words made against me. They are now inserted to show that they make entirely for me; and that Cicero used the word *decerptus* in the *literal* sense; for, if only in a *figurative*, he had no occasion to soften it with a *salva reverentia*.

P. 480. BB. It properly signifies *what hath neither beginning nor end;* though frequently used in the improper sense of *having no end*. And indeed, we may observe in most of the Latin writers, an unphilosophic licence in the use of *mixed modes* by substituting one for another: The providing against the ill effects of this abuse, to which these sort of words are chiefly liable, gave the ancient Roman lawyers great trouble; as appears from what one of them observes, "Jurisconsultorum summus circa verborum PROPRIETATEM labor est." Hence the Composers of the Justinian *Digest* found a necessity of having one whole book of their *Pandects* employed *de verborum significatione*. The abuse arose, in a good measure, from their not being early broken and inured to abstract reasoning: It is certain at least, that the Greeks, who were eminent for speculation, are infinitely more exact in their use of *mixed modes;* not but something must be allowed for the superior abundance of the Greek language.

P. 482. CC. It hath been objected to me, that this doctrine of the *refusion of the soul* was very consistent with the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments, in the *intermediate space* between death and the resolution of the soul into the τὸ ἕν. But these Objectors forgot that it had been shown, that those Philosophers who held the refusion not to be immediate, *believed* the soul to be confined to a successive course of transmigrations entirely physical. So that there was no more room for a moral state of reward and punishment hereafter, than if the resolution had been immediate.

Pp. 489, 500. DD. Λύεται ἑκάστη δύναμις ΛΛΟΓΟΣ εἰς τὴν ὅλην ζωὴν τοῦ παντός. But the elder Platonists talked another language: if Virgil may be allowed to know what they said:

> "Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, et haustus
> Æthereos dixere. Deum namque ire per omnes."

P. 489. EE. But they were not content to speak a language different from their Master. They would, sometimes, make him speak theirs. So Hierocles tells us, *Plato* said, that "When God made the visible world, he had no occasion for pre-existent matter to work upon. His will was sufficient to bring all creatures into being." Ἀρχεῖν γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰς ὑπόστασιν τῶν ὄντων τὸ οἰκεῖον βούλημα. *De fato et prov. ap.* PHOT. But *where* Plato said this we are yet to learn.

> "Terrasque, tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum,
> Hinc pecudes, armenta, VIROS, genus omne ferarum,
> Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas.
> Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac RESOLUTA referri
> Omnia:"— *Georg.* iv. 222.

But now what temptation could the *later* Platonists have to make this alteration in favour of Paganism, if their master and his first followers called the human soul *a part of God* only in a loose metaphorical sense? for such a sense could have reflected no disgrace upon their systems.

A passage of Plutarch will shew us the whole change and alteration of

this system in one view; where, speaking of the *opinions of the philosophers*, he says, "PYTHAGORAS and PLATO held the Soul to be immortal; for that launching out into the Soul of the universe, it returns to its Parent and original. The Stoics say, that on its leaving the body, the more infirm (that is, the Soul of the ignorant) suffers the lot of the body: But the more vigorous (that is, the Soul of the wise) endures to the conflagration. Democritus and Epicurus say, the Soul is mortal, and perishes with the body: PYTHAGORAS and PLATO, that the reasonable Soul is immortal (for that the Soul is not God, but the workmanship of the eternal God) and that the irrational is mortal." *Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων, ἄφθαρτον εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν· ἐξιοῦσαν γὰρ εἰς τὸ τοῦ παντὸς ψυχὴν ἀναχωρεῖν πρὸς τὸ ὁμογενές. Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ ἐξιοῦσαν τῶν σωμάτων ὑποφέρεσθαι τὴν μὲν ἀσθενεστέραν ἅμα τοῖς συγκρίμασι γενέσθαι (ταύτην δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων) τὴν δὲ ἰσχυροτέραν, οἵα ἐστὶ περὶ τοὺς σοφούς, καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως. Δημόκριτος, Ἐπίκουρος φθαρτὴν, τῷ σώματι συνδιαφθειρομένην. Πυθαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων τὸ μὲν λογικὸν, ἄφθαρτον (καὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐ θεὸν, ἀλλ' ἔργον τοῦ ἀϊδίου θεοῦ ὑπάρχειν) τὸ δὲ ἄλογον, φθαρτόν.—Περὶ τῶν Ἀρεσ. τοῖς Φιλ. βιβλ. δ'. κ. ζ'.*

There is something very observable in this passage. He gives the opinions of the several Philosophers concerning the Soul. He begins with Pythagoras and Plato; goes on to the Stoics, Democritus and Epicurus; and then returns back to Pythagoras and Plato again. This seems to be irregular enough; but this is not the worst. His account of the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrine concerning the Soul, with which he sets out, contradicts that with which he concludes. For, *the launching out into the soul of the universe*, which is his *first* account, implies, and is, the language of those who say, that the Soul was *part of the substance* of God; whereas his *second* account expressly declares that the Soul was *not* God, that is, *part* of God, but only his *workmanship*. Let me observe too, that what he says further, in this *second* account, of the rational Soul's being immortal, and the irrational, mortal, contradicts what he in another place of the same tract, quoted above, tells us, was the doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato concerning the soul; namely, that the human and brutal, the rational and irrational, were of the same nature, *Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων λογικὰς μὲν εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων καλουμένων τὰς ψυχὰς, οὐ μὴν λογικῶς ἐνεργούσας παρὰ τὴν δυσκρασίαν τῶν σωμάτων.* How is all this to be accounted for? Very easily. This tract of the *placits of the Philosophers* was an extract from the author's common-place: in which, doubtless, were large collections from the Pythagoreans and Platonists, both *before* and *after* Christ. It is plain then, that in the passage in question he begins with those who went *before;* and ends with those who came *after*. And it was the language of those *after*, to call the human soul, not (like their predecessors) a *part* of God, but his *workmanship:* so Plotinus, who came still later, tells us, that *the soul is from God, and yet has a different existence:* It was in their language, to call the *brutal soul, mortal:* and so afterwards Porphyry, we find, says, *every irrational power is resolved into the life of the whole:* for, this *resolution* or λύσις was qualified with the title of *ἀφθαρσία*, or *φθάρμα* indifferently, as they were disposed to *hide* or to *reveal* its real nature. While they held all souls subject to this resolution, they would, of course, keep it amongst their SECRETS, and call it *immortality*. When they began to make a distinction, and only subjected the *irrational* soul to this *resolution*, as in the passage of Porphyry, then they would call it *mortality*, as in the passage of Plutarch; a passage though hitherto esteemed an indigested heap of absurdity and contradiction, is now, we presume, reasonably well explained and reconciled to itself.

P. 492. FF. It is remarkable that Democritus the Master of Epicurus gave but two qualities to MATTER, *figure* and *bulk*, i. e. *extension*. His disciple gave three, by adding GRAVITY. This quality was as sensible as the other two. What shall we say? That Democritus penetrated so far into MATTER, as to see that GRAVITY did not essentially belong unto it, but was a quality superinduced upon it. Certain it is, what Dr. Clarke conjectures, in his dispute with Leibnitz, that *Epicurus's Philosophy was a corrupt and atheistical perversion of some more ancient, and perhaps better Philosophy.*

P. 499. GG. But this has been the humour of the zealous Partizans of a favourite Cause, in all Ages. Honest ANTHONY WOOD, recommending a MS. of a brother Antiquary, one *Henry Lyte*, intitled, *Conjectural Notes touching the Original of the University of Oxon and also of Britain*, observes with great complacency—"In this are many *pretty fancies*, which may be of SOME USE, *as occasion shall serve, by way of reply for Oxon*, against the *far-fetched antiquities* of Cambridge."—A dispute had arisen between these two famous Universities, not concerning the superior Excellence of the one or other Institution; but of the superior Antiquity only. In a contention of the first kind, the disputants would have had some need of Truth; all that was wanted in the latter, was well-invented Fable. Wisely therefore did our reverend Antiquary recommend to the Managers of this important question, the PRETTY FANCIES of this Oxford Champion; to oppose to the *pretty fancies* of the *far-fetched Antiquities* of the Cambridge Athlet.

P. 509. HH. As what is here said relates entirely to the revolutions in the state of Religion here at home, strangers will not be able to see the force of it, without some further account of this matter.—JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE, built upon the doctrine *of the Redemption of Mankind by the death and sacrifice of Christ*, was the great Gospel-Principle on which PROTESTANTISM was founded, when the Churches of the North-West of Europe first shook off the Yoke of ROME: By some perhaps pushed too far, in their abhorrence of the Popish doctrine of MERIT; the *Puritan* schism amongst us being made on the panic fancy that the Church of England had not receded far enough from *Rome*. However, *Justification by Faith alone* being a Gospel-Doctrine, it was received as the badge of true *Protestantism*, by all; when the PURITANS (first driven by persecution from religious into civil Faction, and thoroughly heated into Enthusiasm by each Faction, in its turn) carried the Doctrine to a dangerous and impure *Antinomianism*. This fanatic notion soon after produced the practical virtues of these modern Saints. The mischiefs which ensued are well known. And no small share of them has been ascribed, to this impious abuse of the doctrine of *Justification by faith alone;* first by *depreciating* MORALITY, and then by *dispensing* with it.

When the Constitution was restored, and had brought into credit those few learned Divines whom the madness of the preceding times had driven into obscurity, the Church of England, still smarting with the wounds it had received from the *abuse* of the great Gospel-principle of FAITH, very wisely laboured to restore MORALITY, the other essential part of the Christian System, to its Rights, in the joint direction of the Faithful. Hence, the encouragement the Church gave to those noble discourses which did such credit to Religion, in the licentious times of Charles the Second, composed by these learned and pious men, abused by the Zealots with the nickname LATITUDINARIAN Divines. The reputation they acquired by so thoroughly weeding out these rank remains of Fanaticism, made their Successors fond of sharing with them in the same labours. A laudable

ambition! but, too often mixed with a vain passion for *improving* upon those who have gone, successfully, before. The Church was now triumphant. The Sectaries were humbled; sometimes oppressed; always regarded with an eye of jealousy and aversion; till at length this Gospel-principle of Faith came to be esteemed by those who should have known better, as wild and fanatical. While they who owned its divine Original found so much difficulty in adjusting the distinct Rights and Prerogatives of FAITH and MORALITY, that by the time this Century was ready to commence, things were come to such a pass (*Morality* was advanced so high, and *Faith* so depressed and encumbered with trifling or unintelligible explanations) that a *new definition* of our holy Religion, in opposition to what its Founder taught, and unknown to its early Followers, was all in fashion; under the title of a *Republication of the Religion of Nature:* natural Religion, it seems, (as well as Christianity) *teaching the doctrine of life and immortality.* So says a very eminent prelate.* And the GOSPEL, which till now had been understood as but coeval with REDEMPTION, was henceforth to be acknowledged, *as old as the Creation.*

P. 2, vol. ii. II. How expedient it was to give this detailed proof of the *coincidence of truth and general utility*, may be seen by the strange embarras which perplexes that ingenious Sceptic, Rousseau of Geneva, when he treats of this subject. "Je vois," (says he, in his letter to the Archbishop of Paris,) "deux manieres d'examiner et comparer les Religions diverses, l'une selon *le vrai et le faux*, qui s'y trouvent—l'autre selon leurs *effets temporels et moraux sur la terre*, selon le bien ou le mal qu'elles peuvent faire à la Societé et au genre humain. Il ne faut pas, pour empêcher ce double examen, commencer *par decider que ces deux choses vont toujours ensemble*, et que la Religion la plus vraye est aussi la plus sociable."—But then again he says,—"Il paroit pourtant certain, je l'avoue, que si l'homme est fait pour la Societé, la Religion la plus vraye est aussi la plus sociale et la plus humaine."—Yet for all this he concludes—"Mais ce sentiment, tout probable qu'il est, est sujet à de grandes difficultés par l'historique et les faits qui le contrarient."—Pp. 71, 72. But Antiquity, which had intangled itself in this question, apparently drew *him*, in. The Sages of old saw clearly that *Utility* and *Virtue* perfectly coincided. They thought *Utility* and *Truth* did not: as conceiving the constitution of things to be so framed, that falsehood (as it was circumstanced) might at one time be of general benefit, just as Truth is at another.

P. 3, vol. ii. KK.

Ἦν χρόνος ὅτ' ἦν ἄτακτος ἀνθρώπων βίος,
Καὶ θηριώδης, ἰσχὺς δ' ὑπηρέτης·
Ὅτ' οὐδὲν ἆθλον οὔτε τοῖς ἐσθλοῖσιν ἦν,
Οὔτ' αὖ κόλασμα τοῖς κακοῖς ἐγίνετο.
Κἄπειτά μοι δυκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι νόμους
Θέσθαι κολαστὰς, ἵνα Δίκη τύραννος ᾖ
Γένους βροτείου, τὴν δ' Ὕβριν δούλην ἔχῃ·
Ἐζημιοῦτο, δ' εἴ τις ἐξαμαρτάνοι.
Ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ, τἀμφανῆ μὲν οἱ νόμοι
Ἀπῆγον αὐτοῖς ἔργα μὴ πράσσειν βίᾳ,
Λάθρα δ' ἔπρασσον, τηνικαῦτά μοι δοκεῖ
Πυκνός τις ἄλλος καὶ σοφὸς γνώμην ἀνὴρ
Γεγονέναι, ὑς ἀνητοῖσιν ἐξευρὼν, ὅπως
Εἴη τι δεῖμα τοῖς κακοῖσι, κἂν λάθρα
Πράσσωσιν, ἢ λέγωσιν, ἢ φρονῶσί τι.
Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν τὸ θεῖον εἰσηγήσατο·
Ὡς ἐστὶ δαίμων ἀφθίτῳ θάλλων βίῳ,

* SHERLOCK'S "Sermons," vol. i. serm. 6.

Νόφ τ' ἀκούων, καὶ βλέπων, φρονῶν τε, καὶ
Προσέχων τε ταῦτα, καὶ φύσιν θείαν φορῶν.
(Ἀφ' οὗ) πᾶν μὲν τὸ λεχθὲν ἐν βροτοῖς ἀκούεται.
Ὃς δρώμενον δὲ πᾶν ἰδεῖν δυνήσεται.
Ἐάν τε σὺν σιγῇ τι βουλεύῃς κακὸν,
Τοῦτ' οὐχὶ λήσει τοὺς θεούς· τὸ γὰρ φρονοῦν
Ἔνεστι. Τούσδε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῖς λέγων
Διδαγμάτων ἥδιστον εἰσηγήσατο
Ψευδεῖ καλύψας τὴν ἀλήθειαν λόγῳ·
Εἶναι δ' ἔφασκε τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνταῦθ', ἵνα
Μάλιστά γ' ἐκπλήξειεν ἀνθρώπους ἄγαν,
Ὅθεν περ ἔγνω τοὺς φόβους εἶναι βρότοις,
Καὶ τὰς πονήσεις τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ βίῳ,
Ἐκ τῆς ὑπερθε περιφορᾶς, ἵν' ἀστραπὰς
Κατείδεν οὔσας, δεινά τε κτυπήματα
Βροντῆς, τό, τ' ἀστερωπὸν οὐρανοῦ δέμας,
Κρόνου καλὸν ποίκιλμα, τέκτονος σοφοῦ·
Ὅθεν τε λαμπρὸς ἀστέρων στείχει χορὸς,
Ὁ, δ' ὑγρὸς εἰς γῆν ὄμβρος εἰσπορεύεται.
Τοιούσδε περιέστησεν ἀνθρώποις φόβους.
Δι' οὓς καλῶς τε τῷ λόγῳ κατῴκισε
Τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ ἐν πρέποντι χωρίῳ,
Τὴν ἀνομίαν τε τοῖς νόμοις κατέσβεσεν.
Οὕτω δὲ πρῶτον οἶομαι πεῖσαί τινα
Θνητοὺς νομίζειν δαιμόνων εἶναι γένος.

There are many variations in the reading of this fragment; and I have every where chosen that which appeared to me the right. That Critias was the author, how much soever the critics seem inclined to favour the claim of Euripides, I make no scruple to assert. The difficulty lies here: Sextus Empiricus expressly gives it to Critias; and yet Plutarch is still more express for Euripides; names the *play* it belonged to; and adds this farther circumstance, that the poet chose to broach his impiety under the character of Sisyphus, in order to keep clear of the Laws. Thus two of the most knowing writers of Antiquity are supposed irreconcilable in a plain matter of fact. M. Petit, who has examined the matter at large [Observ. Miscell. lib. i. cap. 1.], declares for the authority of Plutarch. And M. Bayle has fully shewn the weakness of his reasoning in support of Plutarch's claim. [Crit. Dict. Art. CRITIAS, Rem. H.] Petit's System is to this effect, that there is an *hiatus* in the text of Sextus: That a Copyist, from whom all the existent MSS. are derived, when he came to Critias, unwarily jumped over the passage quoted from him, together with Sextus's observation of Euripides's being in the same sentiments, and so joined the *name* of Critias and the *Iambics* of Euripides together. But this is such a liberty of conjecturing, as would unsettle all the monuments of Antiquity. I take the true solution of the difficulty to be this: Critias, a man, as the Ancients deliver him to us, of atheistic principles, and a fine poetic genius, composed these *Iambics* for the private solace of his Fraternity; which were not kept so close but that they got air, and came to the knowledge of Euripides; to whom the general stream of antiquity concurs in giving a very virtuous and religious character, notwithstanding the iniquitous insinuations of Plutarch to the contrary. And the Tragic Poet, being to draw the Atheist, Sisyphus, artfully projected to put these *Iambics* into his mouth: for by this means the sentiments would be sure to be natural, as taken from real life; and the poet safe from the danger of being called to account for them. And supposing this to be the case, Plutarch's account becomes very reasonable; who tells us, the Poet delivered this atheistic doctrine by a dramatic character, to evade the justice of the Areopagus; but, without this, it can by no means be admitted: For, thinly to screen

impiety by the mere interposition of the Drama, which was an important part in their festivals, and under the constant eye of the Magistrate, was a poor way of evading the penetration and severity of that formidable judicature, how good a shift soever it might prove against modern penal Laws. But the giving the known verses of Critias to his Atheist, was a safe way of keeping under cover. For all resentment must needs fall on the real author; especially when, it was seen, they were only produced for condemnation, as will now be shown. Without doubt, the chief motive Euripides had in his contrivance, was the satisfaction of exposing a very wicked man; in which he had nothing from his adversary's power to deter him, for Critias was then a private man; the *Sisyphus* being *acted* in the 91st Olymp. and the tyranny of the Thirty not beginning till the latter end of the 93d. But what is above all, the genius and cast of that particular Drama wonderfully favoured his design: for the *Sisyphus* was the last of a *tetralogy* (τετραλογία τραγικῶν δραμάτων) or a *satiric tragedy*, in which species of poetry, a licence something resembling that of the *old comedy*, of branding evil citizens, was indulged; and where the same custom of parodying the verses of rival poets was in use. And we may be sure that Euripides, who was wont to satirize his fellow-writers in his serious tragedies (as where in his *Electra* he ridicules the *discovery* in the *Choëphoroi* of *Æschylus*) would be little disposed to spare them in this ludicrous kind of composition. Admitting this to be the case; it could not but be, that, for a good while after, these *Iambics* would be quoted by some as Critias's, whose *property* they were; and by others, as Euripides's, who had got the *use*, and in whose Tragedy they were found; and by both with reason. But in after-times this matter was forgotten or not attended to; and then some took them for Euripides's, exclusive of the right of Critias; and others, on the contrary: And as a Copyist fancied this or that man the author, so they read the text. Of this, we have a remarkable instance in the 35th verse, where the transcriber, imagining the fragment to be the Tragic Poet's, chose to read,

Ὅθεν τε λαμπρὸς ἀστέρος στείχει μύδρος.

Because this expresses the peculiar Physiology of Anaxagoras, the preceptor of Euripides; which Mr. Barnes thought a convincing proof of the fragment's being really his: whereas that reading makes a sense defective and impertinent; the *true* being evidently this of Grotius:

Λαμπρὸς ἀστέρων στείχει χορός.

And thus, I suppose, Plutarch and Sextus may be well reconciled.

P. 19. LL. The exquisitely learned Author of the *English Commentary and Notes on Horace's Art of Poetry*, has with admirable acumen detected and exposed the same kind of mistake in the dramatic Poets. Who when, as he observes, they were become sensible of the preference of *Plays of character* to *Plays of intrigue*, never rested till they ran into this other extreme. But hear this fine writer in his own words:—

"The view of the comic scene being to delineate characters, this end, I suppose, will be attained most perfectly by making those characters as *universal* as possible. For thus the person shown in the drama being the representative of all characters of the same kind, furnishes, in the highest degree, the entertainment of *humour*. But then this universality must be such as agrees not to *our idea of the possible* effects of the character, as conceived in the *abstract*; but to the *actual* exertion of its powers which experience justifies, and common life allows. MOLIERE, and before him, PLAUTUS, had offended in this; that, for a picture of the *avaricious man*

they presented us with the fantastic unpleasing draught of the *passion of avarice*.—This is not to copy Nature, which affords no specimen of a man turned all into a single passion. No metamorphosis could be more strange or incredible. Yet portraits of this vicious taste are the admiration of common starers.—But if the reader would see the extravagance of building dramatic manners on *abstract ideas* in its full light, he need only turn to Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*; which, under the name of a play of character, is, in fact, unnatural, wholly chimerical, and unlike any thing we observe in real life. Yet this comedy has always had its admirers. And *Randolph*, in particular, was so taken with the design, that he seems to have formed his *Muse's Looking-glass* in express imitation of it." *Dissertation on the several provinces of the Drama*, p. 239.

When Pliny therefore compliments Silarion for giving one of his statues the expression not of an *angry man*, but of *anger itself*, either it is a mere flight of rhetoric, to show the just force of the artist's expression: or, if, indeed, the ferocious air did exceed the traces of humanity, the Philosopher's praise was misapplied, and the Statuary's figure was a *caricature*.

P. 23. MM. His picture of Scipio Africanus is, however, so very curious, that the learned reader will not be displeased to find it in this place:—

"Quam ubi ab re tanto impetu acta solicitudinem curamque hominum animadvertit, advocata concione, ita de ætate sua imperioque mandato, et bello quod gerendum esset, magno elatoque animo disseruit, ut impleret homines certioris spei, quam quantam fides promissi humani, aut ratio ex fiducia rerum subjicere solet. Fuit enim Scipio, non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab juventa in ostentationem earum compositus: pleraque apud multitudinem, aut per nocturnas visa species, aut velut divinitus, mente monita, agens: *sive ut ipse capti quadam superstitione animi, sive ut imperia consiliaque, velut sorte oraculi missa, sine cunctatione assequeretur*. Ad hæc jam inde ab initio præparans animos, ex quo togam virilem sumpsit, nullo die prius ullam publicam privatamque rem egit, quam in Capitolium iret, ingressusque ædem consideret, et plerumque tempus solus in secreto ibi tereret. Hic mos, qui per omnem vitam servabatur, *seu consulto, seu temere*, vulgatæ opinioni fidem apud quosdam fecit, stirpis eum divinæ virum esse, retulitque famam, in Alexandro Magno prius vulgatam, et vanitate et fabula parem, anguis immanis concubitu conceptum, et in cubiculo matris ejus persæpe visam prodigii ejus speciem, interventuque hominum evolutam repente, atque ex oculis elapsam. His miraculis numquam ab ipso elusa fides est; quin potius aucta arte quadam, nec abnuendi tale quicquam, nec palam affirmandi."—*Hist.* lib. xxvi.

Hence we see with what judgment Cicero in his *Republics* makes the *dream sent from Jove*, concerning a future state, to be communicated to his Scipio.

P. 24. NN. That great observer of Nature, Cervantes, having made Sancho (to save himself from the vexation of a sleeveless errand) palm upon his Master a supposititious Dulcinea, when the Squire comes to relate this adventure to the Duchess, she extols his ingenuity so highly, that he begins to suspect himself tricked by the Enchanter into his own contrivance; who had presented him with a *true* Dulcinea in Masquerade, while he thought he was barefacedly imposing on his Master a false one.

P. 40. OO. This ingenious conceit of Seedcorn did not escape the Abbé Pluche, who in his *Histoire du Ciel*, hath *judiciously* employed it for the foundation of a reformed system on this matter; which, however, brings us to the same place, by a back way; and ends in this, *that the Gods were not dead men deified*.

DEDICATION

OF THE FOURTH EDITION OF BOOKS IV. V. AND VI. OF

THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES,

MDCCLXV.

TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM LORD MANSFIELD,

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

My Lord,

The purpose of this Address is not to make a return for the favours I have received from you, for they are many and great; but to add one more security to myself, from the malice of the present and the forgetfulness of future times. A purpose, which though it may be thought less sober than the other, is certainly not more selfish. In plain terms, I would willingly contrive to live, and go down to posterity under the protection of your Name and Character: from which, that Posterity, in the administration of public justice, must receive their instruction; and in the duties of private life, if they have any virtuous ambition, will take their example.—But let not this alarm you. I intend not to be your Panegyrist. To praise you for Eloquence, would be to praise you for a thing below your Character, unless it were for that species of Eloquence which Milton describes, and You have long practised. "True Eloquence," says he, "I find to be none, but the serious and hearty love of Truth: And that, whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest Charity to infuse the knowledge of them into Others, WHEN SUCH A MAN WOULD SPEAK, his words, like so many nimble and airy Servitors, trip about him at command, and in well-ordered Files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places."

To live in the voice and memory of Men is the flattering dream of every adventurer in Letters: and for me who boast the rare felicity of being honoured with the friendship of two or three superior Characters, Men endowed with virtue to atone for a bad age, and of abilities to make a bad age a good one, for me not to aspire to the best mode of this ideal existence, the being carried down to remote ages along with those who will never die, would be a strange insensibility to human glory.

But as the protection I seek from your Lordship is not like those blind Asylums founded by Superstition to skreen iniquity from civil vengeance, but of the nature of a TEMPLE OF JUSTICE, to vindicate and support the Innocent, You will expect to know the claim I have to it; and how, on being seized with that epidemic malady of idle, visionary men, the *projecting to instruct and reform the Public*, I came to stand in need of it.

I had lived to see—it is a plain and artless tale I have to tell—I had lived to see what Law-givers have always seemed to dread, as the certain prognostic of public ruin, that fatal Crisis when RELIGION HATH LOST IT'S HOLD ON THE MINDS OF A PEOPLE.

I had observed, almost the rise and origin, but surely very much of the progress of this evil: for it was neither so rapid to elude a distinct view, nor yet so slow as to endanger one's forgetting or not observing the relation which its several parts bore to one another: And to trace the steps of this evil may not be altogether useless to those, whoever they may be, who, as the Instruments of Providence, are destined to counter-work its bad effects.

The most painful circumstance in this relation is, (as your Lordship will feel) that the mischief began amongst our friends; by men who loved their Country; but were too eagerly intent on one part only of their Object, the security of its CIVIL LIBERTY.

To trace up this matter to its source, we need go no further back than to the happy Accession of that illustrious House to whom we owe all which is in the power of grateful Monarchs, at the head of a free People, to bestow; I mean, the full enjoyment of the common rights of Subjects.

It fortuned that at this time, some warm friends of the Accession, newly gotten into power, had too hastily perhaps suspected that the CHURCH (or at least that party of CHURCHMEN which had usurped the name) was become inauspicious to the sacred Æra from whence we were to date the establishment of our civil happiness; and therefore deemed it good policy to lessen the credit of a body of men, who had been long in high reverence with the People, and who had so lately and so scandalously abused their influence in the opprobrious affair of Sacheverell. To this end they invited some learned men, who in the preceding reign had served the common cause, to take up the pen once more against these its most pestilent enemies, the JACOBITE CLERGY. They readily assumed the task, and did it so effectually, that under the professed design of confuting and decrying the usurpations of a popish Hierarchy, they virtually deprived the CHURCH of every power and privilege, which, as a simple Society, she had a claim to; and, on the matter, delivered her up gagged and bound, as the rebel-Creature of the State. Their success (with the

prejudice of Power, and what is still stronger, the power of Prejudice, on their side) became yet the easier, as the Tory Clergy, who opposed these Erastian notions, so destructive to the very being of a Church, reasoned and disputed against the Innovators on the principles commonly received, but indeed supported on no sounder a bottom than the authority of Papal or (if they like it better) of Puritanical usurpations: principles, to speak without reserve, ill founded in themselves, and totally inconsistent with the free administration of Civil government.

In this then, that is, in humbling disaffected Churchmen, the friends of Liberty and the Accession carried their point. But in conducting a purpose so laudable at any time, and so necessary at that time, They had, as we observe, gone much too far; for instead of reducing the Church within its native bounds, and thereby preserving it from its two greatest dishonours, the becoming factious, or the being made the tool of Faction, which was all that true Politics required, and all perhaps that these Politicians then thought of; their Instruments, by discrediting every right it had, and even stripping it of some of them, in a little time brought it into general contempt.

But this was not the worst. These Enemies of obnoxious Churchmen found much assistance in the forward carriage of the Enemies of Religion itself; who, at this time, under pretence of seconding the views of good Patriots, and serving the State against the encroachments of Church-power, took all occasions to vent their malice against Revelation itself: And Passion, inflamed by opposition, mixing with Politics throughout the course of this affair, these Lay-writers were connived at; and, to mortify rebellious Churchmen still more, even cried up for their free reasonings against Religion, just as the Clergy-writers had been, for their exploits against Church-government. And one man in particular, the Author of a well-known book called the *Independent Whig*, early a favourite, and to the last a Pensioner, carried on, in the most audacious and insulting manner, these two several attacks, together: A measure supported perhaps in the execution, by its coinciding with some Statesmen's *private opinions*; though the most trite maxims of Government might have taught such to separate their private from their *public* Character. However, certain it is, that the attack never ceased operating till all these various kinds of Free-writing were gotten into the hands of the PEOPLE.

And now the business was done: and the sober Friends of the Government were become, before they were aware, the Dupes of their own policy. In their endeavours to take off the influence of a Church, or rather of a party of Churchmen inauspicious to a free

State, they had occasioned at least, the loosning all the ties which till then Religion had on the minds of the Populace: and which till then, Statesmen had ever thought were the best security the Magistrate had for their obedience. For though a *rule of right* may direct the Philosopher to a principle of action; and the *point of honour* may keep up the thing called Manners amongst Gentlemen; yet nothing but *Religion* can ever fix a sober standard of behaviour amongst the common People.

But those bad effects not immediately appearing, our Politicians were so little apprehensive that the matter had already gone too far, that they thought of nothing but how to improve some COLLATERAL advantages they had procured by the bargain; which, amongst other uses, they saw likewise, would be sure to keep things in the condition to which they were reduced. For now Religion having lost its hold on the People; the Ministers of Religion were of no further consequence to the State; nor were Statesmen any longer under the hard necessity of seeking out the most eminent, for the honours of their Profession: And without necessity, how few would submit to such a drudgery! For Statesmen of a certain pitch are naturally apprehensive of a little sense, and not easily brought, whether from experience or conviction, to form ideas of a great deal of gratitude, in those they have to deal with. All went now according to their wishes. They could now employ Church-honours more directly to the use of Government, that is, of their own, by conferring them on such subjects as most gratified their taste or humour, or served best to strengthen their connexions with the Great. This would of course give the finishing stroke to their System. For though stripping the Church of all power and authority, and exposing it naked and defenceless to its enemies, had abated men's reverence for it; and the detecting Revelation of imposture, serving only for a State-engine, had destroyed all love for Religion; yet they were the INTRIGUES OF CHURCH-PROMOTION which would make the People despise the whole Ordinance.

Nor did the hopes of a better generation give much relief to good men's present fears or feelings. The People had been reasoned out of their religion, by such Logic as it was: and if ever they were to be brought back to a sober sense of their condition, it was evident they must be reasoned into it again. Little thought and less learning were sufficient to persuade men of what their vices inclined them to believe; but it must be no common share of both, which, in opposition to those vices, shall be able to bring them to themselves. And where is that to be expected, or likely to be found? In the course of forty or fifty years (for I am not speaking of present transactions) a new Generation or two are sprung up: And those, whom their Pro-

fession has dedicated to this service, Experience has taught, that the talents requisite for pushing their fortune, lie very remote from such as enable men to figure in a rational defence of Religion. And it is very natural to think that, in general, they will be chiefly disposed to cultivate those qualities on which they see their Patrons lay the greatest weight.

I have, my Lord, been the longer and the plainer in deducing the causes of a recent evil, for the sake of doing justice to the ENGLISH CLERGY; who in this instance, as in many others, have been forced to bear the blame of their Betters. How common is it to hear the irreligion of the times ascribed to the vices or the indiscretions of Churchmen! Yet how provoking is such an insult! when every child knows that this accusation is only an Echo from the lewd clamours of those very Scribblers whose flagicious writings have been the principal cause of these disorders.

In this disastrous state of things, it was my evil stars inclined me to write. I began, as these Politicians had done, with the CHURCH. My purpose, I am not ashamed to own, was to repel the cruel inroads made upon its Rights and Privileges; but, I thank God, on honester principles than those which have been employed to prop up, with Gothic buttresses, a Jacobite or High-Church Hierarchy. The success was what I might expect. I was read; and by a few indifferent and intelligent Judges, perhaps, approved. But as I made the CHURCH neither a Slave nor a Tyrant (and under one or other of these ideas of it, almost all men had now taken party) *The Alliance between Church and State*, though formed upon a Model actually existing before our eyes, was considered as an Utopian refinement. It is true, that so far as my own private satisfaction went, I had no great reason to complain. I had the honour to be told by the heads of one Party, that they allowed my *principles*; * and by the heads of the other, that they espoused my *conclusion*; † which however amounted only to this, that the One was for LIBERTY, however they would chuse to employ it; and the Other for POWER, however they could come at it.

I had another important view in writing this book.—Though nobody had been so shameless to deny *the use of Religion to civil Government*, yet certain friends of Liberty, under the terror of the mischiefs done to Society by Fanaticism, or Religion run mad, had, by a strange preposterous policy, encouraged a clamour against ESTABLISHMENTS: the only *mode* of Religion which can prevent what they pretended to fear; that is, its degenerating into Fanaticism. It is true, had these Clamourers not found more enemies to the *Establishment* than they had made, (enemies on solider grounds,

* Bishop Ho. † Bishop Sh.

to wit, the sense of their exclusion from the emoluments of a national Church) an *Establishment* had hardly given umbrage to the appointed Protectors of it. But these had the Sectaries to caress: and a private and pressing interest will often get the better of the most indispensible maxims of good policy.

It was for this reason, my Lord, that so much of the book is employed in the defence of a *national* or an *established* Religion; since, under such a Form, FANATICISM can never greatly spread: and that little there will always be of this critical eruption of our diseased Nature, may have the same good effect on the *Established Religion* which weak Factions are observed to have on the administration of Government; it may keep men more decent, alert, and attentive to the duties of their Charge.

Where then was the wonder, that a subject so managed, and at such a juncture, should be violently opposed, or to speak more truely, be grossly misrepresented. Those in the new system accused me of making the State a slave to the Church; those in the old, of making the Church a slave to the State: and one passionate Declaimer, as I remember, who cared equally for Church and State, was pleased to say, that, the better to *banter* mankind, I had done both.*

Having thus, in the foolish confidence of youth, cast in my Goose-quill, to stem a torrent that in a little time was to bear down all before it; I proceeded, with the same good faith, in another romantic effort, The support of RELIGION itself.

You, my Lord, who feel so humanely for the Injured, on whomsoever POPULAR INJUSTICE may chance to fall, have hardly forgotten the strange reception with which this my fair endeavour was entertained; and principally by Those whose interests I was defending. It awaked a thousand black passions and idiot prejudices. The Zealots inflamed the Bigots.

'Twas the time's plague,
When madmen led the blind.

For, the noble prosecution of real Impiety was now over; or, at least, no longer serious. What remained, to belye a zeal for Religion, was a ridiculous Tartuffism; ridiculous because without the power to persecute: otherwise, sufficiently serious, as it was encouraged by men, at that time, in eminence of place.† For false Zeal and unbelieving Politics always concur, and often find their account in suppressing NOVELTIES.

But things, unnaturally kept up in a state of violence, in a little time subside: And though the first Writers, let loose against me, came on as if they would devour; yet the design of those who, at spring and fall, have ever since annually succeeded them, has been, I

* Lord B. † Archbishop P.

think, only to eat. The imputation that yet sticks to my notions, amongst many well-meaning men, is, that they are PARADOXICAL. And though this be now made the characteristic of my Writings, yet, whether from the amusement which *Paradoxes* afford, or from whatever other cause of malice or curiosity, the Public seem still sufficiently eager to see what, in spite of the Argument, and perhaps in spite to it, they are pleased to call my CONCLUSION. And as in your Lordship's progress through your high Stations (for I will not take my comparison lower while my subject is public favour) men no sooner found you in one than they saw you necessary for a higher; so every preceding Volume seemed to excite a stronger appetite for the following; till, as I am told, it came to a kind of impatience for the *last:* which must have been strangely obstinate if in all this time it has not subsided. And yet it is very possible it may not: For the good-natured pleasure of seeing an Author fill up the measure of his Paradoxes is worth waiting for. Of all men, I would not appear *vain* before your Lordship; since, of all men, You best know how ill it would become my *pride*. Nor am I indeed in much danger to have my head turned by this flattering circumstance, while I remember that RABELAIS tells us, and I dare say he tells us truth, that the Public of his times were full as impatient for the *conclusion* of the unfinished story of the giant Gargantua and his son Pantagruel.

I have now, both leisure and inclination to gratify this Public fancy, after having put my last hand to these two Volumes: A work of reasoning; and though fairly pursued, and, as I thought, brought home to its CONCLUSION, yet interspersed with variety of Philologic dissertations: For I had to do with a sort of Readers not less delicate than that fastidious Frenchman, who tells us in so many words, that —*La* REASON *a tort des qu'elle* ENNUYE. As my purpose therefore was to bring *Reason* into good Company, I saw it proper now and then, to make her wait without, lest by her constant presence she should happen to be thought tiresome. Yet still I was careful not to betray her rights: and the Dissertations brought in to relieve the oppressed attention of the Reader, was not more for his sake than for hers. If I was large in my discourse concerning the nature and end of the Grecian MYSTERIES, it was to shew the sense the ancient Lawgivers had of the *use of Religion to Society:* and if I expatiated on the origine and use of the Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS, it was to vindicate *the logical propriety of the Prophetic language and sentiment.* For I should have been ashamed to waste so much time in classical amusements, and at last to join them to your Lordship's Name, had they not had an intimate relation to the things most connected with Man and his interests.

I have detained your Lordship with a tedious Story; and still I

must beg your patience a little longer. We are not yet got to the end of a bad prospect—While I, and others of my Order, have been thus vainly contending *pro Aris* with the unequal arms of Reason, we had the further displeasure to find, that our Rulers (who, as I observed above, had needlessly suffered those ties of Religion to be unloosed, by which, till of late, the passions of the People had been restrained) were struggling, almost as unsuccessfully, *pro Focis* with a corrupt and debauched Community.

General History, in its Records of the rise and decay of States, hath delivered down to us, amongst the more important of its lessons, a faithful detail of every symptom, which is wont to forerun and to prognosticate their approaching ruin. It might be justly deemed the extravagance of folly to believe, that those very *Signs*, which have constantly preceded the fall of other States, should *signify* nothing fatal or alarming to our own. On the other hand, I would not totally condemn, in such a dearth of Religious provision, even that species of piety, which arises from a national pride, and flatters us with being the peculiar attention of Heaven; who will avert those evils from his favoured People, which the natural course of things would otherwise make inevitable: For, indeed, we have seen (and, what is as strange as the blessing itself, the little attention which is paid to it) something very like such an extraordinary protection already exerted; which resists, and, till now, hath arrested, the torrent just ready to overwhelm us. The circumstance, I mean, is this:—That while every other part of the Community seems to lie *in fœce Romuli*, the administration of Public Justice in England, runs as pure as where nearest to its cœlestial Source; purer than Plato dared venture to conceive it, even in his feigned Republic.

Now, whether we are not to call this, the interposing hand of Providence; for sure I am, all History doth not afford another instance of so much purity and integrity in one part, coexisting with so much decay and so many infirmities in the rest: Or whether, profounder Politicians may not be able to discover some hidden force, some peculiar virtue in the essential parts, or in the well-adapted frame, of our excellent Constitution:—In either case, this singular and shining Phænomenon, hath afforded a chearful consolation to thinking men, amidst all this dark aspect from our disorders and distresses.

But the evil Genius of England would not suffer us to enjoy it long; for as if envious of this last support of Government, he hath now instigated his blackest Agents to the very extent of their malignity; who, after the most villainous insults on all other Orders and Ranks in Society, have at length proceeded to calumniate even the King's Supreme Court of Justice, under its ablest and most unblemished Administration.

After this, who will not be tempted to despair of his Country, and say, with the good old man in the Scene,

> ——— "Ipsa si cupiat SALUS
> Servare, prorsus non potest, hanc FAMILIAM."

ATHENS, indeed, fell by degenerate manners like our own: but she fell the later, and with the less dishonour, for having always kept inviolable that reverence which she, and indeed all Greece, had been long accustomed to pay to her August Court of AREOPAGUS. Of this modest reserve, amidst a general disorder, we have a striking instance in the conduct of one of the principal Instruments of her ruin. The witty ARISTOPHANES began, as all such Instruments do (whether with wit or without) by deriding *Virtue* and *Religion*; and this, in the brightest exemplar of both, the godlike SOCRATES. The Libeller went on to attack all conditions of Men. He calumniated the Magistrates; he turned the Public Assemblies into ridicule; and, with the most *beastly* and *blasphemous* abuse, outraged their Priests, their Altars, nay, the very established Gods themselves.—But here he stopped; and, unawed by all besides, whether of divine or human, he did not dare to cast so much as one licentious trait against that venerable Judicature. A circumstance, which the Readers of his witty ribauldry, cannot but observe with surprize and admiration;—not at the Poet's modesty, for he had none, but at the remaining virtue of a debauched and ruined People; who yet would not bear to see that clear Fountain of Justice defiled by the odious Spawn of Buffoons and Libellers.

Nor was this the only consolation which ATHENS had in its calamities. Its pride was flattered in falling by apostate Wits of the first Order: while the Agents of public mischief amongst us, with the hoarse notes and blunt pens of Ballad-makers, not only accelerate our ruin, but accumulate our disgraces: Wretches the most contemptible for their parts, the most infernal for their manners.

To conclude. Great Men, my Lord, are sent for the Times; the Times are fitted for the rest, of common make. ERASMUS and the present CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND (whatever he may think) were sent by Providence, for the sake of humanity, to adorn two periods, when RELIGION at one time, and SOCIETY at another, most needed their support; I do not say, of their great talents, but of that HEROIC MODERATION so necessary to allay the violence of public disorders: for to be MODERATE amidst party-extremes, requires no common degree of patriotic courage.

Such characters rarely fail to perform much of the task for which they were sent; but never without finding their labour ill repaid, even by those in whose service it was employed. That *glory of the Priesthood* left the World, he had so nobly benefited, with this tender com-

plaint,—"Hoc tempore nihil scribi aut AGI potest quod non pateat CALUMNIÆ; nec raro fit, ut dum agis CIRCUMSPECTISSIME utramque Partem offendas, quum in utraque sint qui PARITER INSANIANT." A complaint, fated, alas! to be the motto of every Man who greatly serves his Country.

I have the honour to be,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obliged, most obedient and faithful Servant,

W. GLOUCESTER.

February 2, 1765.

DEDICATION

OF THE FIRST EDITION OF BOOKS IV. V. AND VI. OF

THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES,

MDCCXL.

TO THE JEWS.

SIRS,

THE purpose of this Work being to prove the DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES, it will, I hope, have so much merit with you, as to engage your serious attention to the following Address; which, from the divinity of Moses's Law, as in this work demonstrated, attempts to shew you, how, by necessary consequence, it follows, that the religion of JESUS is also divine.

But, while I am laying my conclusions before you, let me beseech you not to suffer yourselves to be prejudiced against the evidence, by such kind of fallacies as these; *Both Jews and Christians confess that the religion of Moses came from* GOD: *but one only, of these two Sects, believe the divinity of that of* JESUS: *the safest way, therefore, is to adhere to what both sides own to be true.* An argument, which however like, hath not, in all its parts, even so much force as what the idolatrous Romanists are wont to urge against the Reformed—*That as both parties hold salvation may be had in the church of Rome, and only one party holds it may be had in the churches of the Reformed, it is safest to adhere to Popery:* which I dare say you laugh at for its impertinence, how much soever you may have deluded

others by the same kind of sophistry.* For if the Roman catholics, or you, will not take our word for Christianity or Reformation, why do you build any thing upon it, in favour of Popery or Judaism? Both of you will say, perhaps, "because we are prejudiced in the former conclusion; but that the mere force of evidence extorts the latter from us even against ourselves." This is easily said; and may, perhaps, be easily believed, by those who taking their Religion from their ancestors, are apt to measure Truth only by its antiquity. But genuine Christianity offering itself only to the private judgments of men, every sincere enquirer believes as he finds cause. So that if either you or they would give yourselves the trouble to examine our motives, it would appear, that the very same reasons which force us to conclude that Christianity in general, and the Reformed religion in particular, are true, force us at the same time to conclude that the Jewish was from God; and that salvation may be obtained, though with much difficulty, in the church of Rome. Either, therefore, the whole of our conclusion is prejudice, or no part of it is so.

As I would not have you harden your habitual obstinacy in favour of your own Religion, by bad arguments; so neither will I use any such to draw you over to ours.

I shall not therefore attempt that way to bring you to the truth, which some amongst us, little acquainted, as should seem, either with your Dispensation, or the Christian, imagine they have discovered: Who, taking it for granted that the Mosaic Law can be defended only by the Gospel of Jesus, pretend you must first acknowledge our Religion, before you can support your own: and so, which is very hard, will not allow you to have any reasonable assurance of the truth of your Religion till you have forsaken it.† But I would not urge you with such kind of reasoning, if it were only for this, that I suspect you may not be such utter strangers to the New Testament as not to know, that it lays the foundation of Christianity in Judaism. Besides, right reason, as well as St. Paul (which with us, at present, are still the same thing) would teach you to reply to such Convertists: *Boast not against the branches of the native olive-tree: but if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee.*" ‡

Much less would I employ, in this Address, the quainter project of

* This, the miserable *Uriel Acosta* tells us, was one of the principal arguments that induced him to embrace *Judaism*.—"Præterea veteri fœderi fidem dabant tam Judæi quam Christiani; novo autem fœderi soli Christiani."—*Exemplar humanæ Vitæ*, p. 346, in fin. *Amica Collat.* PHIL. A LIMBORCH. † "Dr. *Rogers* has declared as I remember in one of his sermons, that he could not believe the truth of MOSES's pretensions, were it not for the confirmation given to them by the Gospel. This I take to be a dangerous assertion, that saps the very foundation of Christianity; and supersedes at once the whole purpose of your intended work, by denying any original intrinsic character of divinity to the institution of MOSES."—DR. MIDDLETON'S *Letter to Mr. W. Nov.* 30, 1736. Vol. v. of his Works. ‡ Rom. xi. 18.

our common Adversary, the FREE-THINKER. For you are to know, that as those I spoke of before, make Christianity too recent, so these make it as much too old; *even as old as the Creation.* Those fall short of the support of Judaism; these overleap it; and assure us, that the only way to bring you to believe in JESUS is to prove Moses an impostor. So, says a late writer: who, by the singular happiness of a good choice, having learnt his *morality* of our Tyndal, and his *philosophy* of your Spinoza, calls himself, by the courtesy of England, a MORAL PHILOSOPHER.*

The road I have taken is indeed very different: and the principles I go upon for *your* conversion, will equally serve, to *their* confutation. For I have shewn that the Law of Moses was from GOD; and, at the same time, that it is only PREPARATORY to the more perfect Religion of JESUS.

The limits of this Address will not allow me to point out to you any other arguments than what arise immediately from those important circumstances of the Law, discoursed of in this Work. Much less shall I have room to urge you with a repetition of those reasonings, which Christian writers have already used with so superior a force against you.

Let us see then what it is that keeps you still enslaved to a galling Discipline, so long after the free offers of Redemption. The two principal reasons, I suppose, are these:

I. First, a presumption that the Religion of Moses is perfect; so full and complete in all its members as to be abundantly capable of supplying the spiritual wants of men, by preparing and fitting human nature for the enjoyment of the supreme Good, and by proposing and procuring the possession of that Good. Hence you conclude, and were your presumption well grounded, not unreasonably, that the Law was given as a perpetual ordinance, to be observed throughout all your generations for ever.

II. The second is a persuasion that the Prophecies (a necessary credential of the Messiah) which, we say, relate to JESUS, relate not to him in a *primary* sense; and that a *secondary* sense is a fanatic vision raised by deluded Christians to uphold a groundless claim.

For thus one of our common enemies, who hath inforced your arguments against us, tells the world, you are accustomed to speak. *All the books written by Jews against the Christian Religion* (says he) *some of which are printed, and others go about Europe in manuscript, chiefly attack the New Testament for the allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament therein, and with the greatest insolence and contempt imaginable on that account; and oppose to them a single and literal interpretation as the true sense of the Old Testament. And*

* MORGAN.

*accordingly the allegorical interpretations given by Christian expositors of the Prophecies are now the grand obstacle and stumbling-block in the way of the conversion of the Jews to Christianity.**

These, it seems, are the two great impediments to your conversion. Give me leave then to shew you how the reasoning of this book removes them.

I. As to the *perfection* of your Religion, it is here proved, that, though it indeed had that specific perfection, which no Religion coming from GOD can want,† that is, a full capacity of attaining its end, which was the separation of the race of Abraham from an idolatrous world; yet that it was *perfect* only in this restrained and relative sense. As to absolute independent perfection, the Law had it not.

1. That it had no *perfection* with regard to the *improvement of human nature* for the enjoyment of the supreme Good, I have shewn from the genius of your whole religious Worship; and its general direction against the various idolatries of those early ages. And in this I have a Doctor of your own, the famous MAIMONIDES, for my warrant: who indeed little thought, while he was proving this truth in so invincible a manner, that he was preparing the more reasonable part of his Brethren for the reception of the Gospel. It is true, some of your later writers have seen better into this consequence: and *Orobio*, in his dispute with Limborch, hath part of a chapter‡ to disprove, or, rather, to deny the fact. But if your religious Worship consist only of a multifarious burdensome Ritual, relative to the Superstitions of those early times, it must needs be altogether unable to perfect human nature in such a manner, as you do and must allow to be God's design, in a revealed Religion, universal and perpetual.

2. Again, as to the second branch of this perfection, the *proposing and procuring the possession of the supreme Good:* I have shewn that the Law of Moses revealed NO FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments, but studiously declined the mention of any doctrine preparatory to it: that no Mosaical Tradition supplied this omission: and that it did not become a national doctrine amongst you till the later times of your republic; when it arose from various and discordant sources; and was brought in on foreign occasions. But it is certain, that That Religion must fall very short of absolute perfection, which wants a doctrine so essential to Religion in general.§ And

* *Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, pp. 82, 83. † See this proved against Lord Bolingbroke, book v. sect. 2. ‡ The title of the chapter is: "Quod ritualia non erant præcisè ut Israëli ab aliis populis separaretur; neque lex neque populus propter Messiam, sed hic propter populum, ut ei inserviret."—P. 86, ed. Goud. § Here Dr. Stebbing charges me with *contradiction;* [Exam. p. 9.] first in asserting, that *a future state made no part of the Religion of Moses;* and then that a *future state was essential to Religion in general.* Now this which he is pleased to call a *contradiction*, I brought as an argument for the divinity of the Law; and sup-

this, you yourselves at length seem to have been aware of: for though, during the existence of your Republic, the deniers of a future state, such as the Sadducees, were not cut off from the rights of the Synagogue; yet since that time, it hath been generally held by your Doctors for a *prime* cause of excommunication:—One of them says, that it is *the very fundamental of fundamentals;* *—Another, that *to deny this is the same thing as to deny* GOD *himself, and the Divinity of his Law;* † and a third, that *even to believe it, and yet not believe that it was revealed by the Law, is the same thing as not to believe it at all.*‡

But you will do well, when you have considered the force of those reasonings by which I prove a future state not to be revealed by the LAW of Moses, to go on with me, (for the free thoughts of many amongst you, concerning Revelation in general, give scandal to the

posed it to be conclusive by its consistency.—Where I speak of *Religion in general,* I explain my meaning to be, a *Religion universal and perpetual,* such as Natural Religion and the Christian; and from thence I argue, that if a future state be essential to a *Religion universal and perpetual;* and a future state be not found in the Religion of Moses, that then the Religion of Moses was not *universal and perpetual,* but local and temporary; the point I was inforcing, in order to bring over the Jews to the Gospel of Jesus. If the Doctor supposes, that what is essential in one species of Religion must be essential in the other, this is supposing them not to be of different species, but one and the same; that is, it supposes, that they are and that they are not of the same species.—But, continues our Doctor, "If you should say, that your argument is levelled against the Jews, considered only in their present state, in which they are not under an equal Providence, *this answer will not serve you.* For as in their present state they are not under any extraordinary Providence, so neither do they want the doctrine of a future state, of which you tell us they have been in possession long ago," p. 11. What pains does this learned Doctor take to make my application to the Jews, in favour of Christianity, ineffectual! Your Religion (say I to them) teaches no future state. You are at present under the common unequal Providence of Heaven. How disconsolate is your condition! Not so bad neither, replies their Advocate, Doctor Stebbing. They NOW have a *future state.* How came they by it? By the *Law?* No matter, says he, they have it, and that is enough to destroy all the force of your persuasion to embrace the Gospel. Not altogether enough, good Doctor: for if they have not the future state by the *Law,* (and that truth I take for granted in this address to them, as I think I reasonably might, after I had proved it at large) their future state, even by their own confession, is a Phantom; and to gain the Substance there is no way left but to embrace the Gospel. They themselves own this truth: for in the words quoted below, they confess that *to believe a future state, and yet that it was not revealed by the* LAW, *is the same thing as not to believe it at all.*—It is a sad thing when Polemics or blacker passions have gotten so entire possession of a man's heart, that he cares not what harm he does to a common cause, or even to common sense, so he can but ANSWER the man or the opinion he happens to dislike.

* "Scripsit Rab. (Maimon.) p. m. Articulus fundamentalis decimus tertius agit de resurrectione, cujus rationem (quomodo se habeat) et fundamenta jam exposuimus. Quod si homo crediderit fundamenta illa omnia, seque illa credere declaraverit, ingreditur Ecclesiam Israëlis, et jubemur diligere illum, et misericordiam illi exhibere, et conversari cum illo juxta omnia, quæ præcepit Deus benedictus cuilibet erga proximum faciendæ.—Si quis autem vilipenderit hoc fundamentum excellentium fundamentorum, ecce exit ille ex Ecclesia, quippe qui abnegat articulum fidei, et vocatur impius ac Epicureus, amputatque plantas, quem odio habere et perdere jubemur."—*Ex beth Elohim.* Vid. DASSOVIUM *De Resurrectione,* ed. 1693. † "Hæc fides [de Resurrectione mortuorum]—numeretur inter articulos Legis et fundamenta ejus, quam qui negat, perinde facit acsi negaret esse Deum, legem esse a cœlo, et quod in aliis istis articulis tractatur."—R. SALOMO *apud* DASSOVIUM *De Resurrect.* ‡ "Oportet te scire articulum fidei de resurrectione mortuorum ex lege esse. Quod si quis fide firma crediderit resurrectionem mortuorum, non autem crediderit esse illam ex lege, ecce ille reputatur acsi hæc omnia negaret."—R. JEHUD. ZABARA *apud* DASSOV.

professors of more than one Religion) while I prove, from thence, by necessary consequence, that this LAW came from GOD: And, in conclusion, join with me in adoring the infinite Wisdom of the GOD of your Fathers, here so wonderfully displayed, in making one and the same circumstance a standing evidence of the divinity of the Mosaic Religion, and, at the same time, an irrefragable proof that it was preparatory only to the Christian; The logical result of all our reasoning being the confirmation of this sacred truth, long since enounced by a great Adept in your Law, That THE LAW MADE NOTHING PERFECT, BUT THE BRINGING IN OF A BETTER HOPE DID.*

Permit me to observe farther, that this rabbinical notion of a future state of rewards and punishments in the Mosaic Dispensation, which still encourages the remnant of your Nation to persist in rejecting the Gospel of Jesus, was the very prejudice which, in the first ages of Christianity, so superstitiously attached the Converts from Judaism, to the whole observance of the Law.

As a Corollary to all this, I have shewn, that the *punishment of Children for the crimes of their Parents*, which hath given a handle to the enemies of your Law to blaspheme, can be only well explained and vindicated on the Principle of *no future state* in the *religion of Moses:* And farther, that, on this Principle, all the inextricable embarras of your Rabbins, in their endeavours to reconcile the different accounts of Moses and the Prophets concerning that method of punishment, is intirely removed, and a perfect harmony and concord is seen to reign amongst them. But at the same time that the Principle does this, take notice, it disables you from accounting for the length of your present dispersion. For the only reason your best defender, Orobio, had to assign for it was, that *you now suffer not for your own sins, but for the sins of your Forefathers.* But the Principle which reconciles Moses and the Prophets, shews that this mode of punishment hath long since ceased.

II. In answer to the *second* part, your prejudices against the credentials of JESUS's Messiahship, for the want of rational evidence in a *secondary sense* of Prophecy; I have proved those prejudices to be altogether vain and groundless, 1. By tracing up the nature of human converse in speech and writing, from its early original; and from thence evincing, that a *secondary sense of Prophecies* is proper, rational, and conformable to the justest rules of grammar and logic. 2. By shewing that this method of information was so exactly suited to the occasion, that if ever you were to have a *Messiah* to complete your Law, the body of the Prophecies, relating to him, must needs be given in the very manner which those in dispute are actually given: For that, had these Prophecies recorded the nature of the Messiah's

* Heb. vii. 19.

Kingdom in plain and direct terms, it would have defeated the very end and purpose of the Law. And this, on reflexion, you will find a sufficient answer to those FOUR QUERIES into which your ablest Defender* has collected the whole strength of your cause.

As a Corollary, likewise, to this part, I shew, in order to reconcile you still farther to the Messiahship of JESUS, that the history of GOD'S Dispensations to your Fathers, even before his giving the Law, can never be rightly understood, or fully cleared from the objections of Unbelievers, but on the supposition of the redemption of mankind by the death and sufferings of JESUS. And of this I have given a convincing proof in the famous history of the *Command to Abraham* to offer up his Son. Which I prove to be no other than a REVELATION of that Redemption, delivered in action instead of words. This strongly corroborates the Mission of JESUS, and should incline you seriously to consider its force.—Here GOD reveals to your father Abraham the Redemption of Mankind by the death and passion of his Son. Why then, I ask you, should you not conclude with our learned Apostle, that *to Abraham and his seed the Promises being made, the Covenant that was confirmed before of* GOD *in* CHRIST, *the* LAW *which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul; that it should make the Promise of none effect?* †

Having thus shewn your Religion to be *partial, imperfect,* and *preparatory;* and consequently shewn the necessity of its *completion* by the teaching of a *Messiah;* to whose character in the person of JESUS, I have endeavoured to reconcile you, by removing your only plausible objection, the mistaken nature of the Prophecies concerning him; As a Corollary to the whole, I have proved, in order to remove your prejudices for a worldly Prince, and a restoration to a carnal Dominion in Judea, that your race was not at first chosen by GOD, and settled in the land of Canaan as his FAVOURITES, for whom he had a greater fondness than for other of the sons of Adam; but only to serve the general ends of Providence, in its Dispensations to the whole Species; which required the temporary separation of one People from the rest of Mankind, to preserve, amidst an idolatrous world, the great doctrine of the UNITY, as the foundation of that

* "OROBIO. 1. Ut assignetur locus aliquis in quo Deus mandaverit, aut dixerit expressè, quod fides in Messiam est absolutè necessaria ad salutem generis humani; adeo ut qui non crediderit damnandus esset. 2. Ut assignetur locus, in quo Deus dixerit, quod unicum medium ad salutem Israelis, et restitutionis in divinam gratiam, est fides in Messiam jam adventum. 3. Ut assignetur locus, in quo Deus dixerit, quod Israel propter infidelitatem in Messiam erat deperdendus, et abjiciendus in nationibus, ut non sit amplius Populus Dei, sed in æternum damnandus donec Messiam adventum non crediderit. 4. Tandem assignetur locus, in quo dixit Deus, omnia Legalia præter moralia, fuisse umbram, seu figuram futurorum in adventu Messiæ, et quod fere omnia quæ et in divina Lege et in Prophetis fuere revelata, MYSTICE et TROPOLOGICE explicare liceat, quantumvis sensus literalis omnino despiciatur."—*Amica Collatio* LIMBORCH. pp. 1, 2. † Gal. iii. 16, 17.

universal Religion to be dispensed by JESUS, when the fulness of time should come. Which time being now come, and the end obtained, you cannot but confess there is no further use or purpose of a *national separation.*

Let me add the following observation, which ought to have some weight with you. Whoever reads your history, and believes you, on your own word, to be still tied to the Religion of MOSES, and to have nothing to expect from that of JESUS, must needs regard you as a People long since abandoned of God. And those who neither *read* nor *believe,* will pretend at least to think you forsaken of all REASON. Our Scriptures alone give us better hopes of your condition: and excited by the Charity they inspire, I am moved to hazard this address unto you. For a time, as they assure us, will come, when this veil shall be taken from your hearts. And who knows how near at hand the day of visitation may be? At least, who would not be zealous of contributing, though in the lowest degree, to so glorious a work? For *if the fall of you be the riches of the World, and the diminishing of you, the riches of the Gentiles, how much more your fulness!* * says the Apostle Paul. Who at the same time assures us, that *blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved.*†

I know you will be ready to say, "that much of this sort of Charity hath been preached to your People even amidst the horrors of the Inquisition; and that it has always made a suitable impression: that indeed, in a land of liberty like Britain, you should have thought much more favourably of our good-will, had not a late transaction, in which your natural rights came in question, amply convinced you that Christian Charity is every where the same."

Sufferers, even imaginary ones, may be excused a little hard language; especially when they only repeat the clamours of those amongst ourselves; who, on the defeat of your Naturalization project, affected to feel most sensibly for the interests of Liberty and Commerce. And yet I think it no difficulty to convince unprejudiced men, that the Sanctity of Government was, in the first instance, surprised; and that the Legislature did justly as well as politicly in acting conformably to their *second thoughts.*

A People like this of Great Britain, the genius of whose Religion and Government equally concur to make them tender and jealous of the rights of mankind, were naturally led by their first motions to think they might extend those privileges to your Nation, which they saw plainly were the due even of the followers of Mahomet: And yet for all this they were mistaken.

As much a paradox as this may seem, it is easy to shew that in this

* Rom. xi. 12. † Verses 25, 26.

point, You stand distinguished to your disadvantage from all the Nations upon earth: there being in your case, a peculiar circumstance which must eternally exclude your claim to the general right of Naturalization, in every free Government in Christendom, while men act, not to say with common integrity, but even with common decency, according to their profession.

Let us then consider your case as it is understood by Christian Communities; for men must always act, would they act honestly, according to their own conceptions of the case, not according to the conceptions of other men.

Now it is a common principle of Christianity, that God, in punishing your Nation for the rejection of their promised Messiah, hath sentenced it to the irremissible infamy of an unsettled vagabond condition, without Country or Civil policy, till *the fulness of the Gentiles be come in:* and then, as we observed before, our St. Paul declares, that your Nation, converted to the faith in Jesus, shall be received again into favour, and intitled to the privilege of Sons. The sentence denounced upon you was not only the loss of your own Community, but the being *debarred an entrance into any other*. For you are condemned to be aliens and strangers in every land where you abide and sojourn. A punishment which can only respect Particulars, and not the Community; for one People can be no other than aliens and strangers to another People, by the constitution of Nature. So that the sentence against you imports, that the Particulars of your race shall not be received by *Naturalization*, to the rights and privileges of the free-born Subjects of those civil States amongst which you shall happen to be dispersed. And we have seen this sentence wonderfully confirmed by the actual infliction of it for the space of seventeen hundred years; which must be confessed to give great credit to the truth of our interpretation of your Prophecies.

But to understand more clearly what share a Christian Community ought to take in PREVENTING ANY INSULT on those Prophecies which it holds to be divine, it will be necessary to consider what will be the worldly condition of your Nation when reinstated in God's favour; which both you and we are equally instructed to expect.

If it shall be, as you imagine, a recovery of your Civil-policy, a revival of the Temple-service, and a repossession of the land of Judea; if this be the mercy promised to your Nation, then indeed the intermediate punishment, between the abolition and the restoration of your divine Policy, can be only the temporary want of it; and consequently the facilitating your entry at present into the several civil Communities of christian men, might well be thought to have no more tendency to insult the general Economy of revealed Religion than the naturalizing of Turks and Tartars.

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But the genius of Christianity and the tenor of those Prophecies, as interpreted by Christ and his Apostles, declare such a restoration to the land of Judea and a revival of the Temple-service, to be manifestly absurd, and altogether inconsistent with the nature of the whole of God's religious Dispensation: for by this it appears, that the Mosaic Law or Religion (as distinguished from its foundation, natural Religion, on which it was erected) was only PREPARATORY to, and TYPICAL of the Gospel. Consequently, on the establishment of Christianity, the Political part of your institution became abolished; and the Ritual part entirely ceased; just as a scaffold is taken down when the building is erected; or as a shadow is cast behind when the substance is brought forward into day. Nor were you, after this promised conversion, to expect ANY OTHER Civil policy or religious Ritual peculiar to yourselves, or separate from those in use amongst men who profess the name of Christ: because the Gospel, of which you are now supposed to be professors, disclaims all concern with political or civil matters; and because ALL its professors compose but ONE religious Body, under one head which is Christ.

All therefore that remains for us to conceive of your *civil* condition, when the *fulness of the Gentiles shall be come in*, and Israel be received into grace, is this, That, on your conversion, you shall be NATURALIZED and incorporated, as your convenience or inclination may lead you, into the various civil Communities of the Faithful.

This is the only idea we Christians can entertain of your *future* condition: and this may and must regulate our conduct whenever an alteration of your *present* condition comes in question.

And now to justify the Councils of our Lawgivers in their last and perhaps final determination concerning you.

If the DECLARED punishment of heaven on your Nation, while you continue in unbelief, be DISPERSION through the world, WITHOUT A CIVIL POLICY of your own as a People, and WITHOUT A COUNTRY, as Particulars; and that your restoration to favour, on your embracing the Gospel, is the being received into the Church of Christ, and (as you can be received therein only as Particulars, and not as a Nation) the being INCORPORATED into the several civil Communities of Christians; then, any ATTEMPT to incorporate you by *Naturalization* into such civil Communities, before the time predicted and while you adhere to your old Religion, as directly opposes the Prophecies, or the declared will of Heaven, as the attempt of Julian to rebuild your Temple, after the sentence of its final destruction had been put in execution: because it aims to procure for you a CIVIL CONDITION while Jews, which it is foretold you shall not enjoy till you are become Christians. Nor is it of any avail to those Politicians who were concerned of late in your favour, to pretend that Julian's

attempt was with *malice*, and their's with much integrity of heart; since this difference makes no change in the nature of the action, as it respects God's Dispensations, whatever it may be supposed to do, in the quality of it, as it respects the Actors. In either case the declared will of Heaven is opposed. When it is done with knowledge of the Prophecy, and with intention to discredit it, the attempt is wicked and impious: when with a forgetfulness of it, with a disregard to Religion, and a neglect of its interests, the attempt (even in this best way of considering it) is indecent and dishonourable. Not that He who thus conceives of things, hath the least apprehension that PROPHECY can be dishonoured, or have its predictions defeated by Civil Power: But this He thinks, that a Christian State while it enacts Laws, though unwarily, whose operation combats the truth of those Predictions, may very easily dishonour itself.

A Nation professing Christianity, though principally busied in the office of protecting liberty and commerce, ceases not to be a nation of Christians, amidst all their cares to discharge the duties of good Citizens. They have the interests and honour of their Religion to support as well as the common-rights of Mankind. For though Civil society be totally and essentially different from the Ecclesiastical, yet as the same Individuals compose the members of both; and as there is the closest Coalition between both, for their mutual support and benefit; such Civil society can never decently or honourably act with a total disregard to that co-allied Religion, which they profess to believe, and of which, under another consideration, they compose the body.

Perhaps You may tell me, it appears from the manner in which this late affair was conducted, that none of these considerations ever entered into the heads, either of your Friends, or those you will call, your Enemies, when, at length, they both agreed to leave you as they found you. It may be so. Yet this does not hinder but that the result of a Council, may be justified on principles which never influenced it. And as for the credit of Revelation, *that* generally becomes more conspicuous when, through the ignorance and perverseness of foolish men, the predictions of Heaven are supported by Instruments which knew not what they were about. Had they acted with more knowledge of the case, the enemies of Religion would be apt to say, No wonder that the honour of Prophecy is supported, when the Power which could discredit it, held it an impiety to make the attempt.

Thus you see the British Legislature is justified in its last determination concerning you, on all the general principles of piety, honesty, and decency. I speak of men, and I speak to men, who *believe* the Religion they profess. As for those profligates, whether amongst yourselves or us, who are ready to profess *any* Religion, but,

much better disposed to believe *none*, to them, this reasoning is not addressed. Have a fairer opinion therefore of our Charity, and believe us to be sincere when we profess ourselves,

Your &c.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF BOOKS IV. V. AND VI. OF

THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES:

MDCCXL.

THE Author of *The Divine Legation of Moses*, a private clergyman, had no sooner given his first volume * to the Public, than he was fallen upon in so outrageous and brutal a manner as had been scarce pardonable had it been *The Divine Legation of Mahomet*. And what was most extraordinary, by those very men whose Cause he was supporting, and whose Honours and Dignities he had been defending. But what grotesque instruments of vengeance had BIGOTRY set on foot! If he was to be run down, it had been some kind of consolation to him to fall by savages, of whom it was no discredit to be devoured.

Optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte Leonem.

However, to do them justice, it must be owned, that, what they wanted in teeth, they had in venom; and they knew, as all Brutes do, where their strength lay. For reasons best known to BIGOTRY, he was, in spite of all his professions, to be pushed over to the Enemy, by every kind of provocation. To support this pious purpose, passages were distorted, propositions invented,† conversation betrayed, and forged letters written.‡

The attack was opened by one who bore the respectable name of a *Country Clergyman*, but was in reality a Town-Writer of a Weekly Newspaper; § and with such excess of insolence and malice, as the Public had never yet seen on any occasion whatsoever.

Amidst all this unprovoked clamour, the Author had his reasons for sparing these wretched tools of impotence and envy. His friends thought it beneath him to commit himself with such writers; and he

* Books i. ii. iii. † See the Author's Letter to Smallbrooke, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in which he accuses the Bishop of this crime; To which accusation, the public never yet saw either defence or excuse. ‡ By one Romaine and one Julius Bate in conjunction. § Dr. Webster by name. Who soon after, by a circular letter to the bench of Bishops, claimed a reward for this exploit.

himself supposed it no good policy to irritate a crew of Zealots, who had, at their first opening, called loudly upon the secular arm. Our Author indeed could talk big to the FREE-THINKERS; for alas, poor men! he knew their weapons: All their arms were arguments, and those none of the sharpest; and wit, and that none of the brightest. But he had here to do with men in Authority; appointed, if you will believe them, Inspectors-General over clerical Faith. And they went forth in all the pomp and terror of *Inquisitors;* with *Suspicion* before, *Condemnation* behind, and their two assessors, *Ignorance* and *Insolence,* on each side. *We must suspect his faith* (say they)—*We must condemn his book—We do not understand his argument.**

—But it may perhaps be of use to Posterity at least, if ever these slight sheets should happen to come down to it, to explain the provocation which our Author had given for so much unlimited abuse and calumny. The Reader then may be pleased to know, that the Author's first Volume of *The Divine Legation of Moses* was as well a sequel and support of *The Alliance between Church and State* (a book written in behalf of our Constitution and Established Clergy) as it was an introduction to a projected Defence of *Revelation.* It might likewise be regarded as an entire work of itself, to shew the *usefulness of Religion to Society.* This, and the large bulk of the Volume, disposed him to publish it apart; while the present state of Religion amongst us seemed to give it a peculiar expediency, "an open and professed disregard to religion" (as an excellent pastor of our church observes) "being become the distinguishing character of the present age. An evil grown to a great height in the Metropolis of the Nation, and daily spreading through every part of it; which hath already brought in such dissoluteness and contempt of principle in the higher part of the world, and such profligate intemperance and fearlessness of committing crimes in the lower, as must, if this torrent of impiety stop not, become absolutely fatal." † Our Author therefore thought, that as this *evil,* which is now spread through the populace, began in *the higher part of the world,* it must be first checked there, if ever it were checked at all. And he knew no better way to do this, than by shewing those People of Condition (who, amidst all *their contempt of religious Principle,* yet professed the greatest zeal for their country and mankind) *that Religion is absolutely necessary for the support of civil Government.* He thought too, this no ill device to get the advocate of Revelation a fair hearing. For he supposed, that unless they could be made to see the *usefulness* of Christianity to Society (which their *contempt of Principle* shewed they yet did not see) they would never be brought to believe its *Truth* or *Divinity.*

* Webster, Venn, Stebbing, Waterland, and others.

† BISHOP OF OXFORD'S "Charge," London, 1738, 4to. p. 4.

These were his endeavours and designs. What he got for his pains, I have already told the Reader.—

In vain had he endeavoured to deserve well of *Religion* at large, and of the *Church of England* in particular:—by fixing the true grounds of morality;—by confuting the atheistic arguments of Bayle, and the flagitious Principle of Mandeville;—by explaining the natures, settling the bounds, and adjusting the distinct rights of *the two Societies*;—and by exposing the impious tenet, of Religion's being the contrivance of Politicians.

All this went for nothing with the Bigots. He had departed from the *old posture of defence*, and had projected a new plan for the support of Revelation. *His Demonstration* (says one of them) *if he could make one of it, could never make us amends for changing our posture of defence, and deserting our strong holds.** For though they will *talk*, indeed, of the love of truth, and the invincible evidence of our Faith, yet I know not how, even amidst all their Zeal and Fury, they betray the most woful apprehensions of Christianity, and are frighted to death at every foolish Book new written against Religion, though it come but from the Mint or Bedlam. And what do our directing Engineers advise you to, in this exigence? Do they bid you act offensively, and turn the enemies' artillery upon them? By no means. Keep within your *strong holds*. Watch where they direct their battery, and there to your old mud walls clap a buttress; and so it be done with speed, no matter of what materials. If, in the mean time, one more bold than the rest, offer to dig away the rubbish that hides its beauty, or kick down an aukward prop that discredits its strength, he is sure to be called by these men, perhaps to be thought by those who set them on work, *a secret enemy, or an indiscreet friend.*† He is sure to be assaulted with all the rude clamours and opprobrious names that Bigotry is ever ready to bestow on those it fears and hates.

But this was the fortune of all his betters. It was the fortune of Hooker, Hales, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, Bp. Taylor. They were called *Politiques, Sceptics, Erastians, Deists, and Atheists.* But CUDWORTH'S case was so particular, that it will excuse a little enlargement.

The Philosopher of Malmesbury was the terror of the last age, as Tindal and Collins have been of this. The press sweat with controversy: and every young Churchman militant would needs try his arms in thundering upon Hobbes's steel cap. The mischief his writings had done to Religion set Cudworth upon projecting its defence. Of this he published one immortal volume; with a boldness uncommon indeed, but very becoming a man conscious of his own integrity and

* WEBSTER'S "Country Clergyman's second Letter." † WATERLAND.

strength. For instead of amusing himself with Hobbes's peculiar whimsies, which in a little time were to vanish of themselves, and their answers with them; which are all now forgotten, from the Curate's to the Archbishop's; * he launched out into the immensity of the *Intellectual System;* and, at his first essay, penetrated the very darkest recesses of Antiquity, to strip ATHEISM of its disguises, and drag up the lurking Monster into day. Where, though few readers could follow him, yet the very slowest were able to overtake his purpose. And there wanted not *Country Clergymen* to lead the cry, and tell the world,—*That, under pretence of defending Revelation, he wrote in the very manner that an artful Infidel might naturally be supposed to use in writing against it;* that he had given us *all the filthy stuff that he could scrape together out of the sink of Atheism, as a natural introduction to a demonstration of the truth of Revelation;* that with incredible *industry and reading* he had rummaged all antiquity for atheistical arguments, which he neither knew, nor intended to answer. In a word, that he was an *Atheist* in his heart, and an *Arian* in his book.† But the worst is behind. These silly calumnies were believed. The much injured Author grew disgusted. His ardour slackened; and the rest, and far greatest part of the Defence, never appeared; a Defence, that would have left nothing to do for such as our Author, but to read it; and for such as our Author's Adversaries, but to rail at it.

Thus spiritual Hate, like carnal Love, levels all distinctions. And thus our Author came to be honoured with the same treatment which it had bestowed upon a CUDWORTH. But as this hate is for the most part, only envy, under the name of zeal, the Bigots, for their own ease, should be more cautious in conferring their favours. They have given our Author cause enough to be proud: who, as inconsiderable as he is, has, it seems, his ——: as well as a LOCKE his *Edwards*, or a CHILLINGWORTH his *Cheynel*. But alas! the Public, I am afraid, distinguish better. They see, though these men cannot, that the *Edwardses* and *Cheynels* increase upon us, while the LOCKES and CHILLINGWORTHS are become exceeding rare. Turn then, good Creatures! while you have time, turn your envy on their few remaining successors: and leave our Author in peace. He has parts (had he but suitable morals) even to be of your party. But no time is to be lost. We have a sad prospect before us. The CHILLINGWORTHS of the present age will, in a little time, be no more; while the race of *Cheynels* threatens to be immortal. But this is the fate of human things. The *Geese* of the *Capitol*, we know, remained for ages, after

* Tenison. † See WEBSTER'S "Country Clergyman's first Letter against The Divine Legation;" and one MR. JOHN TURNER'S "Discourse" (a Clergyman likewise) "against The Intellectual System."

those true defenders of it, the MANLII, the CAMILLI, the AFRICANI, were extinct and forgotten.

And alas! how ominous are the fears of friendship! I had but just written this, when the death of Dr. FRANCIS HARE, late bishop of *Chichester*, gave me cause to lament my Divination. In him the Public has lost one of the best patrons and supports of letters and religion. How steadily and successfully he employed his great talents of reason and literature, in opposing the violence of each religious party in their turns, when court-favour was betraying them into hurtful extremes, the unjust reproaches of Libertines and Bigots will never suffer us to forget. How generously he encouraged and rewarded Letters, let them tell who have largely shared in his beneficence: for his character may be trusted with his enemies, or even with his most obliged friends. In him our Author has lost, what he could but ill spare, one of the most candid of his Readers and ablest of his Critics. What he can never lose, is the honour of his esteem and friendship.

But whatever advantage our Author may have received from the outrage of his enemies, the Public is a real sufferer. He had indeed the honour to be known to those few, who could have corrected his errors, reformed his course, and shewn him safely through the wide and trackless waste of ancient times. But the calumnies of the Bigots obliged him to a kind of quarantine, as coming lately from suspected places, from the cabinet-council of *Old Lawgivers*, and the schools of *Heathen Philosophers*; whose infection was supposed to be yet sticking on him. And under such circumstances it is held ill-breeding to come near our Superiors.

This disadvantage was the more sensible to him, as few writers have been under greater obligations to consult the satisfaction of capable readers; who gave his first Volume so kind a reception; and waited with a favourable expectation for the following. And if he has made these readers wait too long, he has only this to say, that he would not follow the example of paradoxical writers, who only aim to strike by a novelty. For as his point was truth, he was content his notions should become stale and common, and forego all advantages but their native evidence, before he submitted the prosecution of them to the judgment of the Public.

PREFACE

TO THE EDITION OF

THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES,

MDCCLVIII.

THE subject of these Volumes had occasionally led me to say many things of the genius and constitution of PAGAN Religion, in order to illustrate the divinity of the JEWISH and the CHRISTIAN: Amongst the rest, I attempted to explain the true origin of that opprobrium of our common nature, PERSECUTION FOR OPINIONS:* And I flattered myself, I had done REVELATION good service, in showing that this evil owed its birth to the *absurdities of Pagan Religion*, and to the *iniquities of Pagan Politics*: for that the persecutions of the later Jews, and afterwards, of the first Christians, arose from the reasonable constitution of these two Religions, which, by avoiding idolatry, opposed that universal principle of Paganism, INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP; or, in other words, That the Jews and Christians were persecuted as *the enemies of mankind*, for not having Gods in common with the rest of the World.

But a learned Critic and Divine hath lately undertaken to expose my mistake; He hath endeavoured to prove, that the *first persecution for opinion* was of Christian original; and that the Pagans persecuted the primitive Church, not, as I had represented the matter, for the unsociable genius of its Religion, which forbad all intercourse with idolaters, but for its NOCTURNAL and CLANDESTINE ASSEMBLIES. From whence it follows, as will be seen by and by, that the first Christians were fanatics, libertines, or impostors; and that the persecuting Emperors, provident for the public safety, legally pursued a bigotted or immoral sect, for a CRIME OF STATE, and not for *matter of opinion*.

If it be asked, How a Doctor of Laws, a Minister of the Gospel, and a Judge ecclesiastical, would venture to amuse us with so strange a fancy; all I can say for it is, he had the pleasure, in common with many other witty men, of writing against *The Divine Legation*; and he had the pleasure too, in common with many wise men, of thinking he might indulge himself in any liberties against a writer whom he

* See "Divine Legation," book ii. sect. 6.

had the precaution not to name.—But he says, he never read the Divine Legation. I can easily believe him: and will do him this further justice, that, when many have written against it without reading it, he is the first who has had the ingenuity to own it.

His system or hypothesis, as we find it in a late quarto volume, called *Elements of the Civil Law*,* is, in substance, this,—"That the same principle, which set the Roman Senate upon prosecuting the abominable RITES OF BACCHUS, excited the Roman Emperors to persecute the PRIMITIVE CHURCH."

But it is fit, this marvellous discovery should be revealed in his own words.—*It may be asked* (says he) *in that almost universal licence and toleration, which the ancients, the Romans particularly, extended to the professors of all religions whatsoever, why the Christian profession alone, which might have expected a favourable treatment, seems to stand exempted, and frequently felt the severity of the bitterest persecution.*†—If the learned Critic be serious in asking a question, which had been answered, and as would seem, to the general satisfaction, near twenty years ago, I suppose it is, to intimate that no other answer will content him but one from the persecutors themselves. This then he shall have; though it be of sixteen hundred years' standing.

PLINY the younger, when proconsul of Bithynia, acquaints his master with the reasons why HE persecuted; and the satisfaction he had in so doing:—"Neque dubitabam, qualecumque esset quod faterentur, certe PERTINACIAM, ET INFLEXIBILEM OBSTINATIONEM debere puniri." ‡ What was this *froward and inflexible obstinacy?* He tells us, it was refusing all *intercommunity* with Paganism; it was refusing to throw a single grain of incense on their altars.

TACITUS, speaking of the persecution which followed the burning of Rome by Nero (the impiety of which action that mad tyrant had charged upon the Christians) says, "Haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam ODIO HUMANI GENERIS convicti sunt." § By which, I understand him to mean,—That though the emperor falsely charged them with the burning of Rome, yet the people acquiesced in the persecution, on account of the enormous crime of which they were convicted, [*i. e.* judged guilty in the opinion of all men;] their *hatred to the whole race of mankind;* ‖ for nothing but such an unnatural aversion,

* By the Rev. Dr. TAYLOR, Chancellor of Lincoln. † Page 579. ‡ Lib. x. ep. 97. § *Annalium* lib. xv. cap. 44. ‖ Tacitus, speaking of the Jews, observes that the end of their peculiar Rites was to separate them from all other people. From their *separation* he inferred their *aversion*. In this sense we are to understand him and other Pagan writers, when they exclaim against the Jews for their *peculiar Rites*. Each Nation had its own: so that *peculiarity* was a circumstance common to all. What differenced the Jewish Rites from all others was their *end;* which was to keep the people from all intercommunity with the several religions of Paganism; each of which, how different soever in their Rites, held fellowship with one another.—But here a famous French Critic, who writes "de omni scibili," comes in support of our English Critic's system of the PSEUDO-MARTYRS of the primitive Church, and says, we all mistake Tacitus's Latin. His words are these—"J'oserais dire que ces mots *odio humani*

they thought, could induce men to persevere in rejecting so universal a principle, as *intercommunity of worship*.

The good emperor AURELIUS was himself a persecutor. It is not to be doubted, when he speaks in condemnation of the Christian sect, but that he would tell the worst he conceived of them: and it must certainly have been that worst, which made him a Persecutor, so much against the mildness of his nature, and the equity of his philosophic manners. Now this sage magistrate, in his book of *Meditations*, speaking of the wise man's readiness to give up life, expresses himself in this manner,—"He should be so prepared that his readiness may be seen to be the issue of a well-weighed judgment, not the effect of MERE OBSTINACY, like that of the Christians." * For *intercommunity* being in the number of first principles, to deny these, could be owing to nothing but to *mere obstinacy*, or downright stupidity. Here, the mistaken duty of the magistrate, overcame the lenity of the man, and the justice of the philosopher: at other times, his speculations happily got the better of his practice. In his *constitution to the community of Asia*, recorded by Eusebius, he says,—"I know the Gods are watchful to discover such sort of men. And it is much fitter that they themselves should punish those who REFUSE TO WORSHIP THEM, than that we should interfere in their quarrel." † The emperor, at length, speaks out: and what we could only infer from Pliny, from Tacitus, and from the passage in the Meditations, he now declares in so many words; viz. that THE CHRISTIANS WERE PERSECUTED FOR REFUSING TO WORSHIP THE GODS OF THE GENTILES.

Lastly, the imperial Sophist, who, of all the idolaters, was most learned in this *mystery of iniquity*, as having employed all his politics and his pedantry to varnish over the deformities of persecution, frankly owns, that "the Jews and Christians brought the execration of the world upon them, by their AVERSION TO THE GODS OF THE GENTILES." ‡

generis convicti peuvent bien signifier, dans le stile de Tacite, *convaincus d'être hais du genre-humain*, autant que *convaincus de hair le genre-humain*." [Traité sur la Tolerance, 1763, p. 60.] He tells us, *He dare say*,—what not one of

"Westminster's bold race

dare say,—*that these words, odio humani generis convicti, may well signify, in the style of Tacitus, convicted of being hated by the human race, as well as convicted of hating the human race.*" And now Tacitus, so long famed for his political sagacity, will be made to pronounce this galimatias from his oracular Tripod, "*The Jews were not convicted so properly for the* CRIME *of setting fire to Rome, as for the* CRIME OF BEING HATED *by all mankind.*"

* Τὸ δὲ ἕτοιμον τοῦτο, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν, ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί.—Lib. xi. sect. 3. † Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδ', ὅτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιμελές ἐστι, μὴ λανθάνειν τοὺς τοιούτους· πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι κολάσαιεν ἂν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς προσκυνεῖν ἢ ὑμεῖς.—*Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 13. ‡ Ἀλλὰ τὸ, Οὐ προσκυνήσεις θεοῖς ἑτέροις· ὃ δὴ μέγα τῆς περὶ τὸν θεόν φησι διαβολῆς. Θεὸς γὰρ ζηλωτής φησι—Ἄφετε τοῦτον τὸν λῆρον, καὶ μὴ τηλικαύτην ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἕλκετε βλασφημίαν.—JULIAN. apud CYRIL. *Contra Jul.* lib. v.

We have seen, from the MAGISTRATE'S own testimony, what it was for which he persecuted. We shall now see, from the PEOPLE'S demand, that they required the exertion of his power, on no other account. It was usual in their sanguinary shews, when criminals and offending slaves were exposed to the beasts, to call out for and demand execution on the Christians, by the formula of AIPE ΤΟΥΣ ΑΘΕΟΥΣ. This was their early language, when they required Polycarp for the slaughter. The name ATHEIST was only one of their more odious terms, for a rejector of their Gods. And it was but too natural, when they wanted to have their rage and cruelty thus gratified, to use expressions, which, at the same time that the terms were most calumniating, implied the very crime for which the magistrate was wont to persecute.

What says our learned Civilian to this evidence? He allows Antiquity to have proved the *Fact*, that the pagan emperors did persecute. But for what, is a question (says he) that *may still be asked*. And the true answer, with your leave, he thinks himself better able to give than the Persecutors themselves. *My reader* (these are his words) *will grant the fact; and* I COME NOW TO ACCOUNT FOR IT. The *account*, we find, had been settled long ago. What of that? It had never passed through his philologic Office; and therefore lay still open till our master-critic was at leisure to examine it.

It is not true (says this redresser of wrongs) *that the primitive Christians held their assemblies in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power. But the converse of that proposition is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE, *viz. that they met with molestations from that quarter, because their assemblies were nocturnal.**

He says, *it is not true*: The Christian church says, *it is*. Who shall decide? A bundle of Grammarians; or the college of Apostles? I know *his* mind: and I guess at my reader's: and of the two, being at present more disposed to gratify the latter, I shall, for once, venture to bring our Civilian before a foreign Judicatory, that is to say, HOLY SCRIPTURE.

From Scripture we learn, that the first Christian assembly, held in the *night-time*, was the very night after the RESURRECTION; when the disciples met in a *clandestine* manner, with the doors made fast upon them: and this, we are assured, was to *avoid the interruptions of the civil power;* or, in the plainer words of St. John, FOR FEAR OF THE JEWS: † for the Soldiers' story of the resurrection began now to make a noise; and the Jewish rulers were much startled and enraged at it. But when the fright of the disciples was a little over, and things had subsided into a calm, the next assembly, we hear of, was *in the day-time;* without any marks of the former wary circum-

* "Elements of the Civil Law," p. 579. † John xx. 19.

spection.* These open meetings were repeated as often as the returns of public worship required: sometimes shifting from house to house; sometimes more stationary in the Temple.†

But when now the MIRACLES, worked by the apostles in confirmation of the soldiers' story, had alarmed the rulers afresh; and Peter and John, whom they had put into prison, were, on their releasement, enjoined silence, the Church, assembled in this exigence to implore the Divine direction touching the extent of their obedience to the civil power, was answered by sensible signs from heaven, as at the day of Pentecost—*And when they had prayed* (says the historian) *the place was shaken where they were assembled together; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God* WITH BOLDNESS.‡

Here we see, that this second persecution had a different effect upon the Church from the former. At first, they assembled in a clandestine manner *for fear of the* JEWS; now, they continued *openly* in the Temple *to speak the word of God with boldness.* This conduct seemed good to the Holy Ghost: and the reason is not difficult to comprehend. The Church was now, for the first time, solemnly enjoined silence by Authority. It was fit it should be as solemnly decided, who was to be obeyed; GOD, or the civil Magistrate. But this was not all: the decision served another very great purpose; it served, to disseminate the Faith: for the natural consequence of the disciples' persisting to discharge their ministry, after they had been formally forbidden, was their being *scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria.*§ Had the Church taken its usual remedy against civil violence, namely, *secret assemblies* (which, in ordinary cases, modesty and a sober regard to authority prescribe), the faithful had not been dispersed; and the purpose of Divine Providence, in the speedy propagation of the Gospel, had not been properly effected.

This being the case, in the interval between the dispersion, and St. Paul's miraculous conversion, we hear of no *nocturnal assemblies;* unless you reckon in the number that between the Disciples and their illustrious Convert, on the town-wall of Damascus, when they let him down in a basket, to escape his persecutors.‖ In this condition, things remained till Paul's return to Jerusalem: and then, says my text, *the Churches had rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria.*¶

From this time, till Herod's persecution,** we have not one word of any *nocturnal assembly* of the Faithful: but no sooner did that persecution commence, than those meetings were again re-assumed. The

* Acts i. 14; ii. 1. † Acts ii. 46. ‡ Acts iv. 31. § Acts viii. 1.
‖ Acts ix. 25. ¶ Acts ix. 31. ** Acts xii. 1.

Church assembled at midnight, to pray for Peter's deliverance out of prison: and he, when he was delivered by their prayers, found more difficulty to get to his secreted friends than to escape from his gaolers.*

In a word, from this history of the first propagation of the Faith, we learn, that, in times of persecution, the Church assembled by stealth, and in the night: but whenever they had a breathing-time, and were at liberty to worship God according to their conscience, they always met together openly, and in the face of day. Thus when Paul came first to Rome (where this sect shared in the general toleration of foreign worship, till the magistrate understood that it condemned the great principle of *intercommunity)* we learn, that he freely discharged the office of his ministry *from morning to night.*† And the sacred writer, as if on purpose to insinuate, that, when the Church had rest from persecution, it never crept into holes and corners, ends his narrative in this manner:—*And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and* RECEIVED ALL *that came in unto him; preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence,* NO MAN FORBIDDING HIM.‡

It may be objected, perhaps, "that the question is, of the *persecuting Pagans;* and all that has been here said, concerns the *persecuting Jews* only." It does so: but who can help it? The Jews happened to persecute, first. As to the *question,* that which is essential in it is only this, Whether the primitive Christians held their clandestine assemblies to avoid persecution; or, whether they were persecuted for holding clandestine assemblies?—Who persecuted, whether Jews or Pagans, is merely incidental to the question, and wholly indifferent to the decision of it. But it may still be said, "That the Christians having thus gotten the habit of clandestine assemblies in Judea; by that time Churches became formed in the midst of Paganism, they continued the same mode of worship, though the occasion of its introduction was now over; so that the learned Doctor's position may yet be true, that the Pagans persecuted for those clandestine meetings, which had been first begun in Judea, to avoid persecution, and were now continued in contempt of authority." To this I answer, that the *fact,* on the Doctor's *own* principles, is impossible. According to his principles, clandestine meetings must be prosecuted as soon as observed; and they are of a nature to be observed as soon as practised. Now all Antiquity, both profane and sacred, assures us, that the Christian Church was not persecuted on its first appearance amongst the Pagans: who were not easily brought, even when excited by the Jews, to second their malice, or to support their impotence.

* Acts xii. 13. † Acts xxviii. 23. ‡ Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

But the *fact* is, in the highest degree, improbable on *any* principles. Had our learned Critic consulted what Philosophers, and not what Philologists, call HUMANITY, that is, the workings of our common nature, he had never fallen into so absurd a conceit, as that the inspired propagators of a Revelation from heaven should, without any reasonable cause, and only in imitation of pagan worship, affect clandestine and nocturnal meetings. For he might have seen, that so strange a conduct had not only been in contempt of their divine Master's example, who, at his arraignment before the high priest, said, *I spake* OPENLY *to the world; and* IN SECRET *have I said nothing;* * but likewise in defiance of his injunction, when he sent them to propagate the faith,—*What I tell you* IN DARKNESS, *that shall you speak* IN THE LIGHT: *and what ye hear* IN THE EAR, *that preach ye* UPON THE HOUSE-TOPS.† Had our Critic (I say) paid that attention to human nature and to the course of the moral world, which he has misapplied upon an old mouldy brass, and a set of strolling Bacchanals,‡ he might have understood, that the first Christians, under the habitual guidance of the Holy Spirit, could never have recourse to nocturnal or clandestine conventicles, till driven to them by the violence of persecution: he might have understood, that the free choice of such assemblies must needs be an after-practice, when churchmen had debased the truth and purity of Religion by human inventions and sordid superstitions; when, an emulous affectation of MYSTERY, and a mistaken zeal for the tombs of the MARTYRS, had made a Hierarchy of that, which at first was only a Gospel-ministry.

On the whole therefore, we need not, I think, ask leave of this learned man to continue in our opinion, *that the primitive Christians held their assemblies in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power;* and to esteem his CONVERSE *proposition,* as he affects to call it *(of their meeting with molestation from that quarter,* BECAUSE *their assemblies were nocturnal)* as a mere dream or vision.

But to hide nothing which may concern a matter of such importance as our Critic's *Discoveries;* I will ingenuously confess, how much soever it may make against me, that there are instances in sacred story of meetings at midnight and before dawn of day, to which *no interruption of the civil Power* had driven the disciples of Christ; but which were evidently done in contempt and defiance of that Power: such, for example, was the clandestine meeting between Mary and the two Angels at the sepulchre: § that between the Apostles and the Angel of the Lord in the common prison: ‖ and that, again, between

* John xviii. 20. † Matt. x. 27. ‡ All these refined speculations concerning persecution, are at the end of the said book of Elements; in a dissertation on a curious ancient tablet, containing the senatorial decree against a crew of wicked Bacchanals, of the size and dignity of our modern Gypsies. § John xx. 11, 12. ‖ Acts v. 18, 19.

Peter and the same Angel: * not to speak of another famous *midnight assembly* between Paul, Silas, the Gaoler, and an Earthquake.†

We come now to the learned person's second proposition, called by way of eminence, the CONVERSE; which affirms, *That the primitive Christians met with molestations from the civil power, because their assemblies were nocturnal.* And this he assures us *is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE; which in his language, I suppose, signifies, *true in the* EXACTEST SENSE; for his argument requires some such meaning. Now in common English—*true in the utmost latitude,* signifies *true, in the* LOWEST SENSE; for the *greater latitude* you give to any thing, the *looser* you make it. This most eloquent editor of Demosthenes, therefore, by *utmost latitude* may be allowed to mean, what makes most to his purpose; though it be what an Englishman would least suspect,—*utmost strictness.* And now for his reasoning.—By the *molestations the Christians met with,* we must needs understand the FIRST molestations; all other being nothing to the purpose: for when persecution was once on foot, I make no doubt but the *nocturnal assemblies,* to which persecution had driven them, gave fresh umbrage to the Civil power; it being of the nature of a persecuting spirit to take offence at the very endeavours to evade its tyranny. The question between the learned Civilian and me is, What gave birth to the *first,* and continued to be the *general,* cause of persecution? He says it arose from *nocturnal and clandestine assemblies:* I suppose it to be occasioned by the *Atheistic* renunciation of the Gods of Paganism.

Now it seems to be a violent prejudice against the learned Critic's system, that no one of those persecutors ever assigned *nocturnal assemblies* as the *first* or *general* cause of persecution; and equally favourable for my opinion, that they all concur in giving another cause; namely, the unhospitable temper of the Christians, in refusing to have Gods in common with the rest of mankind.

PLINY, in doubt how to act with the Christians of his district, writes to his master for instructions. His embarras, he tells the emperor, was occasioned by his never having been present at their examinations; which made him incapable of judging *what,* or *how* he was to prosecute. "Cognitionibus de Christianis interfui nunquam: ideo nescio *quid* et *quatenus* aut puniri soleat aut quæri." He wanted to know, whether the very NAME was not criminal; either for itself, or for some mischief hid under it—"Nomen ipsum etiam si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohærentia nomini puniantur." But could a Roman Magistrate, when at a loss for a pretence to persecute, overlook so fair a one as *voluntary, unforced clandestine assemblies,* and hunt after a mormo hid in the combination of four syllables? Not that he wanted a Precedent for proceeding on these visionary grounds; but the very Precedent shows that the Persecutors wanted

* Acts xii. 7, 8. † Acts xvi. 25.

better. TERTULLIAN assures us, that the Christians had been actually persecuted for the NAME *only*: "Non scelus aliquod in causa, sed NOMEN; Christianus, si nullius criminis reus, *nomen* valde infestum, si *solius nominis* crimen est—si nominis odium est, quis nominum reatus: quæ accusatio vocabulorum? nisi si aut barbarum sonat aliqua vox nominis, aut infaustum, aut maledicum, aut impudicum," &c. From whence, by the way, allow me to conclude, that when a harmless NAME becomes so odious as to occasion the Sect which bears it, to be persecuted, the aversion must arise from some *essential* principle of that Sect, and not from a *casual* circumstance attending their religious practice.—But to return to Pliny; at last he discovers something worthy of animadversion. It was their FROWARD AND INFLEXIBLE OBSTINACY:—"neque dubitabam, qualecumque esset quod faterentur, pervicaciam certe et *inflexibilem obstinationem* debere puniri." Now is it possible, if the Christians were first persecuted, and continued to be persecuted, for holding their assemblies in the night-time, that Pliny, after so much experience of it, should not know the crime, nor how to proceed against the offenders? What is still more unaccountable, TRAJAN, in answer to this application, is unable to deliver any general rule for the direction of his Minister:—"Neque enim in universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest." But the assembling in a *clandestine manner by night*, if this was the Crime which gave offence, is an action that admits of few modifications in a Court of Justice; and so might be commodiously submitted to a general rule. On the other hand, if what the author of *The Divine Legation* says, be true, that they were persecuted for opposing the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY, we see plainly why no general rule could be delivered. They expressed this opposition in various ways and manners; some more, some less, offensive:—by simply refusing to worship with the Pagans, when called upon; by running to their tribunals uncalled; by making a profession of their faith, unasked; or by affronting the national religion, unprovoked. Now, so just and clement a prince as Trajan might well think, these different modes of expressing their abhorrence of intercommunity deserved different degrees of animadversion.

When Nero, in a mad frolic, set Rome on fire, and then threw that atrocious act upon the Christians, it is highly probable that the *nocturnal assemblies* of the Faithful (which, by this time, persecution had introduced amongst them) first started the happy thought, and encouraged him to pursue it. Now, if this, which is very probable, and our Critic's hypothesis, which is very improbable, be both truth, I cannot see how it was possible for TACITUS, when he acquits them of this calumny, and at the same time expresses the utmost virulence against them, to omit the mention of their nocturnal assemblies, had

they been begun without necessity, and obstinately continued after the civil magistrate had forbidden them. Instead of this, all he had to object to the Christians, was their *odium humani generis:* of which, indeed, he says, they were convicted; *convicti sunt:* an expression, without either propriety or truth, unless we suppose he understood their refusal of *intercommunity* to be a conviction: other proof there was none: for when examined on the rack concerning this *hatred of mankind,** they constantly denied the charge; and appealed as well to their principles as their practice; both of which declared their universal love and benevolence to all the creatures of God. But to reprobate the Gods of Rome, the *Orbis Romanus,* (of which our Critic can tell us wonders) was proclaiming *hatred and aversion to all the world.* Hence it is that Quintilian, speaking of the topics of dispraise, says that *the Author of the Jewish Religion* (equally reprobating, with the Author of the Christian, the universal principle of *intercommunity) was deservedly hated and held ignominious as the founder of a superstition which was the* BANE *of all other Religions*—"Et parentes malorum odimus: Et est conditoribus urbium infamiæ, contraxisse aliquam PERNICIOSAM cæteris gentem, qualis est primus Judaicæ superstitionis Auctor." But why *pernicious and baleful to the rest,* if not by accusing and condemning all other institutions of error and imposture?

MARCUS AURELIUS and JULIAN were vigilant and active; well instructed in the rights of Society; and not a little jealous of the interests of the Magistrate. Yet neither of these princes ever accuse the Christians of running to nocturnal assemblies unprovoked, or of persisting in the practice against imperial edicts. What a field was here for Aurelius, who despised them, to urge his charge of *brutal obstinacy;* and for Julian, who feared them, to cry aloud of *danger to the state;* their two favourite topics against these enemies of their Religion and Philosophy!

But sacred story may help us out where the civil fails: let us see then how this matter stands represented in Scripture: for I make our Critic's cause my own, as supposing we are both in the pursuit of Truth.

I have already given a brief account of the Assemblies of the infant-church, as they are occasionally mentioned in the history of the *Acts of the Apostles.*

Our Critic's *converse* proposition, which we are now upon, only requires us to shew in what light the persecutors of the Apostles considered this matter; and whether *nocturnal assemblies,* when any such were held, either gave advantage to their Jewish accusers, or umbrage to the pagan Magistrate, before whom the propagators of the Gospel were convened.

* *i. e.* Concerning their principles and their practice, from whence the Pagans inferred their *hatred of mankind.*

The persecutions recorded in the history of the *Acts* were almost all of them raised, or at least, fomented, by the Jews. Their several accusations against those they called apostate brethren are minutely recorded: and yet the crime of *assembling by night* is never brought into account. In the mean time, their point was to make the unwilling Magistrate the instrument of their malice: for this reason, they omitted nothing which might tend to alarm the jealousy of the State; as when they acoused the Christians of setting up another king, against Cæsar. Had their nocturnal assemblies therefore been held out of *choice*, they would not have neglected this advantage, since nothing could more alarm the civil Magistrate than such assemblies. The truth is, the Jews could not be ignorant of the advantage this would afford them. But conscience and humanity are not to be overcome at once. To accuse those they hated, of what they themselves had occasioned, required a hardiness in vice which comes only by degrees; and after a long habit of abusing civil justice and the common rights of mankind.

Our Critic, perhaps, may be ready to say, "That it is probable the Jews did accuse the Christian Church of this misdemeanor, though the historian, in his succinct history of the *Acts*, hath omitted to record it."

But this subterfuge will never pass with those who consider how unwilling the Roman Magistrate always was to interfere in their contests, as clearly apprehending, the subject of them to be of *certain matters concerning their law*: so that, under this disposition, nothing could be more effectual to quicken his jealousy and resentment, than the charge of *clandestine assemblies*; of which, doubtless, the Romans were very jealous, as contrary to their fundamental Laws, though not so extravagantly umbragious as our Critic's hypothesis obliges him to suppose.

But it will be said, "Were *clandestine meetings* never objected to the primitive Christians?" Yes, very often. CELSUS objected such *meetings* to them, as things contrary to law.* But ORIGEN'S reply will set matters to right. He says, the Church was driven upon this obnoxious measure to avoid the unjust persecution of its enemies.† Nay Celsus, in a more ingenuous humour, confesses, they had reason for what they did: there being no other way to escape the severest punishments.‡ At least then, I have the honour of finding this reverend Epicurean on my side, against our Civilian and his *converse proposition*.

These meetings, therefore, it is confessed, subjected the Church to

* Ὅσαι κατὰ νόμους γίγνονται.—ORIGENES *Contra Cels.* † Ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ κινδύνου. ‡ Οὐ μάτην τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, ἅτε διωθούμενοι τὴν ἐπηρτημένην αὐτοῖς δίκην τοῦ θανάτου.

much censure; but that was all. Tertullian, vindicating the Christians on this head, says—"Hæc coitio Christianorum merito sane illicita, si illicitis par; merito damnanda, si quis de ea queritur eo titulo quod de factionibus querela est." * The passage is remarkable; and shews, not only that the Christians were never brought into condemnation for nocturnal meetings; but, why they were not; namely, because nothing bad or even suspicious could be proved against them. The *law of the twelve tables* says, "Si qui in urbe cœtus nocturnos agitassit, capital esto;" meaning, if celebrated without the licence of the magistrate.† The Christians applied for this licence: it was denied them. They assembled: and such assemblies are only liable to animadversion, if any thing criminal or immoral be committed in them. Crimes were indeed pretended; but on enquiry, as we find by Pliny, they could not be proved. This I take to be the true explanation of Tertullian's argument: by which we understand that the Christians were not *persecuted*, but only *calumniated*, for their nocturnal assemblies.

Maximus, a pagan Philosopher of Madaura, desires to know of AUSTIN why the Christians so much affected *mystery*. To which the answer is, "That, without doubt, this idolater did not mean, the meetings in caverns and sepulchres, in which the faithful were wont to assemble during the heat of persecution—but their mysteries of Baptism and the Lord's Supper." ‡ St. Austin supposes Maximus did not intend to object to their clandestine meetings: however, if he did, he is ready to justify them on the plea of necessity, and to avoid persecution. Another sad discredit to the *converse proposition*.

But since our Civil Judge is so eager to have the primitive Christians found guilty of *a crime of state*, at his tribunal; I will, out of tenderness to his credit, and deference to his authority, consent to give them up; and fairly confess, they were not only accused, but even punished for high treason, the *crimen læsæ majestatis*. The process was thus carried on. Christians refused to worship the Gods of Rome. Sacrificing for the safety of the empire, and for the life of the emperor, made part of that worship. If the Christians could not worship, they could not sacrifice: But this sacrifice was esteemed a necessary part of civil obedience. The omission of it, therefore, was a crime of state, and amounted to high treason. Tertullian sums up

* *Apologia*, cap. xxxviii. † This appears to be the true sense of the *Law*, from a passage in Cicero's dialogue *De Legibus*. Atticus thought him too severe upon *nocturnal assemblies*: he vindicates himself by observing, that, even in the midst of Greece, Diagondas, the Theban, totally abolished them.—"Ne nos duriores forte videamur, in media Græcia, Diagondas Thebanus lege perpetua sustulit." From hence I infer these two things; That, were not the *Law of the twelve tables* to be understood in the sense here given to it, Cicero needed not have gone so far as Thebes for his justification: and secondly, that his laying so much stress upon the abolition's being made in the midst of Greece, shews how strongly, in his opinion, that country was attached to *nocturnal assemblies*. ‡ Ep. xliv.

the charge, and pleads guilty to it. "Deos inquitis" (says he, repeating the pagan accusation) "non colitis, et pro imperatoribus sacrificia non impenditis:—sacrilegii et majestatis rei convenimur. SUMMA HÆC CAUSA, IMO TOTA EST." Here again we see, Antiquity gives the exclusion to the *converse proposition:* for if this was the only cause of persecution, certainly nocturnal assemblies was not one. I could wish therefore, by this *crime of state*, to save the learned Doctor's credit and authority. But I am afraid, on examination, it will prove no more than their refusal to *communicate* in pagan worship. Tertullian himself, in the passage quoted above, makes it amount to no more. However, it was esteemed to be the *crimen læsæ majestatis:* and this we are not to wonder at; for one of the greatest ornaments of Paganism, long before the moving this question, had declared, that even the *exclusive* worship of one God came pretty near the matter. MAJESTATEM IMPERII NON DECUISSE UT UNUS TANTUM DEUS COLATUR, says Cicero, in his oration for Flaccus.

You see then, at length, to what our Critic's discovery amounts. No marvel he triumphs in it. "And now" (says he) "can any one doubt that the considerations I have mentioned, were those which GAVE AN EDGE to the Roman persecutions? The professors of Christianity had NO REASON to be apprehensive of any severities upon the score of religion, any more than the professors of ANY OTHER RELIGION besides. *Antiquity, in its public capacity,* was generally very indulgent to all who dissented from the established worship: persecution for DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF ALONE owes its nativity to more modern ages, and Spain was its country; where Priscillian, by some, is held to be the first sufferer for mere opinion." —Pp. 579, 580.

—*And now can any one doubt that the considerations I have mentioned were those which* GAVE AN EDGE *to the Roman persecutions?* —For a trusty Guide, allow me to recommend him to the reader; whom he is ready to mislead, the very first step he makes. The question is, and so he himself has stated it, *What* OCCASIONED *the Roman persecutions?* Here, he changes it to—*What* GAVE AN EDGE *to them?—Nocturnal assemblies* might *give an edge* to the persecutions, and yet all be true that his Adversary affirms, and the persecutions be *occasioned* by a very different thing.—But our Critic is so highly figurative, and often so sublime, as to transcend the common liberties of speech. Thus he speaks of *Antiquity in its public capacity,* meaning, I suppose, the civil states of Greece and Rome; though in the mode of ordinary language it would be no inelegant periphrasis for the NEW INCORPORATED SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES: again he talks of the *nativity of persecution,* and of its being a native of Spain; and yet he seems not to mean, as you would fancy, its *birth,* but its *edu-*

cation. For he tells us (p. 583) it was *born* long before, in Egypt; where it occasioned, what he calls, their *holy wars;* which, by his own account, were *persecutions for difference of belief alone.* However, as this Egyptian intrigue was but a *miscarriage,* and a kind of coming before it's time, he forces it to enter again into the womb of Fate, and to be born, we see, a second time for the honour of Christianity. Since, then, our Critic's figures are so new, and of so transcendent a kind, why may we not suppose that, the *giving an edge to persecution,* may signify the *giving a sword* to it, and then all will be right.

—*The professors of Christianity* (says he) *had no reason to be apprehensive of any severities upon the score of Religion.*—The more fools they; when their Master had pointed out so many. If they *had no reason,* it must be because *no reason* would make an impression. For they were frequently reminded by him, of what they were to suffer, not indeed for assembling in the night-time, but *for his* NAME'S SAKE, *and because of the* WORD.* St. Paul too had expressly assured the churches, that *all who live godly in Jesus Christ shall suffer persecution.*† But where was the wonder, that they, who paid so little attention to their Master, should pay still less to their Fellow-servant?

—Hear me out, however, cries our learned Critic: I affirm that *the professors of Christianity had no reason to be apprehensive of any severities upon the score of Religion,* ANY MORE *than the professors of any other sect or religion besides.* On my word, he has mended matters greatly! What, had the *professors of other sects or religions* any PROPHECIES OR REVELATIONS *of severities upon the score of religion?*

But, from this essential difference in the *external* circumstances of these two sets of *Professors,* the Pagan and the Christian, we will turn to the *internal:* and, under this head, let me ask another question. The *Professors* of the faith held it to be unlawful, and a deadly sin, to have *communion* or *fellowship* with the Gods of the Heathen. But had the *Professors* of Idolatry any of these scruples, or did they hold any thing analogous to them? On the contrary, did not the *Professors* of Gaul, of Greece, of Asia, and of Egypt, join heartily with the Professors of Rome, to pay all due honours to the established religion? while those masters of the world as heartily joined communion with these strangers: nay, were ready to do the same honours to the Gospel, had they found the same disposition towards mutual civilities among its followers.

And was this so trifling a difference as to deserve no notice either of the Critic or the Civilian? Had the Christians, who damned Paganism in the lump, and reprobated the established religion of Rome, as the work of evil demons and evil men, *no more reason to be*

* Matt. xxiv. 9; xiii. 21. † 2 Tim. iii. 12.

apprehensive of any severities from this antiquity in its public capacity, than the professors of any other religion besides, all of which not only acknowledged the Gods of Rome, but, to make a good weight, added Rome itself to the number of her Divinities? This *public capacitied antiquity* must have been of an odd paste, and strangely composed, to use those, who attempted the destruction of its Gods, in the same gentle way it treated those who revered and honoured them.

But, as this *public capacitied antiquity* is, after all, no more than a fantom, and *owes its nativity* to our Critic's brain, it is no wonder, it should have something of the perversity of its parent; who, searching for the CAUSE of Persecution, could not find it in a circumstance in which idolatry and Christianity *differed,* namely, *exclusive worship,* a principle most abhorred by paganism; and yet can see it in a circumstance where both agreed, namely, *nocturnal worship,* a practice most venerated by paganism.

But *antiquity* (says he) *in its public capacity was generally very indulgent to all who dissented from the established worship.* This, he had many ways of learning: but the *cause* of the indulgence, if it be yet unknown to him, he will owe to the author of *The Divine Legation,* who hath shewn that it was entirely owing to the *absurdity* of its religious systems, just as the want of this indulgence under Christianity, was occasioned by the *reasonableness* of its system, unreasonably indeed enforced upon the mistaken principles of Judaism. So that the indulgence of Paganism had continued to this day, had not Christianity come boisterously in, and broken the peace. Then arose an exception, unfavourable to the new Comer: For why was the established religion so indulgent to every strange sect, but because every strange sect was as indulgent to the established? So that, in this commerce of mutual civilities, while the national worship enjoyed the civil rights of an Establishment, it was content, the stranger should still possess the natural rights of a Toleration. But all this good harmony, the Christian faith disturbed and violated. It condemned paganism in the gross, whether *established* or *tolerated:* and, under pain of damnation, required all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, to forsake their ancient absurdities, and profess their faith in a crucified Saviour. A circumstance, sufficient, one would think, without *nocturnal assemblies,* to sour this sweet-tempered *Antiquity in its public capacity.*

But he goes on—*Persecution for* DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF ALONE *owes its nativity to more modern ages; and Spain was its country, where Priscillian, by some, is held to be the first sufferer for mere opinion.*

Here we have another cast of his office. The question between us is, "Whether the Christians were first persecuted for their *faith in general,* or for their *nocturnal assemblies.*" I hold the former: he

contends for the latter: and to confute my opinion, observes "that *persecution for* DIFFERENCE of *belief alone*, was of later date, and began with Priscillian:" that is, persecution for MODES OF FAITH began at that time. Well, and if it did, what then? What is this to the dispute between us? I never held, because Jesus and his Apostles never foretold, that the first Christians should be persecuted by the Pagans for *modes of Faith;* but on the contrary, for the very *genius of that Faith*, so opposite to the idolatrous world.

Paganism had no dogmatic theology, or, what we call *Religion:* and not having the thing, it was no wonder they had not the word: neither the Greeks nor Romans, with all their abundance, had a word for that moral mode; the Latin word *Religio*, when it comes nearest to it, signifies only a *set of ceremonies*. However, though they were without a dogmatic theology, yet they had their general principles; but these principles regarded *utility* rather than *truth;* the chief of which was that of *intercommunity;* which the principle of Christianity directly opposing, they rose against this principle, and so began a persecution. Pagans therefore, having *no modes of faith*, could not persecute for any: but Christians, who had, might and did persecute for them.

Again, when the persecution is for *modes of faith*, their truth or falshood comes in question: when for the *common genius of a religion*, its harmlessness or malignity is the only matter of inquiry. Now the pagan persecutors were so far from regarding Christianity as a false religion, that they were ready,* according to their *general indulgence to all who dissented from the established worship*, to put the professors of the Faith on a footing with other foreign sects: but this would not serve their turn. The Christians believed their Religion to be the only true; and therefore, that it should be the only one professed. This PARADOX brought on persecution. But for what? not for the profession of a *falsehood;* but for a practised *hatred to the whole race of mankind.*

Here then, we find, the learned Critic has shuffled in one question for another; and again put the change upon his reader; and perhaps, upon himself.

But to let his *reasoning* pass, and come to his *fact:* which, as a Critic, he is much more concerned, in honour, to support.—*Priscillian* (it seems) *was the first sufferer for mere opinion.* But how shall we reconcile him to himself in this matter? for as he goes on to display

* Cæcilius, the Pagan, in Minucius Felix, draws the following extraordinary character of the genius of the Roman Religion—"Dum obsessi, et citra solum capitolium capti, colunt deos, quos alius jam sprevisset iratos—dum captis hostilibus mœnibus, adhuc ferociente victoria, numina victa venerantur: dum undique hospites deos quærunt, et suos faciunt: dum aras extruunt etiam *ignotis numinibus* et manibus. Sic dum universarum gentium sacra suscipiunt, etiam regna meruerunt."

his learning, he unluckily discovers a much earlier original of *persecution for mere opinion* than that of the *first sufferer, Priscillian:* This was in the *holy wars* (as he calls them) of the idolatrous Egyptians (p. 583): which, according to his own account, were *persecutions for difference of belief alone.* Here then we stick, between the *first,* and *the first of all;*—but not long. He has a fetch to bring us off. "This *holy war* was indeed *persecution* in the Egyptians, who dealt and felt the blows; but it was still *toleration,* and civil policy in those, who set them together by the ears: for it was a standing maxim with the Romans, to support and encourage in the subdued Provinces, a *variety* in religious worship; which occasioning *holy wars,* the parties concerned to carry them on with proper decency and zeal had work enough cut out for them, without forming plots and conspiracies against their Masters." Thus, although, in these *tools* the Egyptians, the *holy war* might be persecution for opinions, yet in the *workmen,* who put it to use, it was an engine of state. *The Egyptian superstition* (says our learned Civilian) *was rather an engine of state. Rather* than what?—than persecution. How so, when superstition made them persecute? No matter for that. It was under the direction of their Masters: and in their hands it was an *engine of state.* It is pity that so great a politician as our Chancellor had not still, like his predecessors the Chancellors of old, a patent for making these *engines.* We know of One who has long lived upon this trade: and an example of his management may set our Chancellor's political refinement in a true light. The *Roman Conclave* succeeded to the *Roman Senate* in this engineering work; and the later *holy wars in Egypt* carried on by their sainted Kings and their imperious Saints, were contrived and fomented by the *Roman Church,* as before by the *Roman State,* to divert the subject nations from quarrelling with the sacred See.—But what then? If a spirit of Policy projected it, was it not a spirit of Superstition that put it in hand? And the point our learned Civilian is debating, though only with himself, is the spirit of *Pagan Religion,* not the spirit of *Roman Policy.* Now surely it is a terrible breach in the general indulgence of paganism, even as he states it, to find *holy wars* amongst them *for difference of belief alone;* a species of persecution which, in another place, he expressly tells us, *owed its nativity to modern ages.*

To say the truth, *Persecution* is one of the wickedest imps of Hell, and capable of any mischief: but who would have suspected it of this trick, played as it were, in its mother's belly; so long before its NATIVITY; and while yet it had scarce got a *human* being? But the adventure was, in all respects, extraordinary; and well deserving the pen of our illustrious Historian.

Seriously, He seems much better fitted, whether as Critic or Civi-

lian, to manage the intrigues of the Greek and Roman Alphabets, (whose Revolutions make so shining a figure in this splendid Dissertation on the *Bacchanals)* than to develope the policy of Empires, or to adjust the rights of civil and religious Societies.

But it is now time to shew, that his hypothesis has as little support from *reason* as from *fact:* and that *nocturnal assemblies* neither DID, nor, on our Critic's own principles, possibly COULD, give birth to Persecution, even though these assemblies had preceded all *interruptions of the civil power.*

While the common opinion remained undisputed, that nocturnal assemblies were held to avoid persecution, all men saw a sufficient reason for their practice. But since we have been told, that they *preceded* persecution, and were the *cause* of it, we are utterly at a loss to account for so extraordinary a mode of worship in the immediate followers of Christ. For the original of *nocturnal assemblies* being now, CHOICE, not NECESSITY, they must be resolved into one or other of these causes—

1. Either because *true Christianity* hath mysterious rites, proper to be celebrated in the night-time, like the pagan Orgies:

2. Or that the *first propagators* of the Faith affected to imitate the dark and enigmatic genius of Paganism:

3. Or that *their followers* were a set of gloomy Fanatics, who delighted in the horrors of a midnight season:

4. Or lastly, that, like the BACCHANALS (whose story gave birth to this new hypothesis) they had some very debauched and licentious practices to conceal, whose celebration was only adapted to the obscenities of night and darkness.

Now, of all these causes, our learned Critic, as a Dispenser of the doctrine, and a Minister of the discipline of the church, can admit only the *second.* He is too well instructed in the nature of the Christian Religion to allow the *first*; and he has too great a regard for the honour of its early Professors, to suppose it possible to be the *third* or *fourth.*

He must needs conclude, therefore, that the primitive Christians went voluntarily into this practice, in imitation of the mysterious rites of Paganism. On a presumption of the truth of this fact, he must build his hypothesis—*It may be asked* (says he) *in that almost universal licence or toleration, which the Ancients, the Romans particularly, extended to the professors of all Religions whatsoever, why the Christian profession alone, which might have expected a favourable treatment, seems to stand exempted, and frequently felt the severity of the bitterest persecution?*—Having *asked* this, he very magisterially solves the riddle: *They met* (says he) *with molestations from that quarter,* BECAUSE *their assemblies were nocturnal.*

What, now, would be the first reflection of a reader, unacquainted with Greece and Rome? Would he not conclude, that *nocturnal assemblies* for religious worship were, till now, unknown in paganism, and regarded as a prodigy, to be expiated only by capital punishments? He would never conceive that *mysterious* and *nocturnal* Rites were the most venerable and sacred part of their worship. But when he is told that these Christian Assemblies were in imitation of the most favourite practices of Gentilism, and to conciliate the world's good will, he will be lost in wonder, that a modern Critic should pretend to know better what would appease or irritate the Pagans than the primitive Church did, which had the best opportunities of distinguishing in these matters, and was most concerned not to be mistaken. He will tell our Critic, that if he really aims at the solution of what he calls a difficulty, he should seek for a *cause* as uncommon and singular as the *effect*. The EFFECT, *religious persecution*, our Critic himself tells us, was a thing almost unknown to the pagan world: but the CAUSE, *nocturnal assemblies*, was as common and as extensive as idolatry itself.

—All the various Religions of Paganism, were ever attended with *mysterious* rites, which (to keep up a veneration for the worship, and to create a sacred horror in the Participant) were generally celebrated in the *night*. But as this afforded opportunities of private enormities, as well as of danger to the State, the laws of the best governed countries, such as Greece, required that foreign Religions, which celebrated such rites, should have the previous licence of the magistrate. Hence we find, that, by a *Law of the twelve tables*, (an institute composed chiefly from the Grecian laws,) clandestine assemblies held in the night were punished with death. In course of time, as superstition abounded, this law was but little observed: for, in the 566th year of Rome, some spurious rites of Bacchus had crept out of Greece, and insinuated themselves into the city; where being celebrated by night, without the knowledge or licence of the Magistrate, they presently suffered an abominable corruption.* On discovery, they were abolished; and fresh vigour given to the *law of the twelve tables*, by a new regulation for celebrating of nocturnal worship. So cautious and tender was the Magistrate, (even under this horrid provocation) of violating the rights of Religion in this capital point of *mysterious* worship: nor did the heat of reformation carry him to impinge upon any other of the nocturnal Rites, then celebrated in Rome; such as the Mysteries of the *Bona Dea*.

Greece and Asia had been long famous for the celebration of this kind of rites; which, Rome, now masters of the east, brought home with them; together with the other ARTS of Greece, of which, Cicero †

* See "Divine Legation," book ii. sect. 6. † *De Legibus*.

reckons these of the MYSTERIES in the first class. And thus things continued in respect to these rites, throughout the whole Roman Empire, down even to the time of Valentinian; who, out of zeal for Christianity, published an edict to abolish the most famous of them all, the ELEUSINIAN. But he was diverted from his purpose by his prudent minister, Prætextatus; who assured him, that it would drive Greece and Asia to despair, and endanger the peace of the Empire.*

Such was the state and condition of *nocturnal assemblies* in the pagan world: They were of the earliest original; of the most venerable use; and practised with the fondest attachment. In the very centre, and during the full celebrity, of these Rites, the Christian church arose: which, if you will believe our Critic, went into them with as much spirit and attention as any Gentile Community of them all. When, strange to tell! the Genius of Paganism, so indulgent to new forms of Religion, (every one of which had their *Mysteries*, and most of them their *nocturnal assemblies)* all of a sudden turned tail, and fell foul upon this rising Sect, for a circumstance common to all, and in a time of full peace and security.

What could occasion so unexpected a reception? Was it any disgust the PEOPLE had entertained to this Christian rite? (for, indeed, on their passions, the Magistrate is generally obliged to square his administration.) This could not be; for the People, (every where the same) are rarely offended, in religious matters, but with novelties. What is of common use they receive with indifference; often with a favourable prejudice. Our Critic confounds the nature and order of things, to make Paganism passive and unprovoked at a Principle which subverted the whole system of their religion, namely, the UNSOCIABILITY of the Christian Faith; and yet mortally offended with a practice the most sacred and universal in Paganism, namely, MYSTERIOUS AND NOCTURNAL RITES.

But it will be said, "Some jealousy entertained of this way of worship, by the MAGISTRATE, might occasion that fiery inquisition: Nocturnal assemblies had been abused, and therefore it became him to be very attentive to every new institution of the like kind." Here our Critic will appeal to his *Bacchanalian rites:* and, indeed, it seems to have been this detestable Mummery which first put the fancy into his head. But this abuse was a single, temporary thing, and had been long forgotten. Nocturnal assemblies had since that time been practised, for many ages, without jealousy. Cicero, indeed, in an ideal Utopia,† had declared against them; but he brings them in, apparently for no other purpose than to stigmatize his mortal enemy Clodius. And, what is remarkable, he gives not the least intimation that the abuses of nocturnal assemblies had ever been so general as to

* ZOSIMUS, lib. iv. † *De Legibus.*

keep alive the attention or jealousy of the Magistrate: Particulars had now and then perverted them to the gratification of their lusts; and for this, (for want of better evidence) he appeals to the comic poets of Greece, where indeed some of the Mysteries appear to have undergone a shameful corruption.

However, let us suppose the state of Rome to be as delicate on this point as our Critic's hypothesis requires it to be: Their circumspection could never go further than to regulate or to reform these Assemblies: it could never proceed to the suppression or abolition of them, because nocturnal meetings made an essential part of their own worship.

It is probable, indeed, that those ridiculous calumnies of the Vulgar, concerning the immoralities committed in the nocturnal assemblies of the Christians, might reach the ears of the Magistrate: But if he attended to them, would he not begin his inquiry by examining into the truth of them, as he had done in the case of the *Bacchanalian rites?* and when he found them as innocent as Pliny the Younger, on a like examination, reports them to have been, would not the search have ended here; and a share of that universal toleration, which he afforded to others, been imparted to them likewise?

Our Critic may perhaps say, that these Christians were such lovers of a secret, that they would not reveal the nature of their rites to the Pagan Magistrate, though it were to entitle them to his protection. Should he say this, he would forget the principles I have now forced him to go upon, which will allow no other reason of the first Christians' falling into this practice, than to conciliate the good will of their Pagan neighbours.

Well, but "there might be some idolatrous Test required to qualify the Church for its share in this toleration of nocturnal worship; and, for non-compliance with the condition" (he may tell us) "the persecution began." It is, indeed, likely enough that such a Test was required; and most probably it consisted in their approbation of the principle of *intercommunity;* if not in words, yet at least in deeds; such as throwing a grain or two of incense on the Pagan altars. But then the mischief of this evasion is, that it brings us round again to the place from whence the learned Critic set out, when he turned his back upon the reason given in *The Divine Legation* for toleration, and would needs seek a better in *nocturnal assemblies.*

Hitherto we cannot conceive how a persecution could so much as *begin,* from the cause our Critic has assigned. But let us, for argument's sake, suppose, that the Magistrate, out of mere caprice (for we have shewn he could have no reason) and in the plenitude of his power, would forbid the Christians their *nocturnal assemblies,* while he allowed the privilege to all besides: even in this case, his persecution

must end almost as soon as it was begun: it is impossible, on our Critic's own principles, that it should have any continuance: for, as the *choice* of nocturnal assemblies was only to reconcile Paganism to Christianity, when they found their neighbours receive these advances so ungraciously, they would soon remove the occasion of offence; in which they would be quickened by their knowledge of the *rights of the Sovereign*, to whom, in things indifferent, they had been told, all obedience was due.

Thus the matter being turned on all sides, we find that NO persecution whatever could follow from that *cause*, which our learned Civilian has assigned for the whole TEN.

But it being certain, that persecuted they were; and as certain, that our Civilian will admit of no other cause than what he himself has given, namely, their *nocturnal assemblies:* Let us for once suppose him to be in the right; and then consider the consequences which will arise from it. When we have done this, we shall have done his System full justice; and the reader, with sufficient knowledge of the case, may take or reject it as he finds himself inclined.

HYPOTHESES are often very plausible, and much oftener very flattering things. You shall have of these, so fair and promising, that an honest reader shall be tempted to wish them, and, from wishing, to think them, true. But this, before us, is by no means in the number of those specious visions.

I seriously believe it would be doing our Chancellor great injustice, to suppose he had any other view in this notable discovery than to do honour to the Christian name: much less should we suspect that he had any formed design of traducing it. Yet it is very certain, that neither COLLINS nor TINDAL could have formed a project more injurious to the reputation of primitive Christianity, than to prove, what is the aim of this learned Critic, that THE FIRST CHRISTIANS WERE PERSECUTED FOR HOLDING THEIR ASSEMBLIES IN THE NIGHT-TIME. For it inevitably follows, that these early professors of the Faith were either wild FANATICS or abandoned LIBERTINES: and consequently, that the Pagan Magistrate did but his duty in inforcing, what the Church has been so long accustomed to call, a *cruel and unjust persecution.*

Before the conception of this new fancy, it was universally supposed, that the primitive Christians *assembled in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power.* This our Critic assures us is a mistake. It is NOT TRUE (says he); *but the converse of the proposition is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE, *viz. that they met with molestation from the civil power* BECAUSE *their assemblies were nocturnal.*

While the common opinion prevailed, these *nocturnal Assemblies,*

recorded in ancient church-history, gave as little scandal to the Pagans of our times, as indeed they did to the Pagans of their own. But when this opinion is given up for the sake of its CONVERSE, we shall be utterly at a loss to account, to our irreligious Inquisitors, for so extraordinary a CHOICE in the immediate followers of Christ.

It hath been shewn above, that these voluntary Assemblies could be occasioned only by one or other of these causes—either that the Christian religion hath *Mysteries*, like the Pagan, which required nocturnal celebrations—or that the first preachers of Christianity affected to imitate the practices of Paganism—or that they were Fanatics, and delighted in the horrors of a midnight season—or lastly, that, like the debauched Bacchanals, they had some very licentious Rites to be performed only in the dark.

Our Critic's religious principles will not allow him to admit of any of these causes but the *second*. And I have shewn that, from the *second*, no persecution could arise, or, at least, could continue. This, on a supposition that the Christians affected to imitate pagan observances. But it is a supposition which contradicts fact, and violates the nature of things. The history of the infant-church informs us, that the first Propagators of the Faith were most averse to every thing which bore a shew of conformity to Paganism. They could not but be so, for their Religion rose out of Judaism, which breathes nothing but opposition to Idolatry.

In course of time, indeed, when pious zeal, by growing overheated, became less pure; when love of pomp and shew (which is natural to men busied in the external offices of Religion), and the affectation of importance (which is as natural to those who preside in them), had spread their leprosy through the Church, the Ministers of the Gospel would be fatally tempted to rival the magnificence, and to ape the mysterious air of Paganism. And the obliquities, which led them into these follies, they would strive to palliate or disguise by a pretended impatience for the speedier extension of the Faith. I have shewn, from Casaubon, how this corrupt conduct infected all the language of Theology.* But this was some ages after the times in question.

Our Critic may perhaps tell us, it was accident or whim which drew together the first Christians into dark corners; and as the *evening and the morning made the first day* of the old Creation, so it was to make *the first day* of the new: and thus *Night*, by her proper Usher, *Chance*, became once again reinstated in her ancient honours.

But this will stand him in small stead. He has not only to account for the first threatenings of Persecution, but for the ACT; and, what is still more, for the continuance of it. Now, what the Christians fell into with so little reason, they would certainly forsake on the

* "Divine Legation," vol. i. pp. 230, 390.

appearance of so great, as the displeasure of the Magistrate, and the crime and danger of disobeying lawful Authority. It is possible, indeed, that, in the heat of Persecution, some over zealous men might mistake their noncompliance with such commands as a necessary mark of their open profession of the Faith. But this was not generally the case; Their common practice was *to give to Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's; and to God, the things which were God's:* Of this, we have sufficient evidence in the famous letter of Pliny the younger, before quoted. Trajan had forbidden the assemblies called *Hetæriæ*, which succeeded those of public worship, and were used by the Christians of Bithynia, to confirm and bind them to one another in the practice of virtue, by the external badge or ceremony of *breaking bread;* and we are assured by this vigilant Magistrate, that the Christians, under his jurisdiction, obeyed the imperial Edict.*

From all this Letter it appears, that the only *causes*, which, on our Critic's principles, could possibly bring on and continue persecution (if persecution arose from nocturnal or clandestine assemblies), must be either FANATICISM OR DEBAUCHED PRACTICES: in the first case, their obstinacy would make them persist; in the other, their libertinage. To these agreeable conclusions, have our learned Civilian's principles reduced us for a solution of our difficulties: and such is the flattering picture he has exhibited of primitive Christianity. Could its most inveterate enemies desire more! or, if its friends should give credit to these fancies, would its enemies be content with less? Such are the disgraces which this *converse proposition* is ready to bring upon Christianity; disgraces of so complicated a stain, as not simply to dishonour our holy Faith, but even to justify the powers of Paganism in all the violences they offered to it. For the Magistrate had a right to suppress the clandestine meetings of Fanaticism and Debauchery.

But our Enemies will have no need to fly to *consequences* for the discharge of the pagan Magistrates; our Christian Chancellor himself proceeds directly to their acquittal. He frankly tells us, that their duty, as Magistrates, required them to animadvert on *nocturnal assemblies*, where they bound themselves to one another, and employed the word SACRAMENTUM for a kind of tessera of union; the very appearance of guilt which had occasioned the *decree* against the infamous rites of Bacchus.

You will say, this is horrid, to make the Magistrate prosecute the primitive Christians by the same provision which obliged him to exterminate those monsters of society! But who can help it? Our Chancellor had but this one precedent for the prosecution of *nocturnal*

* "Quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere," &c.—"quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coëundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium: quod ipsum facere desiisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetærias esse vetueram."—Lib. x. ep. 97.

assemblies; and if it be not the most honourable support of his hypothesis, it is not his fault.

But there was no proof (you will say) against the Christian, as there was against those Bacchanalian assemblies. What of that? Our Chancellor opines, that mere suspicion, in so delicate an affair, was sufficient to acquit the Magistrate of blame: nay, to make his conduct, in his care and jealousy for the State, very commendable. You shall have his own words. *A jealous Governor, therefore, and a stranger to the true principles of Christianity, was naturally open to such impressions; and* COULD NOT BUT *exert that caution and attention which the practice of their Country so warmly recommended.** Could Cicero himself have been more *warm*, not to say more eloquent, in defending the Decree which dispersed the profligate crew of Bacchanals?

And now a very capital point of Ecclesiastical history is cleared up and settled. "The Ten Persecutions were begun and carried on, not, as had been hitherto supposed, upon the score of Religion, or mere opinion, but against bad Subjects, or, at least against those who were reasonably suspected of being such." And this is given to us by the learned Critic as the true defence of free and generous Antiquity, IN ITS PUBLIC CAPACITY: just as in free Britain (where, indeed, we now find small difference, as to freedom, between its *public* and its *private capacity*, except to the advantage of the latter), when Papists complain of the penal laws, we reply, They are not enforced against erroneous Religionists, but against refractory Subjects, for refusing the Magistrate the common security for obedience.—There is indeed a difference; our answer to the Papists is a serious truth; and our Critic's apology for the pagan Persecutors, an idle and ridiculous fiction.

But as if he had not yet done enough for his beloved Antiquity, in thus blanching its TEN PERSECUTIONS; he goes on to clear it from the opprobrium of persecution in general; by charging the original of this diabolic practice on the Christian Church; where, indeed, the Freethinkers had very confidently placed it, till the author of *The Divine Legation* restored it to its right owner, the Pagan Magistrate. —PERSECUTION FOR DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF ALONE, says our learned Civilian, OWES ITS NATIVITY TO MORE MODERN AGES; *and Spain was its country; where Priscillian, by some, is held to be the first sufferer for* MERE OPINION.

Thus the whole blame of PERSECUTION for Religion is thrown from the Gentile Persecutors, upon the suffering Church: And Christianity, either for its follies or its crimes (as either insulting civil Society by its obstinacy, or polluting it by its vices), stands covered with confusion. So happy an advocate has our learned Civilian

* P. 579.

approved himself for the Cause to which, by a double tye, he had devoted and engaged his ministry.—

The length of these animadversions hindered them from finding a place in the body of this volume, amongst other things of the like sort. Except for this, he had no claim to be distinguished from his fellows. I had a large choice before me: for who has not signalized himself against the DIVINE LEGATION? Bigots, Hutchinsonians, Methodists, Answerers, Freethinkers, and Fanatics, have in their turns been all up in arms against it. "Quid dicam?" (to use the words of an honest man in the same circumstances.) "Commune fere hoc eorum fatum est, quorum opera supremum Numen uti vult in Ecclesia, ut MATURE *insidiis, accusationibus* et *criminationibus* appetantur." The scene was opened by a false Zealot, and at present seems likely to be closed by a true Behmenist.* A natural and easy progress, from knavery to madness, where the imposture fails: as the progress is from madness to knavery, where it succeeds. It was now time to settle my accounts with them. To this end I applied to a learned person, who, in consideration of our friendship, hath been prevailed upon to undergo the drudgery of turning over this dirty heap, and marking what he imagined would in the least deserve, or could justify any notice: for I would not have the reader conceive so miserably of me as to think I was ever disposed to look into them myself. He will find, as he goes along, both in the text and the notes, what was thought least unworthy of an answer. Nor let it give him too much scandal that, in a work which I have now put into as good a condition for him as I was able, I have revived the memory of the numerous and gross absurdities of these writers, part of whom are dead, and the rest forgotten: For he will consider, that it may prove an useful barrier to the return of the like follies, in after-times, against more successful Inquirers into Truth. The seeds of Folly, as well as Wit, are connate with the mind: and when, at any time, the teeming intellect gives promise of an unexpected harvest, the trash starts up with it, and is ever forward to wind itself about rising Truth, and hinder its progress to maturity. Were it not for this, I should refer the candid reader to what I take to be the best defence and support of the ARGUMENT OF THE DIVINE LEGATION, the succinct view of the whole and all its parts, which he will find at the conclusion of the last of these volumes.† For, as Lord Verulam says excellently well: THE HARMONY OF A SCIENCE, SUPPORTING EACH PART THE OTHER, IS, AND OUGHT TO BE, THE TRUE AND BRIEF CONFUTATION AND SUPPRESSION OF ALL THE SMALLER SORTS OF OBJECTIONS.

* Rev. Mr. William Law.

† Vol. iii. of this edition.

THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES

DEMONSTRATED.

BOOKS IV. V. VI.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥΣ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΚΑΤΑΝΟΗΣΩ ΤΑ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΑ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ.—PSAL.

THE

DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES

DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK IV.

SECTION I.

THE foregoing Volume* hath occasionally, and in the course of my main argument, shewn the reader, that it was always the practice of mankind to listen to, and embrace some pretended REVELATION; in neglect of what is called, in contradistinction to it, the RELIGION OF NATURE; that, I mean, which is only founded on our relation to the first Cause; and deducible from the eternal reason of things.†

If ever a general propensity might be called a dictate of Nature, this surely may. That such a propensity there is, the Deist, or pretended follower of *natural Religion*, freely confesseth, nay, is forward to insist upon, as a circumstance of discredit to those *Revelations*, which we receive for true. Yet surely, of all his visionary advantages, none ever afforded him less cause of triumph; a consequence flowing from it, which is entirely subversive of his whole scheme.

For let me ask such a one, What could be the cause of so universal a *propensity* in all ages, places, and people? But before he answer, let him see that he be able to distinguish between the causes which the Few had in giving, and the Many in receiving, pretended Revelations. The causes for projecting and giving are explained at large in the former volume; where it is shewn, that all the pretended Revelations, but real corruptions of religion, came from Princes and Lawgivers. It is true, he hath been taught otherwise. His instructors, the Tolands and Tindals of the time, assure him, that all came from

* Books i. ii. iii.

† Ἐὺ δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν τῆς δεισιδαίμονος πλάνης, ἐπίσκεψαι τὴν διάπτωσιν· φύσει μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτοις ἐννοίαις, μᾶλλον δὲ θεοδιδάκτοις, καλόν τι καὶ ὠφέλιμον τυγχάνειν, τὸ σημαῖνον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγορίαν τε καὶ οὐσίαν. πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι κοιναῖς λογισμοῖς προειλήφεσαν, τοῦ τῶν ὅλων Δημιουργοῦ, τοῦτο πάσῃ λογικῇ καὶ νοερᾷ ψυχῇ, φυσικαῖς ἐννοίαις ὑποσπείραντος· οὐ μὴν καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ κατὰ λόγον ἐκέχρηντο.—EUSEBII *Præp. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 6, edit. Steph. pp. 45, 46.

the PRIESTS; and I suppose they spoke what they believed: It might be so, for any thing they knew.

My question then is, What could induce Mankind to embrace these offered Revelations, unless it were,

1. Either a CONSCIOUSNESS, that they wanted a revealed Will for the rule of their actions; or,
2. An old TRADITION, that God had vouchsafed it to their forefathers?

One can hardly conceive any thing else; for a general effect must have as general a cause: which, in this case, is only to be found in the *nature* of man; or in a *tradition* preserved in the whole race. Prince-craft or priest-craft might indeed offer them, for their own private ends: but nothing short of a common inducement could dispose mankind to accept them.

1. As to the consciousness of the want of a Revelation, that may fairly be inferred from the miserable blindness of our condition: And he who wants to be informed of this, should consult Antiquity; or, what may be more for his ease, those modern writers, who, for no very good ends, but yet to a very good issue, have drawn such lively pictures of it, from thence. But without going even so far, he may find, in the very disposition to receive such absurd schemes of religion as Revelations from heaven, more than a thousand other arguments to prove men ignorant of the first principles of natural religion; a very moderate knowledge of which would have certainly detected the imposture of those pretences. But now, men so totally at a loss for a rule of life, would greedily embrace any direction that came with pretended credentials from heaven.

If we turn to the Few, the wise and learned amongst them, we shall find the case still more desperate. In religious matters, these were blinder even than the People; and in proportion too, as they were less conscious of their ignorance. The most advanced in the knowledge of human nature and its dependencies, were, without question, the ancient Sages of Greece. Of these, the wisest, and far the wisest, was SOCRATES; for he saw and confessed his ignorance, and deplored the want of a superior direction. For the rest, who thought *themselves wise*, and appeared not so sensibly to feel their wants, we have shewn at large,* how they *became Fools;* and, debauched by false science, affected the language of Gods before they had well emancipated[1] themselves from the condition of brutes.† The two great supports of natural religion, in the world at large, are the belief of a FUTURE STATE, and the knowledge of MORAL OBLIGATION. The first was rejected by all; and the true ground of the second was

* Book iii. sections 2—5. † The Stoics, who thought the soul mortal, yet reckoned their *wise man* equal, or superior, to the gods.

understood by none: The honour of this discovery was reserved for Revelation, which teacheth us, in spite of unwilling hearers, that *the real ground of moral obligation is the will of God.*

2. There only remains that other possible cause, *the general tradition of God's early revelation of his will to mankind,* as delivered in Scripture. I, for my part, suppose both concerned in the effect; and that that state of mind which disposed men to so ready and general a reception of these numerous impostures, was the result of the consciousness of their wants, joined to the prejudice of Tradition. If the Deist allow Tradition, he gives up the question; if he acknowledge our wants, he affords a strong presumption, in favour of Revelation.

For if man (let the cause proceed from what it will) be so irrecoverably blind and helpless, it is highly reasonable to think that Infinite Goodness would lead and enlighten him by an extraordinary revelation of his will.

But here, Tindal objects, "That this blindness is men's own fault, who, instead of improving their reason, and following its dictates, which would lead them into all truth (our own Scriptures assuring us, that *that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them),** go on like beasts, and follow one another as they are led or driven."

To this I answer, that what had been the lot of man from the beginning of the world to the birth of CHRIST, was like to continue so to the end of it. A deviation springing from no partial cause of climate, government, or age; but the sad effect of human weakness in the circumstance of our earthly situation.—By the fault of man, it is true; but such a fault as, it is seen by long experience, man could never remedy. He therefore flies to Heaven for relief; and seems to have reason for his confidence.

But to this, our *man of morals* has a reply at hand; "That if such be our condition, it may indeed want redress; but then, a Revelation will not render the cure lasting." And for this he appeals to the corrupt state of the Christian world; which, in his opinion, seems to demand a new Revelation, to restore the virtue and efficacy of the old.

But let me tell this vain Rationalist, There is an extreme difference between the corruption of the Pagan and the Christian world. In the Pagan, where false Revelations had given men wrong ideas of the attributes of the Deity, they must of course, and did in fact, act viciously UPON PRINCIPLE;† a condition of blindness which seemed

* Rom. i. 19, 20. † See "Divine Legation," book ii. sect. 5.—Τὴν φύσιν ἀνηκοὺς καὶ ἀνθρωπίναις κεχρημένους συμφοραῖς, ὡς ἀγαθῶν χορηγοὺς, σωτῆρας καὶ θεοὺς ἀναγορεύειν, τὴν σεβάσμιον ἔννοιαν φυσικῶς αὐτοῖς ἐνυπάρχουσαν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐνόμιζον εὐεργέτας μετατεθεικότες. Τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα συνεῖχεν αὐτοὺς φρενῶν ἀποπληξία, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν πλημμελουμένων τοῖς θεολογουμένοις ὑπολογίζεσθαι· μηδ' ἐρυθριᾷν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσχρῶς περὶ αὐτῶν φημιζομένοις, τὰ πάντα δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας διὰ τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν παρεχομένας ὠφε-

to call out on God's goodness for a remedy: but in the Christian world, for the very contrary reason, all wicked men act ill AGAINST PRINCIPLE; a condition of perverseness which seems to call out for nothing but his justice: God, according to the state of the case, having done every thing that man, with all his presumption, can pretend to expect from the goodness of his Maker.

So far on the Deist's own principles; on his own false notion that God's Revelation is represented in Scripture to be merely a *republication of the religion of nature*. For, as such he has presumed to comment on it; and as such, in excess of complaisance, we believers have generally thought fit to receive it. But I shall, ere long, shew it to be a very different thing: and, from its true nature, prove not only (as here) the *use* of Revelation, but likewise the absolute *necessity* of it, to mankind. I shall shew that what our adversaries suppose the only, was but the secondary end of the two Revelations; that what was primary and peculiar to them, as Revelations, was of such a nature as the utmost perversity of man could not, in any degree, defeat; of such a nature as manifests there must needs be these Revelations; and that to expect more, or further, would not only be unreasonable, but absurd.*

At present, to go on with the Deist in his own way. From what hath been said, we see a strong presumption, that God hath indeed communicated his will to mankind in that extraordinary way we call REVELATION.

And now, that amazing number of *false* religions, under paganism, begins to appear less formidable and injurious to the *true*. It was on a presumption they would prove so, that, in a foregoing volume, they were drawn out in review, with each its false Prophet at its head.† And here at last they are employed, wicked instruments as they were, and wickedly as they have been abused in dishonouring truth, to evince the high probability of God's having actually given a revelation of his will to mankind.

If, therefore, there be such a thing as true revelation, our highest interests will engage us in the search of it: and we shall want no encouragement to proceed, because it must needs have some *characteristic mark* to distinguish it from the false. And this mark must be our guide.

Λείας, ἢ καὶ διὰ τὰς τότε πρῶτον συνισταμένας δυναστείας τε καὶ τυραννίδας ἀποθαυμάζειν· νόμων γὰρ οὖν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἤδη πρότερον μηδέπω τότε ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευομένων, μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις ἁμαρτίας [τιμωρίας] ἀπηρτημένης, μοιχείας καὶ ἀρρένων φθορὰς, ἐκθέσμους τε καὶ παρανόμους γάμους, μιαιφονίας τε καὶ πατροκτονίας, τίκνων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν σφαγὰς, καὶ μὴν καὶ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις πεπραγμένας ὄντως τοῖς οἰκείοις πρωτοστάταις, οὓς θεοὺς ἡγοῦντό τε καὶ ἀπεκάλουν, ὥσπερ ἐν μέρει κατορθωμάτων καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀπεμνημόνευον, τὴν τούτων μνήμην ὡς σεμνῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων τοῖς ὑψιγόνοις ἀπολιπόντες.—EUSEBII *Præp. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 6, edit. Steph. p. 46.

* See book ix. and, in the mean time, "Sermons on the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion," serm. v. vol. ix.

† See book ii. sect. 2.

Now if we look round the ancient world, and take a view of the numerous religions of paganism, we shall find (notwithstanding all pretended to be original, and all were actually independent) so perfect a harmony in their genius, and conformity in their ministrations, as to the object, subject, and end of religious worship,* that we must needs conclude them to be all false, or all true. All true they could not be, because they contradicted one another, in matters of practice and speculation, professed to be revealed.

But amongst this prodigious number of pretended revelations, we find ONE, in an obscure corner of the globe, inhabited by a single family, so fundamentally opposite to all the other institutions of mankind, as would tempt us to conclude we have here found what we search after.

The many particulars in which this religion differed from all others, will be occasionally explained as we go along. For, as our subject forced us, in the former volume, to draw into view those marks of agreement which the false had with true revelation; so the same subject brings us now to the more pleasing task of shewing wherein the true differed from the false. To our present purpose it will be sufficient to take notice only of that primary and capital mark of distinction, which differenced JUDAISM from all the rest; and this was its pretending TO COME FROM THE FIRST CAUSE OF ALL THINGS; AND ITS CONDEMNING EVERY OTHER RELIGION FOR AN IMPOSTURE.

I. Not one of all that numerous rabble of revelations, ever pretended to come from the FIRST CAUSE,† or taught the worship of the one God in their PUBLIC ministrations.‡ So true is that which Eusebius observes from Scripture, that "for the Hebrew people alone was reserved the honour of being *initiated* into the knowledge of *God the Creator* of all things, and of being instructed in the practice of true piety towards him."§ I said, *in their public ministrations*, for we have seen it was taught in their *mysteries* to a few; and to their mysteries, it is remarkable, the learned Father alludes; who opposeth the case of the Hebrews, to the Pagans;‖ where a small and select number only was initiated into the knowledge of the Creator; but in Judea, a whole people.

II. That the Hebrews were as singular, in condemning all other religions of imposture, as in publicly worshipping one God, the Creator, hath been shewn in the former volume.

There is nothing more surprising in all Pagan Antiquity, than that, amidst their endless Revelations, not one of them should ever pretend

* See "Divine Legation," book ii. sect. 1, 2, 5, 6, and book iii. sect. 4. † Ibid. book ii. sect. 2. ‡ See note A, at the end of this book. § See note B, at the end of this book. ‖ See "Divine Legation," vol. i. pp. 211 and 386.

to come from the FIRST CAUSE of all things; or should condemn the rest of falshood: And yet there is nothing which modern writers are more accustomed to pass over without reflection. But the ancient Fathers, who were more intimately acquainted with the state of paganism, seem to have regarded it with the attention that so extraordinary a circumstance deserves: and I apprehend, it was no other than the difficulty of accounting for it, which made them recur so generally, as they do, to the agency of the DEVIL: for I must beg leave to assure certain modern rectifiers of prejudices, that the Fathers are not commonly led away by a vain superstition; as they affect to represent them: so that when these venerable writers unanimously concurred in thinking, *that the devil had a great share in the introduction and support of pagan revelation*, I imagine they were led to this conclusion from such like considerations as these,—That had these impostures been the sole agency of men, it is inconceivable that no one false prophet, no one speculative philosopher, of all those who regulated states, were well acquainted with the first Cause, and affected singularities and refinement, should ever have pretended to receive his Revelations from the only true God; or have accused the rest of falshood: A thing so very natural for some or other of them to have done, were it but to advance their own religion, in point of truth or origin, above the rest. On the contrary, so averse were they to any thing of this management, that those who pretended to inspirations even from JUPITER, never considered him, as he was often considered by particulars, in the sense of the Creator of all things; but as the local tutelar Jupiter, of Crete, for instance, or Libya. Again, those who pretended to the best system of religion, meant not the best simply; but the best for their own peculiar community.* This, if a supernatural agency be excluded, seemed utterly unaccountable. But admitting the Devil to his share, a very good reason might be assigned: for it is certain, the suffering his agents to pretend inspiration from the first Cause would have greatly endangered idolatry; and the suffering any of them to condemn the rest of falshood, would (by setting men upon enquiry and examination) have soon put a stop to the unbounded progress of it.

Thus, I suppose, the Fathers reasoned: and I believe our Freethinkers, with all their logic, would find it somewhat difficult to shew that they reasoned ill.

But as we have made it our business, all along, to enquire into the NATURAL causes of paganism, in all its amazing appearances, we shall go on, in the same way, to see what may be assigned for this most amazing of all.

1. First then, the FALSE PROPHET and POLITICIAN, who formerly

* See "Divine Legation," book ii. sect. 6.

cheated under one and the same person,* found it necessary, in his character of Prophet, to pretend inspiration from the God most reverenced by the people; and this God was generally one of their dead ancestors, or citizens, whose services to the community had procured him divine honours;† and who was, of course, a local tutelary Deity. In his character of Politician, he thought it of importance to have the national worship paid to the Founder of the Society, or to the father of the Tribe: for a God, who had them in peculiar, suited the gross conceptions of the people much better than a common Deity at large. But this practice gave birth to two principles, which prevented any opening for a pretended intercourse with the one God, the Creator. 1. The first was, an opinion of their DIVINES, that the supreme God did not immediately concern himself with the government of the world, but left it to local tutelary deities, his vicegerents.‡ 2. The second, an opinion of their LAWGIVERS, that it would be of fatal consequence to Society, to discover the first Cause of all things to the people.§

2. But secondly, that which one would imagine should have brought the one God, the Creator, to the knowledge of the world, in some public Institution of religion, namely, his being taught to so many in the Mysteries, and particularly to all who pretended to *revelation* and *lawgiving*,‖ was the very thing that kept him unknown; because all who came to the knowledge of him this way, had it communicated to them under the most religious seal of secrecy.

3. Now, while the first Cause of all things was rejected or unknown, and nothing professed in the public worship but local tutelary Deities, each of which had his own appointment, and little concerned himself in that of another's, no one religion could accuse the other of falshood, because they all stood upon the same foundation.

How far this may account, in a natural way, for the matter in question, is submitted to the judgment of the learned.

Here then we rest. An essential difference between the JEWISH and all other religions is now found: the very mark we wanted, to discriminate the true from the false.

As for any marks of resemblance in matters circumstantial, this will give us no manner of concern. The shame of this allegation must lie with the Deist, who can, in conscience, bring it into account, for the equal falshood of them both; seeing, were the Jewish (as we pretend) true, and the Pagan false, that very resemblance must still remain. For what, I pray, is a false religion, but the counterfeit of a true? And what is it to counterfeit, but to assume the likeness of

* "Divine Legation," book ii. sect. 2. † Ibid. sect. 1. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. sect. 4. ‖ Ibid.

the thing usurped? In good earnest, an Impostor, without one single feature of truth, would be a rarity even amongst monsters.

SECTION II.

But the business of this Work is not probability but DEMONSTRATION. This, therefore, only by the way, and to lead us the more easily into the main road of our enquiry: for the reader now sees we are pursuing no desperate adventure, while we endeavour to deduce the divinity of MOSES's Law, from the circumstances of the Law itself.

I go on with my proposed demonstration.

Having proved in the foregoing volume the first and second propositions—*That the inculcating the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to the well-being of civil Society*;—and, *That all mankind, especially the most wise and learned nations of antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching that this doctrine was of such use to civil Society*:—I come, in this, to the third,

THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF, THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Now as, in support of the two first Propositions, I was forced to make my way through the long chicane of Atheism and Freethinking; so in defence of the third, I shall have the much harder fortune of finding Adversaries in the quarter of our Friends: for it hath happened unluckily, that mistaken conceptions of the JEWISH and of the CHRISTIAN Dispensations, have made some advocates of Revelation always unwilling to confess the truth which I here endeavour to establish; and a late revived despicable whimsy concerning the sadducism of the Hebrews, hath now violently inclined them to oppose it.

A man less fond of TRUTH, and equally attached to RELIGION, would have here stopt short, and ventured no further in a road where he must so frequently suffer the displeasure of forsaking those he most agrees with; and the much greater mortification of appearing to go along with those he most differs from. I have often asked myself, What I had to do, to invent new arguments for Religion, when the old ones had outlived so many generations of this mortal race of infidels and freethinkers? Why I did not rather chuse the high road of literary honours, and pick out some poor critic or small philosopher of this school, to offer up at the shrine of violated sense and virtue? Things that might be exposed to their deserved contempt on any principles; or indeed without any: I might then have flourished in the favour of my superiors, and the good-will of all my brethren. But the love of TRUTH breaks all my measures: *Imperiosa trahit*

veritas; and I am once more borne away in the deep and troubled torrent of Antiquity.

These various prejudices above mentioned oblige me therefore to prove the third Proposition, in the same circumstantial manner I proved the first and second: and this will require a previous explanation of the MOSAIC POLICY.

But to form a right idea of that Institution, it will be necessary to know the genius and manners of the HEBREW PEOPLE; though it be, as we conceive, of divine appointment: and still more necessary to understand the character and abilities of their LAWGIVER, if it be, as our adversaries pretend, only of human.

Now as the Hebrews, on receiving their LAW, were but just come from a strange country, the land of EGYPT; where the people had been held in slavery and oppression; and their Leader bred at court, and instructed in all the learning of their colleges; it could not but be, that the genius and manners of both would receive a high tincture from those with whom they had so long, and in such different stations, conversed: And in fact, holy Scripture assures us, that MOSES was *conversant in all the wisdom,* and the ISRAELITES besotted *with all the whoredoms or idolatries, of Egypt.*

It will be of importance therefore to know the state of SUPERSTITION and LEARNING in Egypt during these early ages.

This, as it is a necessary, so one would think, should be no difficult enquiry; for it is natural to suppose, that the same Scripture which tells us, that the Lawgiver and his people brought their wisdom and superstitions from Egypt, would tell us also what that wisdom and what those superstitions were. And so indeed it does; as will be seen in due time: Yet, by ill fortune, the fact stands, at present, so precarious, as to need much pains, and many words, to make it owned. Divines, it is confessed, seem to allow the testimony of Stephen and Ezekiel, who, under the very impulse of inspiration, say *that* MOSES *was learned in all the wisdom, and the people devoted to all the superstitions of Egypt;* yet, when they come to explain that learning, they make it to consist in such fopperies, as a wise and honest man, like MOSES, would never practise: when they come to particularize those superstitions, they will not allow even the *Golden Calf,* the ὁ ΜΟΣΧΟΣ οὗτος ὁ Ἄπις καλεόμενος,* to be of their number. For by an odd chance, though not uncommon in blind scuffles, the infidels and we have changed weapons: Our enemies attack us with the Bible, to prove the Egyptians very learned and very superstitious in the time of Moses; and we defend ourselves with the *new Chronology* of Sir Isaac Newton, to prove them very barbarous and very innocent.

* HERODOTUS, lib. iii. cap. 28.

Would the reader know how this came about; it was in this wise: The infidels had observed (as who that ever looked into sacred and profane Antiquity hath not?) that in the Jewish Law there were many ordinances respective of the institutions of Egypt. This circumstance they seized; and, according to their custom, envenomed; by drawing from thence a conclusion against *The Divine Legation of Moses*. The defenders of Revelation, surprised with the novelty of the argument, did that, in a fright and in excess of caution, which one may observe unprepared disputants generally do, to support their opinions; that is, they chose rather to deny the PREMISSES than the CONCLUSION. For such, not knowing to what their adversary's principles may lead, think it a point of prudence to stop him in his first advance: whereas the skilful disputant well knows, that he never has his enemy at more advantage, than when, by allowing the premisses, he shews him arguing wrong from his own principles; for the question being then to be decided by the certain rules of logic, his confutation exposes the weakness of the advocate as well as of the cause. When this is over, he may turn with a good grace upon the premisses; to expose them, if false; to rectify them, if misrepresented; or to employ them in the service of Religion, if truly and faithfully delivered: and this service they will never refuse him; as I shall shew in the previous question of *the high antiquity of Egypt*, and in the main question of *the omission of a future state in the institution of the Hebrews*.

And I am well persuaded that, had those excellent advocates of Religion (whose labours have set the truth in a light not to be resisted) but duly weighed the character of those with whom they had to do, they would have been less startled at any consequences the power of their logic could have deduced. The Tolands, the Blounts, the Tindals, are, in truth, of a temper and complexion, in which one finds more of that quality which subjects men to draw wrong Conclusions, than of that which enables them to invent false Principles.

The excellent SPENCER, indeed, endeavoured to dissipate this panic, by shewing these premisses to be the true key to the REASON OF THE LAW; for the want of a *sufficient reason* in the ceremonial and positive part of it, was the greatest objection, which thinking men had, to the divinity of its original.

But all this did not yet reconcile men to those premisses. It would seem as if they had another quarrel with them, besides the poor unlearned fear of their leading to the infidel's conclusion; namely, for their being an adversary's principle simply; and, on that score alone to be disputed. This is a perverse, though common prejudice, which infects our whole communication; and hath hurt unity in the church, and humanity in civil life, as well as peace in

the schools. For who knows not that the same impotent aversion to things abused by an enemy, hath made one sort of sectaries divide from the national church, and another reprobate the most indifferent manners of their country? *

And it is to be observed, that till that unlucky time when the infidels first blundered upon truth, this principle met with a very general reception: the ancient Fathers, and modern Divines of all denominations, concurring in their use of it, to illustrate the wisdom of God's Laws, and the truth of his Son's interpretation of them, where he assureth us that they were given to the Hebrews *for the hardness of their hearts;* no sort of men sticking out, but a few visionary Jews, who, besotted with the nonsense of their cabbala, obstinately shut their eyes against all the light which the excellent MAIMONIDES had first poured into this palpable obscure.

Not that I would be understood as admitting the premisses in the latitude in which our adversaries deliver them;

Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.

The human mind, miserably weak and instable, and distracted with a great variety of objects, is naturally inclined to repose itself in SYSTEM; nothing being more uneasy to us than a state of doubt; or a view too large for our comprehension. Hence we see, that, of every imaginary fact, some or other have made an hypothesis; of every cloud, a castle: And the common vice of these castle-builders is to draw every thing within its precincts, which they fancy may contribute to its defence or embellishment. We have given an instance, in the foregoing book, of the folly of those who have run into the contrary extreme, and are for deriving all arts, laws and religions, from the People of God: an extravagance at length come to such a height, that, if you will believe certain writers,† the poor heathen had neither the grace to kneel to prayers, nor the wit to put their Gods under cover, till the Israelites taught them the way. But our wise adversaries are even with them; and will bate no believer an inch, in driving on an hypothesis: for had not the Egyptians, by great good luck, as they give us to understand,‡ enjoined *honour to parents*, and *restrained theft by punishment*, the Jews had been in a sad blind condition when they came to take possession of the promised land. Are these men more sober in their accounts of the religious Institutions of the Hebrews? I think not; when they pretend to prove *circumcision* of Egyptian original from the testimony of late writers, who neither speak to the point, nor in this point are in reason to be regarded, if they did.§

* Puritans, Quakers, &c. † See note C, at the end of this book. ‡ See MARSHAM'S *Canon Chron.* ed. Franeq. pp. 177, 188. § See note D, at the end of this book.

But why all this strife for or against the one or other hypothesis? for assuredly it would no more follow, from this of our adversaries, that the Jewish Religion was false, than from a lately revived one of our friends, which supposes all the Gods of Egypt to have come out of Abraham's family,* that the Egyptian was true.

It must indeed be of use to true religion, where or whatever it be, to trace up things to their original: and for that reason alone, without any views to party, I shall endeavour to prove the four following propositions.

1. That the Egyptian learning, celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian superstition there condemned, were the very learning and superstition represented by the Greek writers, as the honour and opprobrium of that Kingdom.

2. That the Jewish people were extremely fond of Egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian superstitions: and that many of the laws given to them by the ministry of Moses, were instituted, partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in opposition to those superstitions.

3. That Moses's Egyptian learning, and the laws he instituted in compliance to the people's prejudices, and in opposition to Egyptian superstitions, are no reasonable objection to the divinity of his mission. And,

4. That those very circumstances are a strong confirmation of the truth of his pretensions.

The inquiry, into which the proof of these points will lead us, is, as we said, very necessary to the gaining a true idea of the nature of the Jewish Dispensation: as that idea will enable the reader to form a right judgment of the force of those arguments, I am preparing for the support of my THIRD PROPOSITION, *That the doctrine of a future state is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the Jewish Dispensation.* But the enquiry has still a further use. I shall employ the result of it to *strengthen* that general conclusion, THAT MOSES HAD REALLY A DIVINE MISSION, which I have promised to deduce through the medium of this third proposition: so that the reader must not think me in the humour to trifle with him, if this enquiry should prove longer than he expected.

And here, on the entrance, it will be no improper place to explain my meaning, when, in my first setting out, I promised to demonstrate the truth of the Jewish revelation, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF A RELIGIOUS DEIST. Had I meant no more by this, than that I would argue with him on common principles, I had only insulted the reader's understanding by an affected expression, while I pretended to make that peculiar to my defence, which is, or ought to be, a cir-

* Voyez *Reflexions Critiques sur les Histoires des Anciens Peuples.*

cumstance common to all: or had I meant so much by it, as to imply, that I would argue with the Deist on his own false principles, I had then unreasonably bespoke the reader's long attention to a mere argument *ad hominem*, which, at best, had only proved the free-thinker a bad reasoner; and who wants to be convinced of that? but my point was not so much to shew that the Infidel was in the wrong, as that the Believer was in the right. The only remaining sense then of the Deist's own principles is this, Those true principles of his, which because they are generally held by the enemies of Religion, and almost as generally rejected by the friends of it, have got the title of *deistical principles*. Such, for instance, as this I am going upon, *the high antiquity of the Egyptian wisdom;* and such as that, for the sake of which I go upon it, *the omission of the doctrine of a future state in the Mosaic dispensation*. And these are the principles by which I promise, in good time, to overturn all his conclusions.

SECTION III.

THE first proposition is,—*That the Egyptian learning, celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian superstition there condemned, were the very learning and superstition represented by the Greek writers as the honour and opprobrium of that kingdom.*

To prove this, I shall in the first place shew (both by external and internal evidence) the just pretensions which Egypt had to a superior antiquity: and then examine the new hypothesis of Sir ISAAC NEWTON against that antiquity.

It is confessed on all hands, that the Greek writers concur in representing Egypt as one of the most ancient and powerful monarchies in the world. In support of what they deliver, we may observe, that they have given a very particular account of the civil and religious customs in use from the most early times of memory: customs of such a kind, as shew the followers of them to have been most polite and powerful.—Thus stands the Grecian evidence.

But to this it may be replied, that the Greeks are, in all respects, incompetent witnesses, and carry with them such imperfections as are sufficient to discredit any evidence; being, indeed, very *ignorant*, and very *prejudiced*. As this made them liable to imposition; so falling, as we shall see, into ill hands, they actually were imposed on.

Their *ignorance* may be fairly collected from their age; and from the authors of their intelligence. They all lived long after the times in question; and, though they received indeed their information from Egypt itself; yet, for the most part, it was not till after the entire destruction of that ancient empire, and when it was now become a province, in succession, to Asiatic and European conquerors: when

their ancient and public records were destroyed; and their very learning and genius changed to a conformity with their Grecian masters, who would needs, at this time of day, seek wisdom from Egypt, which could but furnish them with their own; though, because they would have it so, disguised under the stately obscurity of an Eastern cover.*

Nor were their *prejudices* less notorious. They thought themselves Autocthones, the original inhabitants of the earth, and indebted to none for their advantages. But when knowledge and acquaintance with foreign nations had convinced them of their mistake; and that, so far from owing nothing to others, they owed almost every thing to Egypt; their writers, still true to their natural vanity, now gave the post of honour to these, which they could no longer keep to themselves; and complimented their new instructors with the most extravagant antiquity. What the Greeks conceived out of vain-glory, the Egyptians cherished to promote a trade. This country was long the mart of knowledge for the Eastern and Western world: and as nothing so much recommends this kind of commodity as its age, they set it off by forged records, which extended their history to a most unreasonable length of time: accounts of these have been conveyed to us by ancient authors, and fully confuted by the modern. Thus stands the objection to the Grecian evidence. And, though I have no business to determine in this question, as the use I make of the Greek authority is not at all affected by it; yet I must needs confess that, were there no writings of higher antiquity to confirm the Grecian, their testimony would be very doubtful: but, could writings of much higher antiquity be found to contradict it, they would deserve to have no credit at all.

Whatever therefore they say of the high antiquity of Egypt, unsupported by the reason of the thing, or the testimony of holy Scripture, shall never be employed in this enquiry; but whatever Reason and Scripture seem to contradict, whether it serve the one or other purpose, I shall always totally reject.

The unanimous agreement of the Greek writers in representing Egypt as the most ancient and best policied empire in the world, is, as we say, generally known and acknowledged.

I. Let us see then, in the first place, what REASON says concerning this matter.

There is, if I be not much mistaken, one circumstance in the situation of Egypt, which seems to assert its claim to a priority amongst the civilized Nations; and consequently to its eldership in Arts and Arms.

There is no soil on the face of the globe so fertile but what, in a

* See "Divine Legation," book iii, sect. 4.

little time, becomes naturally effete by pasturage and tillage. This, in the early ages of the world, forced the unsettled tribes of men to be perpetually shifting their abode. For the world lying all before them, they saw a speedier and easier relief in removing to fresh ground, than in turning their thoughts to the recovery * of the fertility of that already spent by occupation: for it is necessity alone, to which we are indebted for all the artificial methods of supplying our wants.

Now the plain of Egypt having it's fertility annually restored by the periodic overflowings of the Nile, they, whom chance or choice had once directed to sit down upon it's banks, had never after an occasion to remove their tents. And when men have been so long settled in a place, that the majority of the inhabitants are become natives of the soil, the inborn love of a Country has, by that time, struck such deep roots into it, that nothing but extreme violence can draw them out. Hence, civil policy arises; which, while the unsettled tribes of mankind keep shifting from place to place, remains stifled in its seeds.

This, I apprehend, if rightly considered, will induce us to conclude, that Egypt was very likely to have been one of the first civilized countries on the globe.

II. Let us see next what SCRIPTURE has recorded in support of the same truth.

1. So early as the time of Abraham we find a king in Egypt of the common name of Pharaoh: † which would induce one to believe, that the civil policy was much the same as in the times of Joseph and Moses: and how perfect it then was, will be seen presently. This kingdom is represented as abounding in corn, and capable of relieving others in a time of famine: ‡ which no kingdom can do, where agriculture has not been improved by art, and regulated by a civil policy. We see the splendor of a luxurious court, in the princes who resided in the monarch's houshold: amongst whom, we find some (as the most thriving trade for royal favour) to have been procurers to his pleasures: § nor were the presents made by Pharaoh to Abraham, at all unworthy of a great king. ‖ An adventure of the same sort as this of Abraham's with Pharaoh, happened to his son Isaac with Abimelech; which will instruct us in the difference between an Egyptian monarch, and a petty roitelet of the Philistines. Abimelech is described as little different from a simple particular, ¶ without his guards, or great princes: so jealous and afraid of Isaac's growing power, that he obliged him to depart out of his dominions; **

* See note E, at the end of this book. † Genesis xii. 15. ‡ Verse 10.
§ *The princes also of Pharaoh saw her, and* COMMENDED HER BEFORE PHARAOH: *and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house.* (Gen. xii. 15.) ‖ Gen. xii. 16.
¶ Chap. xxvi. 7, 8. ** Verse 16.

and, not satisfied with that, went afterwards to beg a peace of him, and would swear him to the observance of it.*

2. The caravan of Ishmaelite merchants, going from Gilead to Egypt,† brings us to the second scripture period of this ancient monarchy. And here their camel-loads of spicery, balm, and myrrh, and their traffic in young slaves,‡ commodities only for a rich and luxurious people, sufficiently declare the established power and wealth of Egypt. We find a captain of Pharaoh's guard; a chief butler, and a baker.§ We see in the vestures of fine linen, in the gold chains, and state-chariots given to Joseph,‖ all the marks of luxury and politeness: and in the cities for laying up of stores and provisions,¶ the effects of wise government and opulence. Nor is the policy of a distinct PRIESTHOOD, which is so circumstantially described in the history of this period, one of the least marks of the high antiquity of this flourishing kingdom. It is agreed, on all hands, that there was such an Institution in Egypt, long before it was known in any other parts of the East. And if what Diodorus Siculus intimates to be the original of a distinct priesthood, be true, namely the growing multitude of religious rites, we see the whole force of this observation. For multiplicity of religious rites is generally in proportion to the advances in civil life.

3. The redemption of the Hebrews from their slavery is the third period of the Egyptian monarchy, recorded in Scripture. Here, the building of treasure cities,** and the continual employment of so vast a multitude, in only preparing materials†† for public edifices, shew the vast power and luxury of the State. Here too, we find a fixed and standing militia‡‡ of chariots; and, what is more extraordinary, of cavalry§§ in which kind of military address the Greeks were unskilled till long after the times of the Trojan war. And indeed, if we may believe St. Paul, this kingdom was chosen by God to be the scene of all his wonders, in support of his elect people, for this very reason, that through the celebrity of so famed an empire, the power of the true God might be spread abroad, and strike the observation of the whole habitable world.—*For the Scripture saith unto Pharaoh, Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might shew my power in thee; and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth.*‖‖‖

To this let me add, that Scripture every where, throughout these three periods, represents Egypt as an entire kingdom under one monarch;¶¶ which is a certain mark of great advances in civil policy and power: all countries, on their first egression out of barbarity,

* Gen. xxvi. 26, et seq. † Chap. xxxvii. 25. ‡ Verse 28. § Chap. xxxix. xl. ‖ Chap. xli. 42, 43. ¶ Chap. xli. ** Exod. i. 11. †† Chap. v. 14. ‡‡ Chap. xiv. 7. §§ Verse 9. ‖‖‖ Rom. ix. 17. ¶¶ See Gen. xli. 41, 43, 45, 46, 55; xlvii. 20; and Exod. passim.

being divided into many little States and principalities; which, as those arts improved, were naturally brought, either by power or policy, to unite and coalesce.

But here let me observe, such is the ceaseless revolution of human affairs, that that power which reduced Egypt into a monarchy, was the very thing which, when it came to it's height, occasioned it's falling back again under it's *Reguli*. Sesostris, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, divided the lower Egypt to his soldiery, by a kind of feudal Law, into large patrimonial tenures. The successors of this militia, as Marsham reasonably conjectures,* growing powerful and factious, set up, each leader for himself, in his own patrimonial Nome. The powerful empire of the Franks, here in the West, from the same causes, underwent the same fate, from the debility of which it did not recover till these latter ages.

Thus invincibly do the Hebrew records † support the Grecian evidence for the high antiquity of Egypt. And it is further remarkable, that the later inspired writers of the sacred canon confirm this concurrent testimony, in the constant attributes of *antiquity* and *wisdom*, which, upon all occasions, they bestow upon the Egyptian nation. Thus the prophet Isaiah, in denouncing God's judgments against this people:—"Surely the princes of Zoan are fools, the counsel of the WISE counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish: How say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the WISE, the son of ANCIENT KINGS? Where are they? where are thy WISE MEN? and let them tell thee now, and let them know what the Lord of hosts hath purposed upon Egypt." ‡

But the Greek writers do not content themselves to tell us, in a vague and general manner, of the high antiquity and power of Egypt, which in that case was little to be regarded; but they support the fact, of which their books are so full, by a minute and circumstantial account of INSTITUTIONS, civil and religious, said to be observed by that people from the most early times, which, in their very nature, speak a great and powerful people; and belong only to such as are so. Now this account sacred Scripture remarkably confirms and verifies.

I. The PRIESTHOOD being the primum mobile of the Egyptian policy, we shall begin with that. Diodorus Siculus thus describes its state and establishment:—"The whole country being divided into three parts; the first belongs to the body of Priests; an order in the highest reverence amongst their countrymen, for their piety to the Gods, and their consummate wisdom, acquired by the best education, and the closest application to the improvement of the mind. With their revenues they supply all Egypt with public sacrifices; they sup-

* *Can. Chron.* p. 446. † See note F, at the end of this book. ‡ Isaiah xix. 11, 12. See note G, at the end of this book.

port a number of inferior officers, and maintain their own families: for the Egyptians think it utterly unlawful to make any change in their public worship; but hold that every thing should be administered by their priests, in the same constant invariable manner. Nor do they deem it at all fitting that those, to whose care the public is so much indebted, should want the common necessaries of life: for the priests are constantly attached to the person of the King, as his coadjutors, counsellors, and instructors, in the most weighty matters. —For it is not amongst them as with the Greeks, where one single man or woman exertises the office of the priesthood. Here a Body or Society is employed, in sacrificing and other rites of public worship; who transmit their profession to their children. This Order, likewise, is exempt from all charges and imposts, and holds the second honours, under the King, in the public administration." *

Of all the colleges of the priesthood, Herodotus tells us, that of HELIOPOLIS was most famed for wisdom and learning: † and Strabo says that, in his time, very spacious buildings yet remained in that place; where, as the report ran, was formerly the chief residence of the Priests, who cultivated the studies of philosophy and astronomy.‡

Thus these three celebrated historians; whose account, in every particular, is fully confirmed by MOSES; who tells us, that the Egyptian Priests were a distinct order in the state, and had an established landed revenue; that when the famine raged so severely that the people were compelled to sell their lands to the crown for bread, the Priests still kept theirs, unalienated, and were supplied gratis.§ Diodorus's account, which gives us the reason of this indulgence, confirms the scripture-history, and is fully supported by it: for there we see, not only the reverence in which the Order was held, but the public uses of religion, to which two thirds of their revenues were applied, kept Pharaoh from attempting on their property. Again, MOSES supports what Diodorus says of the public and high employ-

* Τῆς δὲ χώρας ἁπάσης εἰς τρία μέρη διηρημένης, τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἔχει μερίδα τὸ σύστημα τῶν ἱερέων, μεγίστης ἐντροπῆς τυγχάνον παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις, διά τε τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστην σύνεσιν τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ἐκ παιδείας εἰσφέρεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν προσόδων τάς τε θυσίας ἁπάσας τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον συντελοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας τρέφουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίαις χρείαις χορηγοῦσιν. οὔτε γὰρ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ᾠοντο δεῖν ἀλλάττειν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀεὶ καὶ παραπλησίως συντελεῖσθαι· οὔτε τοὺς πάντων προβουλευομένους, ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. Καθόλου γὰρ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων οὗτοι προβουλευόμενοι συνδιατρίβουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν μὲν συνεργοί, τῶν δὲ εἰσηγηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι γινόμενοι·—οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἷς ἀνὴρ ἢ μία γυνὴ τὴν ἱερωσύνην παρείληφεν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς διατρίβουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τὴν ὁμοίαν τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν παραδιδόασιν. Εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι πάντων τε ἀτελεῖς, καὶ δευτερεύοντες μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα ταῖς τε δόξαις, καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις.—*Biblioth. Hist.* p. 46, Steph. ed. † Οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιουπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι.—Lib. ii. cap. 3. ‡ Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἡλιουπόλει καὶ οἴκους εἴδομεν μεγάλους, ἐν οἷς διέτριβον οἱ ἱερεῖς· μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ ταύτην κατοικίαν ἱερέων γεγονέναι φασὶ τὸ παλαιὸν, φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀστρονομικῶν.—*Geogr.* lib. xvii.

§ *Only the land of the priests bought he not: for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; wherefore they sold not their lands.* (Gen. xlvii. 22.)

ment of the Priests (who were privy counsellors and ministers of state), where speaking of the priest of ON,* he calls him *Chohen*, which, as J. Cocceius shews in his lexicon,† signifies as well the friend and privy counsellor of the King, as a Priest; and accordingly, the *Chald. Paraphr.* calls him *Princeps On.* The word often occurs; and, I imagine, was borrowed from the Egyptian language; the Hebrews having no order of priesthood before that instituted by MOSES. This further appears from the name Coes,‡ given to the priests of the *Samothracian Mysteries*, plainly a corruption of Coen or Chohen. The Mysteries in general, we have shewn,§ were derived from Egypt, and particularly those of Ceres or Isis, at Eleusis: Now, in Samothrace, the Mysteries were of Ceres and Proserpine, as at Eleusis.‖ Lastly, MOSES confirms Herodotus's and Strabo's account of the superior learning and dignity of the Heliopolitan college. When Joseph was exalted to the prime ministry, he tells us, that Pharaoh married him to a daughter of the priest of ON; ¶ which the Septuagint and vulgar Latin rightly interpret HELIOPOLIS: that the king was then in a disposition to do Joseph the highest honours, is plain from the circumstances of the story; and that he principally consulted his establishment in this alliance, appears from the account given us by these Greek historians. We see the public administration was in the hands of the priesthood; who would unwillingly bear a stranger at the head of affairs. The bringing Joseph therefore into their family, and Order** which was hereditary, was the best expedient to allay their prejudices and envy. And this Pharaoh did most effectually, by marrying him into that Cast which was then of greatest name and credit amongst them.

I will only observe, that this superior nobility of the Priests of *On* seems to have been chiefly owing to their higher antiquity. Heliopolis, or the city of the Sun, was the place where that luminary was principally worshipped; and certainly, from the most early times: for Diodorus tells us, that *the first gods of Egypt were the sun and moon;* †† the truth of which, all this, laid together, remarkably confirms. Now if we suppose, as is very reasonable, that the first established Priests in Egypt were those dedicated to the Sun at *On*,

* Gen. xlvi. 20. † "*Chohen*, proprie et ex vi vocis, *qui accedit* ad Regem, et eum, qui summus est. Ideo explicationis ergô adjungitur tanquam etymologiæ evolutio, Exod. xix. 22. 'Sacerdotes *qui accedunt* ad Jehovam.'—Non, quod vox *Chohen* notet *primatum*, ut vult Kimchius, sed quod notet *primos accedentium*—Certe in Ægypto fuerunt tales, et his alimonia a rege debebatur." ‡ Κοῆς, ἱερεὺς Καβείρων.—HESYCH. § "Divine Legation," book ii. sect. 4. ‖ Μυοῦνται δὲ ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ τοῖς Καβείροις, ὧν Μνασέας φησὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. Τέσσαρες δ' εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, Ἄξιερος, Ἀξιόκερσα, Ἀξιόκερσος. Ἄξιερος μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ Δημήτηρ· Ἀξιόκερσα δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη· Ἀξιόκερσος δὲ ὁ Ἅιδης· ὁ δὲ προστιθέμενος τέταρτος Κάσμιλος ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐστιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διονυσόδωρος.—SCHOL. in APOLL. *Argon.* lib. i. 917. ¶ Gen. xlvi. 20. ** See note H, at the end of this book. †† See "Divine Legation," book ii.

we shall not be at a loss to account for their titles of nobility. Strabo says, they were much given to astronomy; and this too we can easily believe: for what more likely than that they should be fond* of the study of that system, over which their God presided, not only in his *moral*, but in his *natural* capacity? For whether they received the doctrine from original tradition, or whether they invented it at hazard, which is more likely,† in order to exalt this their visible God, by giving him the post of honour, it is certain they taught that the sun was in the centre of its system, and that all the other bodies moved round it, in perpetual revolutions. This noble theory came, with the rest of the Egyptian learning, into Greece (being brought thither by Pythagoras; who, it is remarkable, received it from Œnuphis, a priest of Heliopolis;) ‡ and, after having given the most distinguished lustre to his school, it sunk into obscurity, and suffered a total eclipse throughout a long succession of learned and unlearned ages; till these times relumed its ancient splendor, and immovably fixed it on the most unerring principles of science.

II. Another observable circumstance of conformity between the Greek historians and MOSES, is in their accounts of the RELIGIOUS RITES of Egypt. Herodotus expresly tells us, that the Egyptians esteemed it a prophanation, to sacrifice any kind of cattle, except swine, bulls, clean calves, and geese; § and, in another place, that heifers, rams, and goats were held sacred,‖ either in one province or in another: though not from any adoration paid in these early times to the *living animal*. I shall shew hereafter that the Egyptians at first only worshipped their figures or images. However picture worship must needs make the animals themselves sacred, and unfit for sacrifice. Now here again, in confirmation of this account, we are told by Scripture, that when Pharaoh would have had MOSES sacrifice to God, in the land of Egypt, according to his own family-rites, the prophet objected,—*It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God: Lo shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us?* ¶ And if Herodotus came any thing near the truth in his account of the early superstition of Egypt, the Israelites, we see, could not avoid sacrificing the abomination, *i. e.* the Gods of the Egyptians. And with what deadly hatred and revenge they

* See note I, at the end of this book. † See "the Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated," book i. ‡ See note K, at the end of this book. § Τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεα δσίη θύειν ἐστὶ, χωρὶς ὑῶν, καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν, καὶ μόσχων, ὅσφι ἂν καθαροὶ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνέων, κῶς ἂν οὗτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν;—Lib. ii. cap. 45. ‖ Τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῷ.—Cap. xli. Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαίου ἵδρυνται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ὑῶν ἀπεχόμενοι, αἰγὰς θύουσι. Θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἶσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριδος. τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἔκτηνται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι, ὕεις θύουσι.—Cap. xlii. ¶ Exod. viii. 26.

pursued such imaginary impieties, the same Herodotus informs us, in another place.*

III. To come next to the CIVIL ARTS of Egypt.—Concerning their practice of physic, Herodotus says, that it was divided amongst the faculty in this manner: "Every distinct distemper hath its own physician, who confines himself to the study and cure of that alone, and meddles with no other: so that all places are crouded with physicians: for one class hath the care of the eyes, another of the head, another of the teeth, another of the region of the belly, and another of occult distempers." † After this, we shall not think it strange that Joseph's physicians are represented as a number—*And Joseph commanded his servants, the physicians, to embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed Israel.*‡ A body of these domestics would now appear an extravagant piece of state, even in the first minister. But then, we see, it could not be otherwise, where each distemper had its proper physician: so that every great family, as well as city, must needs, as Herodotus expresses it, swarm with the Faculty: and a more convincing instance, of the grandeur, luxury, and politeness of a people, cannot, I think, be well given. But indeed it was this circumstance for which the Egyptian nation was peculiarly distinguished, not only by the earliest Greek writers (as we shall see hereafter), but likewise by the holy prophets. There is a remarkable passage in Jeremiah, where, foretelling the overthrow of Pharaoh's army at the Euphrates, he describes Egypt by this characteristic, her skill in medicine. *Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin the daughter of Egypt: in vain shalt thou* USE MANY MEDICINES; *for thou shalt not be cured.*§ The Prophet delights in this kind of imagery, which marks out a people by its singularities, or pre-eminence. So again, in this very chapter: EGYPT, says he, *is like a* FAIR HEIFER, *but destruction cometh: it cometh from the north. Also her hired men are in the midst of her like* FATTED BULLOCKS, *for they also are turned back and are fled away together.*‖ For the worship of Isis and Osiris, under the figure of a cow and a bull, and afterwards by the animals themselves, was the most celebrated in all the Egyptian Ritual.

But a learned writer, frightened by the common panic of the high antiquity of Egypt, will needs shew, the art of medicine to be of much later original.¶ And to make room for his hypothesis, he contrives to explain away this direct testimony of Herodotus, by a very uncommon piece of criticism. This is the substance of his

* Lib. ii. cap. 65. † Ἡ δὲ ἰητρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδασται· μιῆς νούσου ἕκαστος ἰητρός ἐστι, καὶ οὐ πλεόνων. πάντα δ' ἰητρῶν ἐστι πλέα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὀφθαλμῶν ἰητροὶ κατεστέασι· οἱ δὲ, κεφαλῆς· οἱ δὲ, ὀδόντων· οἱ δὲ, κατὰ νηδύν· οἱ δὲ, τῶν ἀφανέων νούσων.—Lib. ii. cap. 84. ‡ Gen. l. 2. § Jer. xlvi. 11. ‖ Verses 20, 21. ¶ See note L, at the end of this book.

reasoning, and in his own words:—"We read of the Egyptian physicians in the days of Joseph; and Diodorus represents them as an order of men not only very ancient in Egypt, but as having a full employment in continually giving physic to the people, not to cure, but to prevent their falling into distempers. Herodotus says much the same thing, and represents the ancient Egyptians as living under a continual course of physic, undergoing so rough a regimen for three days together, every month, that I cannot but suspect some mistake, both in him, and Diodorus's account of them in this particular. Herodotus allows them to have lived in a favourable climate, and to have been a healthy people, which seems hardly consistent with so much medicinal discipline as he imagined them to go through, almost without interruption. The first mention we have of physicians in the sacred pages shews indeed that there was such a profession in Egypt in Joseph's time, and Jacob was their patient; but their employment was to embalm him after he was dead; we do not read that any care was taken to give him physic whilst alive; which inclines me to suspect that the Egyptians had no practice for the cure of the diseases of a sick bed in these days: we read of no sick persons in the early ages. The diseases of Egypt, which the Israelites had been afraid of, were such as they had no cure for; and any other sicknesses were then so little known, that they had no names for them.—An early death was so unusual, that it was generally remarked to be a punishment for some extraordinary wickedness. Moses informs us, that the physicians embalmed Jacob; many of them were employed in the office, and many days time was necessary for the performance, and different persons performed different parts of it, some being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and some of the other: and I imagine this manner of practice occasioned Herodotus to hint, that the Egyptians had a different physician for every distemper, or rather, as his subsequent words express, for each different part of the body: for so indeed they had, not to cure the diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead: These, I imagine, were the offices of the Egyptian physicians in the early days. They were an order of the ministers of religion. The art of curing distempers or diseases was not yet attempted.—We may be sure the physicians practised only surgery until after Homer's time;—for we read in him, that their whole art consisted in extracting arrows, healing wounds, and preparing anodynes.—In the days of Pythagoras the learned began to form rules of diet for the preservation of health, and to prescribe in this point to sick persons, in order to assist towards their recovery. And in this, Strabo tells us, consisted the practice of the ancient Indian physicians. They endeavoured to cure distempers by a diet regimen, but they gave no physic. Hippocrates—began the practice of visiting sick-bed

patients, and prescribed medicines with success for their distempers. This, I think, was the progress of physic.—*And it must evidently appear from it, that the Egyptians could have no such physicians in the days of Moses as Diodorus and Herodotus* SEEM *to suppose.*"*— So far this writer. But if it be made appear, that the very contrary of every thing here advanced be the truth; I shall hope, that what Herodotus and Diodorus, conformable to Scripture, do not *seem to suppose,* but directly and circumstantially to affirm, may be admitted for certain.

He tells us, first, "that Diodorus represents the Egyptian physicians as administering physic to the people in the early times, *not to cure, but to prevent their falling into distempers.*" One would conclude, from his manner of expression, that the historian had said they did not administer to the infirm, but to the healthy only; which gives us the idea of a superstitious kind of practice, by charms and amulets: and so indeed the writer is willing we should think of it. *I should imagine,* says he, *that their ancient prescriptions, which Diodorus and Herodotus suppose them so punctual in observing, were not medicinal, but religious purifications.*† Let Diodorus then speak for himself: "They prevent distempers," says he, "and keep the body in health by refrigerating and laxative medicines; by abstinence and emeticks; sometimes in a daily regimen, sometimes with an intermission every three or four days: for they hold a superfluity in all food, as usually taken; and that it is the original of distempers: so that the abovementioned regimen removes the cause, and greatly contributes to preserve the body in a state of health." ‡ Here we have a very rational theory, and expert and able practice; this prescribing to prevent distempers, being, as amongst us, the result of the physician's long experience in his art: for the regimen, we see, was intermitted or continued according to the habit and constitution of the patient.

But the Egyptians being a healthy people, and living under a favourable climate, could not have occasion (says the learned writer) *for so much physic;* therefore he will *suspect their accounts.* I have observed, that these accounts are a proof of that grandeur, luxury, and politeness, which sacred and prophane history ascribe to this people, and which so many other circumstances concur to make credible. Now a too great repletion, the effect of a luxurious diet, would certainly find employment for the whole tribe of evacuants (as we may see by the various experience of our own times), notwith-

* "The sacred and profane History of the World connected," vol. ii. ed. 2, pp. 359—361, 364—367. † P. 361. ‡ Τὰς δὲ—νόσους προκαταλαμβανόμενοι θεραπεύουσι τὰ σώματα κλυσμοῖς, καὶ ποτίμοις τισὶ καθαρτηρίοις, καὶ νηστείαις, καὶ ἐμέτοις, ἐνίοτε μὲν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐνίοτε δὲ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας διαλείποντες. Φασὶ γὰρ, πάσης τροφῆς ἀναδοθείσης, τὸ πλέον εἶναι περιττόν· ἀφ' οὗ γεννᾶσθαι τὰς νόσους· ὥστε τὴν προειρημένην θεραπείαν ἀναιροῦσαν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νόσου, μάλιστ' ἂν παρασκεύασαι τὴν ὑγείαν.—*Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 62.

standing all the advantages of climate and constitution. And let me observe, and it seems to be decisive, that the very establishment of this principle of the Egyptian physic, that *all distempers arose from a too great repletion,* fully evinces them to be a very luxurious people: for a nation accustomed to a simple and frugal diet, could never have afforded sufficient observations for the invention of such a theory.

It is true, (he owns) *we hear of physicians in Joseph's family, who embalmed his father Jacob; but we do not read they gave him any physic while alive.*—Nor do we read that Jacob had any other distemper than old age; and, I suppose, Hippocrates himself would scarce have prescribed to that—*But we read of no sick persons in the early ages.* A plain man would have thought this a good reason why we read of no medicines administered. Though no man, who considers the nature of Scripture history, will think this any proof that there were *no sick persons in those early ages.*—But further, *the diseases of Egypt which the Israelites had been afraid of, were such as they had no cure for,* DEUT. xxviii. 27. and from hence is inferred the low estate of medicine in these early times. One would reasonably suppose the authority here quoted, to support this observation, had informed us that these were natural diseases, which submitted not to the rude practice of that time. But we are surprised to find that they are supernatural punishments which the Prophet is here denouncing in case of disobedience: And Providence would have defeated its own purpose, in suffering these to be treatable by the common rules of art:—"But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God,—The Lord will smite thee with the botch of Egypt, &c. whereof thou canst not be healed." * That very *Botch* or *Boyl,* which God had, in their behalf, miraculously inflicted on the Egyptians, by the ministry of this Prophet; as appears by the following words of God himself: "If thou wilt" (says he) "diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, &c. I will *put none of these diseases upon thee which I have brought upon the Egyptians:* for I am the Lord that healeth thee." †—*And all other sicknesses,* this learned writer says, *were then so little known, that they had no name for them.* For which we are referred to the following words of the same denunciation, "Also every sickness and every plague which is not written in the book of this law, them will the Lord bring upon thee, 'till thou be destroyed." ‡ This seems as if the writer considered the law of Moses in the light of *Salmon's Dispensatory,* in which we reasonably suppose every disease and remedy without name or mention, to be unknown.—And still further, *An early death* (says he) *was so unusual,*

* Deut. xxviii. 15, 27. † Exod. xv. 26. ‡ Deut. xxviii. 61.

that it was generally remarked to be a punishment for some wickedness: and for this we are sent to the xxxviiith chapter of Genesis.—It seems then it was the rarity of the fact, which made men believe the evil to be a punishment. 'Till now I imagined, it was the sense of their being under an extraordinary Providence: it is certain at least, that the book of Genesis as plainly represents the patriarchs, as the book of Deuteronomy represents their posterity to be under that dispensation: and I hope, ere long, to prove these representations true. If then we hear in Scripture of little sickness but what is delivered as the effect of divine vengeance, no believer, I persuade myself, will ascribe this opinion to ignorance, superstition, or an unusual appearance, though pagan writers be never so much accustomed to talk in that strain,* but will own it to be the necessary consequence of an extraordinary providence. The truth is, diseases were then, as now, common in the world at large; but the infliction of them, or an exemption from them, amongst the people of God, made part of the sanction of that œconomy under which they lived:—"Ye shall serve the Lord your God," says MOSES, "and he shall bless thy bread and thy water, and I will take SICKNESS away from the midst of thee." † And again, "Thou shalt be blessed above all people,—and the Lord will take away from thee all SICKNESS." ‡ But there are of these Divines who read their Bible, and readily talk of the extraordinary Providence there represented, yet argue in all questions arising from sacred history as if there were indeed no such thing.

The learned writer goes on: *The physicians embalmed Jacob, many of them were employed in the office, and many days time was necessary for the performance, and different persons performed different parts of it, some being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and some of the other.*—This account is pretended to be taken from Diodorus: how the latter part came in, or how it can be true, unless the body were cut in pieces to be embalmed, is not easy to conceive: but we know it was embalmed intire; and Diodorus says nothing of *some being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and some of the other.* His plain, intelligible account is this: That different persons performed different parts of the operation; one marked the place for incision; another cut; a third drew out the entrails; a fourth salted the body; a fifth washed; and a sixth embalmed it.—But the learned Writer's addition to the account seems for the sake of introducing the extraordinary criticism which follows.

And I imagine, says he, *this manner of practice occasioned Herodotus to* HINT *that the Egyptians had a different physician for*

* "Eodem auctore [Homero] disci potest, morbos tum ad iram Deorum immortalium relatos esse; et ab iisdem opem posci solitam."—CELSUS *De Medicina*, lib. i. Præf.
† Exod. xxiii. 25. ‡ Deut. vii. 14, 15.

every distemper, or rather, as the subsequent words express, for each different part of the body: for so indeed they had, not to cure the diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead.—What he means by Herodotus's *hinting* I can hardly tell: for had the historian been to give his evidence in a court of justice, it is impossible he should have delivered himself with more precision. Let us hear him over again: "Every distinct DISTEMPER [ΝΟΥΣΟΣ] hath its own physician, who confines himself to the study and cure of that, and meddles with no other; so that all places are crouded with physicians: for one class hath the care of the eyes, another of the head, another of the teeth, another of the region of the belly, and another of OCCULT DISTEMPERS [ΑΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΝΟΥΣΩΝ]." Notwithstanding all this, by *every distemper*, is meant, it seems, *each part of a dead body:* Death, indeed, has been often called a *remedy*, but never, I believe, a *disease*, before.—But the *subsequent words*, he says, *lead us to this sense.* The reader will suspect by this, that I have not given him the whole of the account: But the *subsequent words*, whereby our author would support his interpretation, are the beginning of a new chapter about funeral rites:—*As to their mournings for the dead, and funeral rites, they are of this kind,** *&c.* Now because Herodotus speaks next of their *obsequies*, which, methinks, was methodical enough, after his account of their physicians, this writer would have the foregoing chapter an anticipation of the following; and the historian to treat of his subject before he comes to it.—He goes on:—*For so indeed they had* [*i. e.* a different physician for each different part of the body] *not to cure the diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead.* How comes he to know this? Doth Scripture inform him that they had a different physician for every different part of a dead body? No. They are only the Greek writers (in his opinion) misunderstood who are supposed to say it. But why will he depend so much upon them in their account of funeral rites, and so little in their account of physicians? Scripture, which says they used embalming, and had many physicians, is equally favourable to both accounts: But it may be, one is, in itself, more credible than the other. It is so; but surely it is that which tells us they had a different physician to every different distemper; for we see great use in this; it being the best, nay perhaps the only expedient of advancing medicine into a science. On the other hand, what is said of the several parts assigned to several men, in the operation of embalming, appears, at first view, much more wonderful. 'Tis true, it may be rendered credible; but then it is only by admitting the other account of the Egyptian practice of physic, which the learned writer hath rejected: for when each disorder of the body had a several physician, it was natural, it was expe-

* Θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφέων, εἰσὶ αἵδε.—Lib. ii. cap. 85.

dient, that each of These who were the embalmers likewise should inspect that part of the dead corpse to which his practice was confined; partly to render the operation on the dead body more compleat, but principally, by an anatomical inspection, to benefit the Living. On this account every interment required a number, as their work was to be divided in that manner which best suited the ends of their inspection. It is true, subsequent superstitions might introduce various practices in the divisions of this task amongst the operators, which had no relation to the primitive designs.

These, I imagine, concludes our writer, *were the offices of the Egyptian physicians, in the early days; they were an order of the ministers of religion.*—He then employs some pages* to prove that the Egyptian physicians were an order of Religious; and the whole amount comes to this, that their practice was intermixed with superstitions; a circumstance which hath attended medicine through all its stages; and shall be accounted for in the progress of this enquiry. —But their *office of embalming* is likewise much insisted on; for this being part of the Egyptian funeral rites, and funeral rites being part of their religion; the consequence is, that these were religious ministers. The physicians had indeed the care of embalming; and it was, as we have hinted above, a wise designation, if ever there was any: For, first, it enabled the physicians, as we have observed, to discover something of the causes of the ἀφανέων νούσων, the *unknown* diseases, which was the district of one class; and, secondly, to improve their skill by anatomical enquiries into the cause of the *known*, which was the business of the rest. Pliny expresly says, it was the custom of their kings to cause dead bodies to be dissected, to find out the origin and nature of diseases; of which he gives a particular instance: † and Syncellus, from Manetho, relates, that books of anatomy were written in the reign of the second king of the Thinites.—But to make their employment, in a sacred rite, an argument of their being an order of Religious, would be just as wise as to make the priests of the church of *Rome*, on account of their administering *extreme unction*, an order of physicians. But though the learned writer's arguments to support his fanciful opinions be thus defective, yet what he imagined in this case is very true; these physicians were properly an order of the ministers of religion; which (though it make nothing for his point, for they were still as properly physicians) I shall now shew by better arguments than those of system-makers, the testimonies of antiquity.—In the most early times of the Egyptian monarchy there

* Pp. 361—364. † "Crudos [raphanos] Medici suadent ad colligenda acria viscerum dandos cum sale jejunis esse, atque ita vomitionibus præparant meatum. Tradunt et præcordiis necessarium hunc succum: quando phthisim cordi intus inhærentem, non alio potuisse depelli compertum sit in ÆGYPTO, REGIBUS CORPORA MORTUORUM AD SCRUTANDOS MORBOS INSECANTIBUS."—*Nat. Hist.* lib. xix. cap. 5.

was no accurate separation of science * into its distinct branches. The scholiast on Ptolemy's Tetrabiblus expresly tells us, that their ancient writings did not treat separately of medicine, astrology, and religion, but of all these together: † and Clemens Alexandrinus says, that of forty-two books of Mercury, which were the Bible of the Egyptians, six and thirty contained all their philosophy; and were to be well studied by the several orders of the priesthood, which he before mentions; the other six, which related entirely to medicine, belonged to the παστοφόροι, *i. e.* such as wore the cloak; ‡ and these, as in another place he tells us, were an order of ministers of religion: § and even in Greece, the art of medicine being brought thither from Egypt, went in partnership, during the first ages, with philosophy; though the separation was made long before the time which Celsus assigns to it, || as we shall see presently. Thus it appears that these artists were properly both priests and physicians, not very unlike the monk and friar physicians of the late ages of barbarism.

Our author now proceeds to the general history of physic. Let us see if he be more happy in his *imaginations* here. *We may be sure,* says he, *the physicians practised only surgery 'till after Homer's time.* —What must we say then to the story of Melampus, ¶ who learnt the art of physic and divination in Egypt; ** and cured Prœtus's daughters of an Atrabilaire disorder, with hellebore, a hundred and fifty years before the argonautic expedition? But why not *'till after the time of Homer,* who wrote not of his own time, but of the Trojan, near three hundred years before; and this, in a kind of work which requires decorum, and will not suffer a mixture of later or foreign manners to be brought into the scene? The writer, therefore, at least should have said, 'till after the Trojan times. But how is even this supported? Why *we read in Homer, that their* WHOLE *art consisted in extracting arrows, healing wounds, and preparing anodynes;* and again, where Idomeneus says to Nestor, *That one physician is worth a many other men, for extracting arrows, and applying lenitives to the wound;*

Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων,
Ἰούς σ' ἐκτάμνειν, ἐπὶ τ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσειν. ††

* See "Divine Legation," vol. i. book i. † Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μὲν τὰ Ἰατρικὰ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ Ἀστρολογικὰ, καὶ τὰ Τελεστικὰ, ἀλλὰ ἅμα πάντα συνέγραψαν. ‡ Δύο μὲν οὖν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα αἱ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖαι τῷ Ἑρμῇ γεγόνασι βίβλοι· ὧν τὰς μὲν λσ', τὴν πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτίων περιεχούσας φιλοσοφίαν, οἱ προειρημένοι ἐκμανθάνουσι· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἓξ, οἱ ΠΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΙ, ἰατρικὰς οὔσας, &c.—Lib. vi. *Strom.* § ΠΑΣ, ΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ δὲ, ἤ τις ἄλλος τῶν ἱεροποιούντων περὶ τὸ τέμενος, σεμνὸν δεδορκὼς, &c.—*Pædagog.* lib. iii. cap. 2. From this passage we understand, that it was an inferior order of the priesthood which practised physic; for such were those who sacrificed. || "Hippocrates Cous, primus quidem ex omnibus memoria diguis, ab studio sapientiæ disciplinam hanc separavit."—*De Med.* lib. i. Præf. He adds, we see, to save his credit, *ex omnibus memoria dignis;* taking it for granted, that those who were not remembered, were not worth remembering. ¶ See "Divine Legation," vol. i. book i. ** See note M, at the end of this book. †† *Ilias,* lib. xi. 514, 515.

Homer's speakers rarely talk impertinently. Idomeneus is shewing the use of a physician in an army: now, surely, his use on these occasions consists in healing wounds. The poet therefore chose his topic of recommendation with good judgment; and we may be certain, had he spoken of the use of a physician in a peaceable city, he had placed it in the art of curing distempers: and this is no *imagination*: we shall see presently that he hath in fact done so. In the mean time let me ask, what there is in this passage, which in the least intimates that *the* WHOLE *art consisted in extracting arrows, and applying anodynes?* But Pliny says so,* who understands Homer to intimate thus much. What then? Is not Homer's poem still remaining; and cannot we see, without Pliny, what inference the rules of good sense authorise us to draw from the poet's words? The general humour of Antiquity, which was strangely superstitious with regard to this Father of the poets,† may be some excuse for Pliny in concluding so much from his silence; for Homer was their bible; and whatsoever was not read therein, nor could be expresly proved thereby, passed with them for apocryphal. But let us, whose veneration for Homer rises not quite so high, fairly examine the nature of his first great work: This, which is an intire scene of war and slaughter, gave him frequent occasion to take notice of outward applications, but none of internal remedies; except in the history of the pestilence; which being believed to come in punishment from the Gods, was supposed to submit to nothing but religious atonements: not to say, that it was the chirurgical part of healing only that could be mentioned with sufficient dignity. The Greeks were large feeders, and bitter railers; for which excesses, I suppose, Machaon, during the ten years siege, administered many a sound emetic and cathartic: but these were no proper ornaments for an epic poem. I said, his subject did not give him occasion to mention inward applications; nor was this said evasively, as shall now be shewn from his second poem, of a more peaceable turn; which admitting the mention of that other part of the art of medicine, the use of internal remedies, he has therefore spoken in its praise: Helen is brought in, giving Telemachus a preparation of opium; which, the poet tells us, she had from Polydamna, the wife of Thon the Egyptian, whose country abounded with medicinal drugs, many of which were salubrious, and

* "Medicina—Trojanis temporibus clara—vulnerum tamen duntaxat remediis."—*Nat. Hist.* lib. xxix. cap. 1. Celsus too talks in the same strain: "Quos tamen Homerus non in pestilentia, neque in variis generibus morborum aliquid attulisse auxilii, sed vulneribus tantummodo ferro et medicamentis mederi solitos esse proposuit. Ex quo apparet has partes medicinæ *solas* ab his esse tentatas, easque esse vetustissimas."—*De Medicina*, lib. i. Præf.

† "Homerum poetam multiscium, vel potius *cunctarum rerum adprime peritum*." And again: "Ut *omnis vetustatis certissimus auctor* Homerus docet." This was said by Apuleius, a very celebrated platonic philosopher, in a juridical defence of himself before a proconsul of Africa.

many baneful; whence the physicians of that land were more skilful than the rest of mankind.

Τοῖα Διὸς Θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα,
Ἐσθλὰ, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παράκοιτις
ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΗ, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
Φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά·
Ἰητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων· ἦ γὰρ Παιήονός εἰσι γενέθλης.*

Here then is an express testimony much earlier than the time of Homer, for the Egyptian physicians practising more than surgery; which was the thing to be proved.

Our author goes on: *In the days of Pythagoras the learned began to form rules of diet for the preservation of health, and to prescribe in this point to sick persons.* This is founded on the rules of diet observed in the Pythagoric school. There seems to be something strangely perverse in this writer's way of arguing;—In the case of the Egyptian regimen, though it be expresly delivered by the Greek writers as a medicinal one, yet by reason of some superstitions in it, our author will have it to be *a religious observance;* on the contrary, this Pythagoric regimen, though it be generally represented, and even by Jamblichus himself, as a superstitious practice, yet by reason of its healthfulness, he will have to be *a course of physic.*

He proceeds:—HIPPOCRATES *began the practice of visiting sick-bed patients, and prescribed medicines with success for their distempers.* For which, Pliny is again quoted; who does indeed say he was the founder of the clinic sect: but it is strange he should say so; since Hippocrates himself, in numerous places of his writings, has informed us that it was founded long before. His tract *De diæta in acutis,* begins in this manner: "Those who have collected what we call the CNIDIAN SENTENCES, have accurately enough registered the various symptoms or affections in the several distempers, with the causes of some of them: thus far might be well performed by a writer who was no physician, if so it were, that he carefully examined each patient about his several affections. But what a physician should previously be well instructed in, and what he cannot learn from his patient, that, for the most part, is omitted in this work; some things in this place, others in that; several of which are very useful to be known in the art of judging by signs. As to what is said of judging by signs, or how the cure should be attempted, I think very differently from them. And it is not in this particular only that they have not my approbation: I as little like their practice in using so small a number of medicines; for the greatest part they mention, except in acute distempers, are purgatives, and whey, and

* *Odyss.* lib. iv. 227, et seq. Clarke on this place of Homer observes that Pliny, lib. xxv. cap. 1, quotes this passage as ascribing a knowledge of medicinal herbs to the Egyptians before Lower Egypt was inhabited.

milk for the time: indeed, were these medicines proper for the distempers to which they direct them to be applied, I should think them worthy of double praise for being able to attain their purpose so easily. But this I do not apprehend to be the case: however, those who have since revised and new-modelled these *sentences*, have shewn much more of the physician in their prescriptions."* From this long passage we may fairly draw these conclusions: 1. That there was a physic-school at Cnidus: this appears from the sentences collected under its name. 2. That the Cnidian school was derived from the Egyptian: this appears from their sole use of evacuants, in all but acute distempers. 3. That it was now of considerable standing; having had a reform in the teaching of more able practitioners. 4. And lastly, which is most to the point, that the physicians of this school were of the clinic sect; it being impossible they should compose such a work as Hippocrates here criticizes, without a constant attendance on the sick-bed: and therefore Hippocrates was not the founder of this sect, as Pliny, and our author after him, supposed.—But, for the established state of physic, its study as an art, and its practice as a profession, when Hippocrates made so superior a figure, we have the full evidence of Herodotus, his contemporary; who tells us, that in the time of Darius Hystaspis the physic school at Crotona was esteemed by the Greeks first in reputation; and that, at Cyrene, second;† which both implies, that these were of considerable standing, and that there were many others: and if GALEN may be believed, who, though a late writer, was yet a very competent judge, there were many others:‡ so that Hippocrates was so far from being the first that visited sick-beds, and prescribed with success in distempers, that he was not even the first amongst the Greeks. The truth of the matter is this, the *divine old man* (as his disciples have been wont to call him) so greatly eclipsed all that went before him, that, as posterity esteemed his works the canon, so they esteemed him the father of medicine: And this was the humour of antiquity. The same eminence in poetry made them regard Homer as the founder of his

* Οἱ ξυγγράψαντες τὰς ΚΝΙΔΙΑΣ καλεομένας ΓΝΩΜΑΣ, ὁκοῖα μὲν πάσχουσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἐν ἑκάστοισι τῶν νουσημάτων, ὀρθῶς ἔγραψαν, καὶ ὁκοίως ἔνια ἀπέβαινεν αὐτέων· καὶ ἄχρι μὲν τουτέων καὶ μὴ ἰητρὸς ἂν δύναιτο ὀρθῶς ξυγγράψαι, εἰ εὖ παρὰ τῶν καμνόντων ἑκάστου πυθοίατο, ὁκοῖα πάσχουσιν· ὁκόσα δὲ προκαταμαθεῖν δεῖ τὸν ἰητρὸν, μὴ λέγοντος τοῦ κάμνοντος, τουτέων τὰ πολλὰ πάρειται· ἄλλα ἐν ἄλλοισι, καὶ ἐπίκαιρα ἔνια ἐόντα ἐς τέκμαρσιν. Ὁκόταν δὲ ἐς τέκμαρσιν λέγηται ὡς χρὴ ἕκαστα ἰητρεύειν, ἐν τουτέοισι πολλὰ ἑτεροίως γινώσκω, ἢ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεξίεσαν· καὶ οὐ μόνον διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπαινέω, ἀλλ ὅτι καὶ ὀλίγοισι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῖσιν ἀκέεσιν ἐχρέοντο· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα αὐτέοισιν εἰρέαται, πλὴν τῶν ὀξεῶν νούσων, φάρμακα ἐλατήρια διδόναι, καὶ ὀρῦδν, καὶ γάλα, ἐς τὴν ὥρην πιπίσκειν· ἦν μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἦν, καὶ ἁρμόζοντα τοῖσι νουσήμασιν, ἐφ' οἷσι παρῆνεον διδόναι, πολὺ ἂν ἀξιώτερα ἐπαίνου ἦν, ὅτι ὀλίγα ἐόντα αὐταρκέα ἐστί· νῦν δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει· οἱ μέν τοι ὕστερον ἐπιδιασκευάσαντες ἰητρικώτερον δή τι ἐπῆλθον περὶ τῶν προσοιστέων ἑκάστοισιν. † Ἐγένετο γὰρ ὧν τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἰητροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ, Κυρηναῖοι.—Lib. iii. cap. 131. ‡ *Meth. Medendi*, lib. i.

art, though they who penetrate into the perfection of his compositions, understand that nothing is more unlikely. But what is strange in this matter is, that the writer should think it evidence enough to bring in Pliny speaking of Hippocrates as the first amongst the Greeks who prescribed to sick-beds with success, for the confutation of Herodotus (contemporary with Hippocrates) in what he says of the pharmaceutic part of medicine, as an ancient practice in Egypt.

But all the writer's errors in this discourse seem to proceed from a wrong assumption, that the diætetic medicine was, in order of time, before the pharmaceutic: and the greater simplicity of the first method seems to have led him into this mistake:—*In the days of Pythagoras*, says he, *the learned began to form rules of diet for the preservation of health; and in this consisted the practice of the ancient Indian physicians; they endeavoured to cure distempers by a diet regimen, but they gave no physic. Hippocrates began the practice of visiting sick-bed patients, and prescribed medicines with success for their distempers. This, I think, was the progress of physic.*—I hold the matter to be just otherwise; and that, of the three parts of medicine, the CHIRURGIC, the PHARMACEUTIC, and the DIÆTETIC, the *diætetic* was the last in use; as the *chirurgic* was, in all likelihood, the first. In the early ages of long life and temperance, men were still subject to the common accidents of wounds, bruises, and dislocations; this would soon raise *surgery* into an art: agreeably to this supposition, we may observe, that Sextus Empiricus derives ἰατρὸς, a physician, from ἰὸς, a dart or arrow; the first attack upon the human species being of this more violent sort. Nor was *pharmacy* so far behind as some may imagine; nature itself often eases a too great repletion by an extraordinary evacuation; this natural remedy (whose good effects as they are immediately felt, are easily understood) would teach men to seek an artificial one, when nature was not at hand to relieve. But the very early invention of pharmacy is further seen from that superstition of antiquity, which made medicine the *gift of the Gods*. For, what medicine do they mean? It could not be setting a fracture, or closing the lips of a wound; much less a regular diet. It could be nothing then but pharmacy; and this, both in the invention and operation, had all the advantages for making its fortune: First, it was not the issue of study, but of chance; the cause of which is out of sight: but what men understand not, they generally ascribe to superior agency. It was believed, even so late as the time of Alexander,* that the Gods continued to enrich the physical dispensatory. Secondly, there was something as extraordinary in the operation as in the invention. Pharmacy is divided into the two general classes of evacuants and alteratives; the most efficacious of

* CICERO *De Divin.* lib. ii. cap. 66.

these latter, commonly called *Specifics*, not working by any visible effects of evacuation, do their business like a charm. Thus, as the general notion of the divine original of medicine made the patient very superstitious,* so the secret operation of alteratives inclined the practiser to the same imbecility. Hence it is that so much of this folly hath overrun the art of medicine in all ages. Now the bestowing the origin of pharmacy in this manner, is abundantly sufficient to prove its high antiquity; for the Ancients gave nothing to the Gods of whose original they had any records: but where the memory of the invention was lost, as of seed-corn, wine, writing, civil society, &c. there, the Gods seized the property, by that kind of right, which gives strays to the lord of the manor.†

But now the diætetic medicine had a very low original, and a well-known man for its author; a man worth a whole dozen of heathen gods, even the great HIPPOCRATES himself: and this we learn from the surest evidence, his own writings. In his tract *de Veteri Medicina*, he expresly says, that MEDICINE *was established from the most early times*;‡ meaning, as the context shews, *Pharmacy*: but where he speaks soon after in the same tract of the *diætetic medicine* (which he calls τέχνη ἡ ἰητρικὴ, as the pharmaceutic above ἰητρικὴ substantively) he says, *the* ART OF MEDICINE *was neither found out in the most early times, nor sought after.*§ And in his *de diæta in acutis*, he tells us, *That the ancients* (meaning all who had preceded him) *wrote nothing of diet worthy notice; and that, notwithstanding it was a matter of vast moment, they had intirely omitted it, although they were not ignorant of the numerous subdivisions into the species of distempers, nor of the various shapes and appearances of each.*‖ Hence it appears, that, before the time of Hippocrates, the visiting of sick-beds and prescribing medicines were in practice; but that the diætetic medicine, as an art, was intirely unknown: so that had Pliny called Hippocrates the author of this, instead of the founder of the clinic sect, he had come much nearer to the truth.

But without this evidence we might reasonably conclude, even from the nature of the thing, that the *diætetic* was the latest effort of the art of medicine. For, 1. The cure it performs is slow and tedious, and consequently it would not be thought of, at least not employed,

* "Diis primum inventores suos assignavit, et cœlo dicavit; necnon et hodie multifariam ab oraculis medicina petitur."—PLINII *Nat. Hist.* lib. xxix. Procem. † The Rabbins, amongst their other pagan conceits, adopted this; and taught that God himself instructed Adam in the art of medicine;—"Et ductus Adam per omnes Paradisi semitas vidit omne lignum, arbores, plantas, et lapides, et docuit eum Dominus omnem naturam eorum, ad sanandum omnem dolorem et infirmitatem."—R. EBENEZRA. Which, however, shews their opinion of the high antiquity of the art. ‡ Ἰητρικῇ δὲ πάντα πάλαι ὑπάρχει.—Cap. 3. § Τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν οὔτ' ἂν εὑρέθη τέχνη ἡ ἰητρικὴ, οὔτ' ἂν ἐζητήθη.—Cap. 5. ‖ Ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ περὶ διαίτης οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ξυνέγραψαν οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου, καί τοι μέγα τοῦτο πάρῆκαν· τὰς μέν τοι πολυτροπίας τὰς ἐν ἑκάστῃσι τῶν νούσων, καὶ τὴν πολυσχιδὴην αὐτέων οὐκ ἠγνόουν.—Cap. 2.

till the quick and powerful operation of the pharmaceutic (which is therefore most obvious to use) had been found to be ineffectual. 2. To apply the diætetic medicine, with any degree of safety or success, there is need of a thorough knowledge of the animal œconomy, and of its many various complexions; with long experience in the nature and qualities of aliments, and their different effects on different habits and constitutions.* But the art of medicine must have made some considerable progress before these acquirements were to be expected in its professors.

If I have been longer than ordinary on this subject, it should be considered, that the clearing up the state of the Egyptian medicine is a matter of importance; for if the practice, in the time of Joseph, was what the Greek writers represent it, as I think I have shewn it was, then this topic seems absolutely decisive for the high antiquity of Egypt; and the learned person's hypothesis lying in my way, it was incumbent on me to remove it.

IV. We come, in the last place, to the FUNERAL RITES of Egypt; which Herodotus describes in this manner: "Their mournings and rites of sepulture are of this kind: When any considerable person in the family dies, all the females of that family besmear their heads or faces with loam and mire; and so, leaving the dead body in the hands of the domestics, march in procession through the city, with their garments close girt about them, their breasts laid open, beating themselves; and all their Relations attending. In an opposite procession appear the males, close girt likewise, and undergoing the same discipline. When this is over, they carry the body to be salted: there are men appointed for this business, who make it their trade and employment:—They first of all draw out the brain, with a hooked iron, through the nostrils, &c.—after this they hide it in nitre for the space of SEVENTY DAYS, and longer it is not lawful to keep it salted."† Diodorus agrees with Herodotus in all the essential circumstances of mourning and embalming. In this last he

* Ἡμεῖ δὲ δεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ὀρθῶς ξυγγράφειν περὶ διαίτης ἀνθρωπίνης, πρῶτον μὲν ἁπάντος φύσιν ἀνθρώπου γνῶναι καὶ διαγνῶναι· γνῶναι μὲν, ἀπὸ τίνων ξυνέστηκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς· διαγνῶναι δὲ, ὑπὸ τίνων μερῶν κεκράτηται· εἰ μὴ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ξύστασίν ἐπιγνώσεται, καὶ τὸ ἐπικρατέον ἐν τῷ σώματι, οὐχ οἷός τ' ἂν εἴη τὰ ξυμφέροντα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ προσενεγκεῖν· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν χρὴ γινώσκειν τὸν ξυγγράφοντα· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, σίτων καὶ ποτῶν ἁπάντων, οἷσι διαιτώμεθα, δύναμιν ἣν τινα ἕκαστα ἔχει, καὶ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ τὴν δι' ἀνάγκην καὶ τέχνην ἀνθρωπηΐην· δεῖ γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι τῶν τε ἰσχυρῶν φύσει ὡς χρὴ τὴν δύναμιν ἀφαιρέεσθαι· τοῖσι δὲ ἀσθενέσιν, ὅκως χρὴ ἰσχὺν προστιθέναι διὰ τέχνης, ὅκου ἂν ὁ καιρὸς ἑκάστων παραγένηται.—HIPPOCRATES *De Diæta*, lib. i. cap. 1.

† Θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφέων, εἰσὶ αἵδε· τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκηΐων ἄνθρωπος, τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ἦ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκηΐων τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον· κἄπειτα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκηΐοισι λιποῦσαι τὸν νεκρὸν, αὗται ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στροφώμεναι, τύπτονται ἐπεζωσμέναι, καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζούς· σὺν δέ σφι αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι· ἑτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες τύπτονται, ἐπεζωσμένοι καὶ οὗτοι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται, καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην.—Πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδηρῳ

seems to vary in one particular: "They then anoint the whole body with the gum or resin of cedar, and of other plants, with great cost and care, for ABOVE THIRTY DAYS; and afterwards seasoning it with myrrh, cinnamon, and other spices, not only proper to preserve the body for a long time, but to give it a grateful odour, they deliver it to the relations," &c.* All this operose circumstance of embalming, scripture history confirms and explains; and not only so, but reconciles the seemingly different accounts of the two Greek writers, concerning the number of days, during which the body remained with the embalmers: "And the physicians," says Moses, "embalmed Israel; and FORTY DAYS were fulfilled for him (for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed) and the Egyptians mourned for him THREESCORE AND TEN DAYS."† Now we learn from the two Greek historians, that the time of mourning was while the body remained with the embalmers, which Herodotus tells us was seventy days: this explains why the Egyptians mourned for Israel threescore and ten days. During this time the body lay in nitre; the use of which was to dry up all its superfluous and noxious moisture; ‡ and when, in the compass of thirty days, this was reasonably well effected, the remaining forty, the ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα of Diodorus, were employed in anointing it with gums and spices to preserve it, which was the proper embalming. And this explains the meaning of *the forty days which were fulfilled for Israel, being the days of those that are embalmed.* Thus the two Greek writers are reconciled; and they and Scripture mutually explained and supported by one another.

But if it should be said, that though MOSES here mentions embalming, yet the practice was not so common as the Greek historians represent it, till many ages after; I reply, that the company of Ishmaelitish merchants with their camels bearing spicery, balm, and myrrh, to carry down into Egypt,§ clearly shews, that embalming was at this time become a general practice.

On the whole, what stronger evidence can any one require of a rich and powerful monarchy, than what hath been here given?—Scripture describes Egypt under that condition, in the times of the Patriarchs, and the egression of their posterity: the Greek writers not only subscribe to this high antiquity, but support their testimony by a minute detail of customs and manners then in use, which

διὰ τῶν μυξωτήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, &c.—ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, ταριχεύουσι νίτρῳ κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα· πλεῦνας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν.—Lib. ii. cap. 85, 86.

* Καθόλου δὲ ὧν τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κεδρίᾳ καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦσιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα, ἔπειτα σμύρνῃ καὶ κιναμώμῳ, καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μὴ μόνον πολὺν χρόνον τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν παρέχεσθαι θεραπεύοντες, παραδιδόασι τοῖς συγγενέσι.—*Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 58.

† Gen. l. 2, 3.

‡ Τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ νίτρον κατατήκει.—HERODOT. p. 119.

§ Gen. xxxvii. 25.

could belong only to a large and well policied kingdom; and these again are distinctly confirmed by the circumstantial history of MOSES.

But it is not only in what they agree, but likewise in what they differ, that sacred and profane accounts are mutually supported, and the high antiquity of Egypt established. To give one instance: Diodorus expresly tells us, that *the lands were divided between the king, the priests, and the soldiery;* * and MOSES (speaking of the Egyptian famine and its effects) as expresly says that *they were divided between the king, the priests, and the people.*† Now as contrary as these two accounts look, it will be found, upon comparing them, that Diodorus fully supports all that MOSES hath delivered concerning this matter. MOSES tells us, that before the famine, all the lands of Egypt were in the hands of the king, the priests, and the people; but that this national calamity made a great revolution in property, and brought the whole possessions of the people into the king's hands; which must needs make a prodigious accession of power to the crown. But Joseph, in whom the offices of minister and patriot supported each other, and jointly concurred to the public service,‡ prevented for some time the ill effects of this accession, by his farming out the new domain to the old proprietors, on very easy conditions. We may well suppose this wise disposition to continue till that *new king arose, who knew not Joseph;*§ that is, would obliterate his memory, as averse to his system of policy.‖ He, as appears from Scripture, greatly affected a despotic government; to support which, he first established, as I collect, a standing militia; and endowed it with the lands formerly the people's; who now became a kind of Villains to this order, which resembled the Zaims and Timariots of the Turkish empire; and were obliged to personal service: this, and the priesthood, being the orders of nobility in this powerful empire; and so considerable they were, that out of either of them, indifferently, as we observed before,¶ their kings were taken and elected. Thus the property of Egypt became at length divided in the manner, the Sicilian relates: and it is remarkable, that from this time, and not till now, we hear in Scripture of a standing militia,** and of the king's six hundred chosen chariots, &c.

SECTION IV.

HAVING thus proved the high antiquity of Egypt from the concurrent testimony of sacred and profane history; I go on, as I proposed,

* *Biblioth.* lib. i. † Gen. xlvii. ‡ See note N, at the end of this book. § Exod. i. 8. ‖ In this sense is the phrase frequently used in Scripture, as Judges ii. 10.—"And there arose another generation after them, which *knew not* the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel."—Here, *knew not*, can only signify *despised, set at nought.* ¶ See the first volume, p. 421. ** Exod. xiv. 8, 9.

to evince the same from internal evidence; taken from the original use of their so much celebrated HIEROGLYPHICS.

But to give this argument its due force, it will be necessary to trace up hieroglyphic writing to its original; which a general mistake concerning its primeval use hath rendered extremely difficult. The mistake I mean, is that which makes the hieroglyphics to be invented by the Egyptian priests, in order to hide and secrete their wisdom from the knowledge of the vulgar: * a mistake which hath involved this part of ancient learning in much obscurity and confusion.

I.

Men soon found out two ways of communicating their thoughts to one another; the first by SOUNDS, and the second by FIGURES: for there being frequent occasion to have their conceptions either perpetuated, or communicated at a distance, the way of figures or characters was next thought upon, after sounds (which were momentary and confined), to make their conceptions lasting and extensive.

The first and most natural way of communicating our thoughts by marks or figures, is by tracing out the images of things. So the early people, to express the idea of a man or horse, delineated the form of those animals. Thus the first essay towards writing was a mere picture.

I. We see an example of this amongst the MEXICANS, whose only method of recording their laws and history, was by a picture-writing.† Joseph Acosta tells us, that, when the inhabitants of the sea shore sent expresses to Montezuma with news of the first appearance of the Spanish navy on their coasts, the advices were delineated in large paintings, upon cloth.‡ The same writer gives us, in another place, a more particular account of this sort of painting: "One of our company of Jesus" (says he) "a man of much experience and discernment, assembled in the province of Mexico the Ancients of Tuscuco, Tulla, and Mexico; who, in a long conference held with him, shewed him their records, histories, and calendars; things very

* See note O, at the end of this book.

† "In diffetto di lettere usarono gl' ingegnosi Mexicani figure, e *Geroglifici*, per significar le cose corporee, che han figura; e per lo rimanente, altri caratteri propri: e in tal modo segnavano, a prò della posterità, tutte le cose accadute. Per ragion d' esempio per significare l' entrata degli Spagnuoli dipinsero un' uomo col cappello, e colla veste rossa, nel segno di Canna ch' era proprio di quell' anno."—*Giro del Mondo del* DOTTOR D. GIO FR. GEMELLI CARERI, tom. sesto. Ar°. *Nuova Spagna*, cap. vi. p. 37.

‡ "Quando era caso de importancia lleuauana a los Señores de Mexico pintado el negocio de que les querian informar; como lo hizieron quando aparecieron los primeros navios de Españoles, y quando fueron a tomar a Toponchan."—ACOSTA'S "History of the Indies," Madr. 1608, 4to. lib. vi. cap. 10.—"Con este recado fueron a Mexico los de la costa lleuando pintado en unos panos todo quanto auian visto, y los navios, y hombres, y su figura, y juntamente las piedras que les auien dado."—Lib. vii. cap. 24.

worthy notice, as containing their figures and hieroglyphics, by which they painted their conceptions in the following manner: things that have a bodily shape were represented by their proper figures; and those which have none, by other significative characters: and thus they writ or painted every thing they had occasion to express.—For my own satisfaction I had the curiosity to inspect a paternoster, an ave-maria, the creed, and a general confession,* written in this manner by the Indians:—To signify these words, *I a sinner confess myself*, they painted an Indian on his knees before a religious in the act of one confessing: and then for this, *To God almighty*, they painted three faces adorned with crowns, representing the Trinity; and, *To the glorious virgin Mary*, they delineated the visage of our Lady, with half a body, and the infant in her arms; *To St. Peter and St. Paul*, two heads irradiated, together with the keys and sword, &c.—In Peru I have seen an Indian bring to the confessional a confession of all his sins written in the same way, by picture and characters; portraying every one of the ten commandments after a certain manner."†

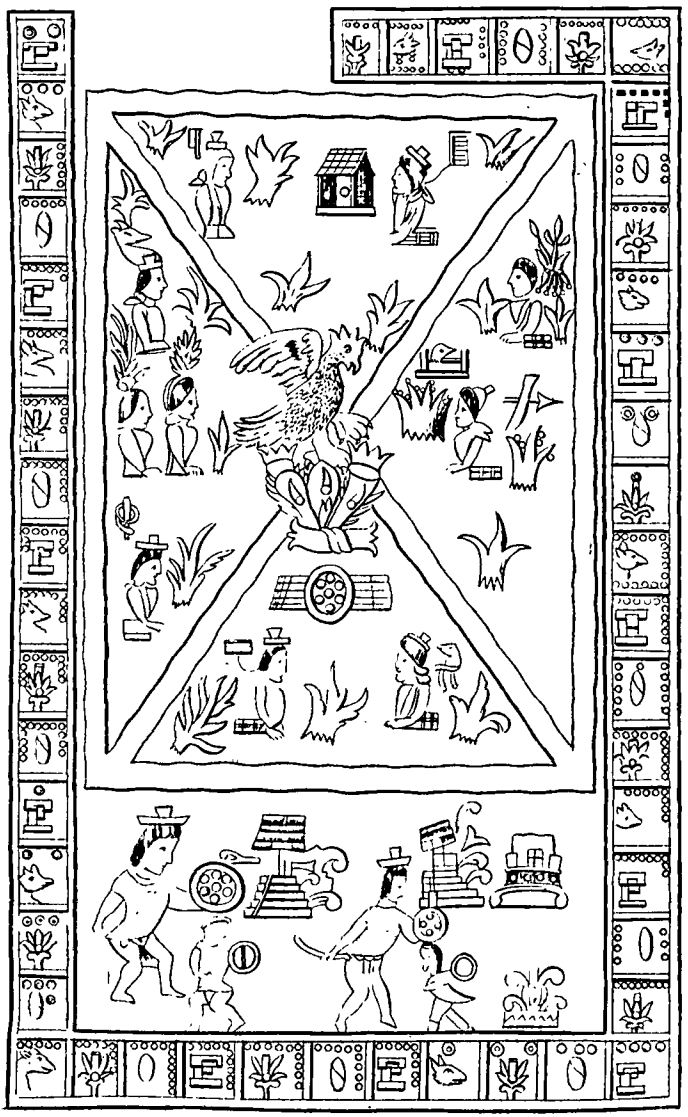
There is yet extant a very curious specimen of this American picture-writing, made by a Mexican author: and deciphered by him in that language, after the Spaniards had taught him letters; the explanation was afterwards translated into Spanish, and, from thence, into English. Purchas has given us this work engraved, and the explanations annexed. The manner of its coming into his hands is curious.‡ It is in three parts; the first is a history of the Mexican

* *Acosta's* words are, *Y symbolo y la confession general;* which Purchas has translated,—*And symbol or general confession of our faith.* This is wrong: by *la confession general* is meant a general confession of sins, a formulary very different from the *creed.*

† "Una de los de nuestra Compañia de Jesus, hombre muy platico y diestro, junto en la provincia de Mexico a los Ancianos de Tuscuco, y de Tulla, y de Mexico, y confirio mucho con ellos, y le monstraron sus Librerias, y sus Historias, y Kulendarios, cosa mucho de Ver. Porque tenian sus figuras, y Hieroglyficas con que pintauam los cosas en esta forma, que los cosas que tenian figuras, las ponian con sus proprias Ymagines, y para las cosas que no auia Ymagen propria tenian otros caracteres significatiuos de acquello, y con esto modo figurauam quanto queriam—e yo he visto para satisfazerme en esta parte, las Oraciones del Pater Noster, y Ave Maria, y Symbolo, y la Confession general, en el modo dicho de Indios.—Para significar Aquella palabra, *Yo pecador me confiesso*, pintan un Indio hincado de rodillas a los pies de un Religioso; como que se confiessa; y luego para aquella, *A Dios todo poderoso*, pintan tres caras con sus coronas, al modo de la Trinidad; y *a la gloriosa Virgen Maria*, pintan un rostro de nuestra Señora, y medio cuerpo con un Niño; y *a San Pedro y a San Pablo*, dos cabeças con coronas, y unas llaues, y una espada.—Por la misma forma de pinturas y caracteres vi en el Piru escrite la confession que de todos sus pecados un Indio traya para confessarse. Pintando cada uno de los diez mandamientos por cierto modo."—Lib. vi. cap. 7.

‡ "Reader, I here present thee with the choicest of my jewels, &c.—a politic, ethic, ecclesiastic, oeconomic history, with just distinction of time.—The Spanish governor having, with some difficulty, obtained the book of the Indians, with Mexican interpretations of the pictures (but ten days before the departure of the ships) committed the same to one skilful in the Mexican language, to be interpreted; who in a very plain style, and verbatim, performed the same. This history thus written, sent to Charles V. emperor, was, together with the ship that carried it, taken by French men of war; from whom Andrew Thevet the French king's geographer obtained the same. After whose death master Hakluyt (then chaplaine to the English

PLATE. 1.



A Mexican Picture History of the 51 Years Reign of their Monarch Tenuch from Purchas.

PLATE. 3.

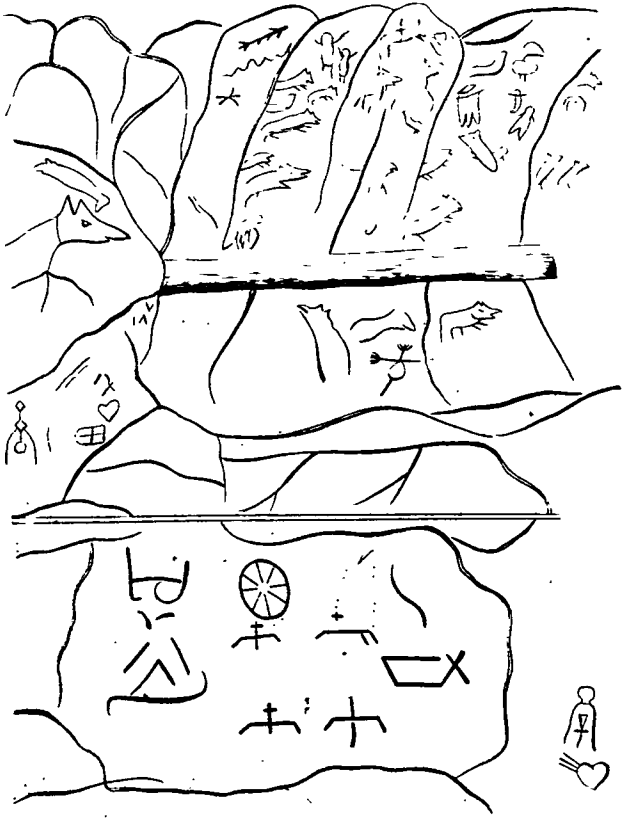
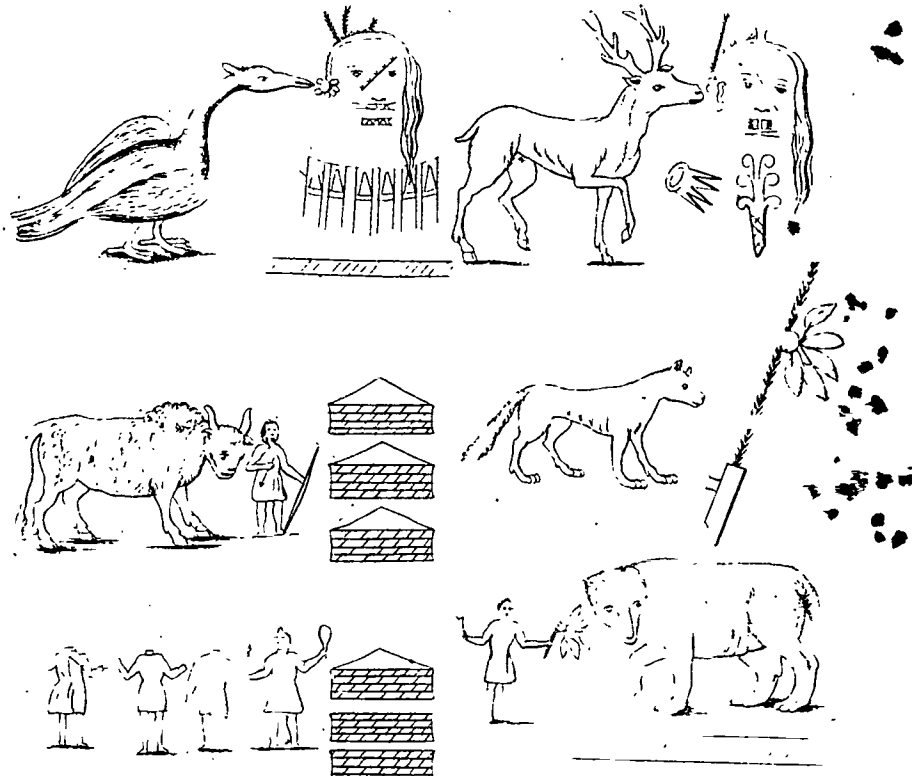


PLATE. 2.



empire: the second, a tribute roll of the several tributes which each conquered town or province paid into the royal treasury; and the third, a digest of their civil law, the largest branch of which was, *de jure patrio*.

This was the first, and most simple way of recording their conceptions;* obvious to every one, and common not only to the North as well as South Americans, but to all mankind.†

II.

But the inconveniencies attending the too great bulk of the volume in writings of this kind would soon set the more ingenious and better civilized people upon contriving methods to abridge their characters: and of all the improvements of this kind, that which was invented by the EGYPTIANS, and called HIEROGLYPHICS, was by far the most celebrated. By this contrivance, that writing, which amongst the Mexicans was only a simple painting, became in Egypt a pictured character.‡

This abridgment was of three kinds; and, as appears from the more or less art employed in the contrivance of each, made by due degrees; and at three different periods.

1. The first way was, *To make the principal circumstance in the subject stand for the whole.* Thus when they would describe a battle, or two armies in array, they painted (as we learn from that admirable fragment of antiquity, the hieroglyphics of Horapollo) *two hands, one holding a shield, and the other a bow;* §. when a tumult, or popular insurrection,—*an armed man casting arrows;* ‖ when a siege,—a *scaling ladder.* ¶ This was of the utmost simplicity; and, consequently, we must suppose it the earliest way of turning painting into an hieroglyphic; that is, making it a picture-character. And this is

embassadour in France) bought the same for twenty French crowns; and procured master Michael Locke, in Sir Walter Raleigh's name, to translate it. It seems that none were willing to be at the cost of cutting the pictures, and so it remained amongst his papers till his death: whereby (according to his last will in that kind) I became possessour thereof, and have obtained, with much earnestness, the cutting thereof for the press."—PURCHAS's "Pilgrimage," 3d part, pp. 1065, 1066. See plate I.

* "Quant aux caracteres, ils n'en avoient point: et ils y suppleoient par des especes d'hieroglyphes."—CHARLEVOIX, of the Northern Americans, vol. v. p. 292. Lafitau gives us a specimen of these hieroglyphics. See plate II. † The same kind of characters Stahleuberg found upon rocks in Siberia in the province of Permia, and near the river Jenesei. Of which he has given a drawing. See plate III. The author *De vet. Lit. Hunn Scyth.* p. 15, seems to admire this natural expression of things, as some uncommon stretch of invention. "Miratus ego sæpe fui cauponcs idiotas (nempe in Hungaria) istis, quibus aliquid credere hujusmodi ficto charactere inter debitores non adscribere tantum, sed longioris etiam temporis intervallo post, non socus, quam si alphabethario scribendi genere adnotati fuissent, promere, debitamque summam et rationes indicare potuisse; ita si debitor miles est, rudi quadam linea frameam aut pugionem pingebant; si faber, malleum aut securim: si auriga, flagrum, atque sic porro." ‡ See plate IV. § HORAPOLL. *Hierogl.* lib. ii. cap. 5, ed. Corn. De Pauw, Traj. ad Rhen. 1727, 4to. ‖ Idem, lib. ii. cap. 12. ¶ Idem, lib. ii. cap. 28.

what we shall hereafter distinguish by the name of the CURIOLOGIC HIEROGLYPHIC.

2. The second, and more artful method of contraction, was by putting the instrument of the thing, whether real or metaphorical, for the thing itself. Thus an *eye*, eminently placed, was designed to represent God's omniscience;* an *eye and sceptre*, to represent a monarch;† a *sword*, their cruel tyrant Ochus:‡ and a *ship and pilot*, the governor of the universe.§ And this is what we shall call the TROPICAL HIEROGLYPHIC.

3. Their third, and still more artificial method of abridging picture writing, was, *by making one thing to stand for, or represent another, where any quaint resemblance or analogy, in the representative, could be collected from their observations of nature, or their traditional superstitions.* And this was their SYMBOLIC HIEROGLYPHIC.

Sometimes it was founded in their observations on the form, or on the real or imaginary natures and qualities, of Beings. Thus the universe was designed by a *serpent in a circle*, whose variegated spots signified the stars;‖ and the sun-rise by the *two eyes of the crocodile*, because they seem to emerge from its head;¶ a widow who never admits a second mate, by a *black pigeon*;** one dead of a fever, contracted by the over great solar heat, by a *blind scarabæus*;†† a client flying for relief to his patron, and finding none, by a *sparrow and owl*;‡‡ a king inexorable, and estranged from his people, by an *eagle*;§§ a man who exposes his children through poverty, by an *hawk*;‖‖ a wife who hates her husband, or children who injure their mother, by a *viper*;¶¶ one initiated into the mysteries, and so under the obligation of secrecy, by a *grashopper*,*** which was thought to have no mouth.

Sometimes again, this kind of hieroglyphic was derived from the popular superstition. Thus he who had borne his misfortunes with courage, and had at length surmounted them, was signified by the *hyæna*,††† because the skin of that animal, used as a defence in battle, was supposed to make the wearer fearless and invulnerable.

But it is not from analogy alone (the force of which will be seen more fully as we proceed), nor yet from the nature of the thing only (which in these enquiries is indeed the safest guide), that we conclude the hieroglyphics now described to be an improvement of an earlier picture-writing used by the Egyptians, and resembling that of the Americans. Ancient history records the fact. We are told, in

* CLEMENS ALEXAND. *Strom.* lib. v. † PLUTARCH. *Is. et Osir.* ‡ Idem, ibid. § JAMBLICHUS. See note P, at the end of this book. ‖ HORAPOLL. *Hierogl.* lib. i. cap. 2. ¶ Lib. i. cap. 68. ** Lib. ii. cap. 32. †† Lib. ii. cap. 41. ‡‡ Lib. ii. cap. 51. §§ Lib. ii. cap. 56. ‖‖ Lib. ii. cap. 99. ¶¶ Lib. ii. cap. 59 et 60. *** Lib. ii. cap. 55. ††† Lib. ii. cap. 72.

that exquisite fragment of Sanchoniatho, preserved by Eusebius, that "the God Taautus, having imitated Ouranus's art of picture-writing,* drew the portraits of the Gods Cronus, Dagon, and the rest, and delineated the sacred characters which formed the elements of this kind of writing:† for Cronus, particularly, he imagined these symbols of royalty, four eyes, two before, and two behind; of which, two were closed in slumber; and on his shoulders four wings, two stretched out, as in the act of flight, and two contracted, as in repose. The first symbol signified that Cronus watched though he reposed, and reposed though he watched; the second symbol of the wings signified, in like manner, that even when stationed he flew about, and when flying, he yet remained stationed. To each of the other gods he gave two wings on their shoulders,‡ as the Satellites of Cronus in his excursions; who had likewise two wings on his head, to denote the two principles of the mind, *reason* and *passion*." § Here we see that Ouranus practised a kind of picture-writing, which Taautus afterwards improved: Taautus, or Thoth, was the Egyptian Mercury; on which name and family all the inventions of the various kinds of writing were very liberally bestowed: this, here mentioned, as the improvement of Taautus, being the very hieroglyphics above described: and that, as before practised by Ouranus, the same with the simple American paintings.

Such then was the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic;‖ and this the second mode of invention for recording men's actions and conceptions; not, as hath been hitherto thought, a device of choice for secrecy, but an expedient of necessity, for popular use.

III.

But the obscurity which attended the scantiness of hieroglyphic characters, joined to the enormous bulk of picture volumes, set men upon contriving a third change in this kind of writing: of which the CHINESE have given us a famous example.

* The original is, Πρὸ δὲ τούτων Θεὸς Τάαυτος μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανὸν, which Vigerus thus translates, *Taautus vero Deus cum jam ante cæli imaginem effinxisset;* and Cumberland, "But before these things the god Taautus having formerly imitated or represented Ouranus:"—This is wrong, μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανὸν signifies here, imitating the art, or practice, or example of Ouranus; not painting his figure. So PLUTARCH. *De Fort. Alex.* Ἡρακλέα ΜΙΜΟΥΜΑΙ καὶ Περσέα ζηλῶ. † See note Q, at the end of this book. ‡ Conformably to this account, the Etruscans and Greeks occasionally gave wings to the Images of all their Deities. § Πρὸ δὲ τούτων θεὸς Τάαυτος μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανὸν, τῶν θεῶν ὄψεις, Κρόνου τε καὶ Δαγῶνος, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διετύπωσεν τοὺς ἱεροὺς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας· ἐπενόησε δὲ καὶ τῷ Κρόνῳ παράσημα βασιλείας, ὄμματα τέσσαρα ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων καὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων μερῶν· δύο δὲ ἡσυχῇ μόνοντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτερὰ τέσσαρα· δύο μὲν ὡς ἱπτάμενα, δύο δὲ ὡς ὑφειμένα· τὸ δὲ σύμβολον ἦν, ἐπειδὴ Κρόνος κοιμώμενος ἔβλεπε, καὶ ἐγρηγορὼς ἐκοιμᾶτο· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πτερῶν ὁμοίως, ὅτι ἀναπαυόμενος ἵπτατο, καὶ ἱπτάμενος ἀνεπαύετο· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς, δύο ἑκάστῳ πτερώματα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, ὡς ὅτι δὴ συνίπταντο τῷ Κρόνῳ. καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, πτερὰ δύο· ἓν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡγεμονικωτάτου νοῦ, καὶ ἓν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως.—*Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10. ‖ See note R, at the end of this book.

We have just observed, that the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic was an improvement on a yet more ancient manner, resembling the rude picture-writing of the Mexicans; and that it joined contracted and arbitrarily instituted marks to images. The CHINESE writing at length went still further; it threw out the images, and retained only the marks; which they increased to a prodigious number. In this writing, every distinct idea has its proper mark; and is, like every real character, whether formed by *analogy* or *institution*, common to divers neighbouring nations, of different languages.* The shapes and figures of several of these marks, however now disguised, do yet betray their original to be from pictures and images; as the reader may perceive, by casting his eye on the specimen given us by Kircher: † for, that it is only a more contracted and refined hieroglyphic, we have the concurrent testimony of the best writers on the arts and manners of this famous people; who inform us how their present writing was deduced, through an earlier hieroglyphic, from the first simple way of painting the human conceptions.‡

* "Pero lo que se escrive en elia, en todas las lenguas se entiende, porque aunque las Provincias no se entienden de palabra unacs a otras, mas por escrito si, porque las letras o figuras son unas mismas para todos, y significan lo mismo, mas no tinen el mismo nombre ni prolacion, porque como he dicho son para denotar cosas y no palabras, assi como en el exemplo de los numeros de guarismo que puse, se puede facilmente entender. De aqui tambien procede, que siendo los Japones y Chinas, Naciones y lenguas tam differentes leen y entendien los unos las escrituras de los otros; y si hablas sen lo que leen, o escriven, poco ni mucho no se entenderian. Estas pues son las letras y libros que usan los Chinos tan afamados en el mundo," &c.—ACOSTA, lib. vi. cap. 5. "Les Caracteres de la Cochinchine, du Tongking, du Japon sont les mêmes que ceux de la Chine, et signifient les mêmes choses, sans toutefois que ces Peuples en parlant, s'expriment de la même sorte. Ainsi quoique les langues soint très-differentes, et qu'ils ne puissent pas s'entendre les uns les autres en parlant; ils s'entendent fort bien en s'ecrivant, et tous leurs Livres sont communs. Ces Caracteres sont en cela comme des Chiffres d' arithmetique: plusieurs Nations s'en servent: on leur donne differens noms; mais ils signifient par tout la même chose—l'on compte jusqu'à quatre vingt mille de ces Caracteres."—DU HALDE, *Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 226. fol. ed. † *China Illustrata*, p. 227, et *Œdipi Ægyptiaci Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, p. 12. See plate V. ‡ "Primò siquidem ex omnibus rebus mundialibus primos *Sinas* characteres suos construxisse, tum ex Chronicis ipsorum patet, tum ipsa characterum forma sat superque demonstrat; siquidem non secus ac *Ægyptii* ex animalibus, volucribus, reptilibus, piscibus, herbis, arborumque ramis, funiculis, filis, punctis, circulis, similibusque characteres suos, aliâ tamen et aliâ ratione dispositos formabant. Posteriores verò *Sinæ* rerum experientia doctiores, cum magnam in tanta animalium plantarumque congerie confusionem viderent, characteres hujusmodi variè figuratos, certis punctorum linearumque ductibus æmulati, in breviorem methodum concinnârunt, quâ et in hunc usque diem utuntur.—Porro litteras *Sinæ* nulla ratione in Alphabeti morem, uti cæteris nationibus consuetum est, dispositas, neque voces ex literis et syllabis compositas habent, sed singuli characteres singulis vocibus et nominibus respondent; adeoque tot characteribus opus habent, quos res sunt, quas per conceptum mentis exponere volunt."—KIRCHERI *China Illustrata*, p. 226.—"Au lieu d'Alphabet ils se sont servis au commencement de leur Monarchie, de *Hieroglyphes*. Ils en peint au lieu d'ecrire; et par les images naturelles des choses qu'ils formoient sur le papier ils tâchoient d'exprimer et de communiquer aux autres leurs idées. Ainsi pour écrire un oiseau, ils en peignoient la figure; et pour signifier un forest, ils representoient plusieurs arbres; un cercle vouloit dire le Soleil, et un croissant la Lune. Cette maniere d'ecrire estoit non seulement imparfaite, mais encore très incommode.—Ainsi les Chinois changerent peu à peu leur ecriture, et composerent des figures plus simples, quoique moins naturelles," &c.—LE COMTE, *Nouv. Memoires sur l' Etat Present de la Chine*, Tome prem. p. 256, Amst. 1698, 12mo. "Des le commencement de leur

But it may be worth our while to consider more particularly, the origine and introduction of these ARBITRARY MARKS; the last advance of hieroglyphics towards *alphabetic writing*. We may observe that substances, and all visible objects, were at first very naturally expressed by the images of the things themselves; as moral modes and other ideal conceptions of the mind were more aptly represented by marks of arbitrary institution: for it required variety of knowledge, and quickness of fancy, to design these latter ideas by analogic or symbolic figures; which therefore can be supposed no other than an after-thought of a people more than ordinary ingenious, as the Egyptians, and who, aiming to set a price upon their ingenuity, made their meaning mysterious and profound.

We shall see presently, that as all nations, in their ruder state, had hieroglyphic images or analogic or symbolic figures for marking things; so had they likewise simple characters or notes of arbitrary institution, for *mental conceptions*. But, commonly, that sort only which they most cultivated, or for which they were principally famous, happened to be transmitted to posterity. Thus the Mexicans are remembered for their hieroglyphic paintings only; and the Peruvians for their knotted cords. But we are not therefore to conclude that the Mexican writing had no arbitrary marks,* or that the Peruvians had no hieroglyphic paintings.† Real characters of both kinds had, at different periods, been cultivated in China, if we may credit the concurrent relations of the Missionaries. In ancient Egypt

Monarchie, ils communiquoient leurs idées, en formant sur le papier les images naturelles des choses qu'ils vouloient exprimer: ils peignoient, par exemple, un oiseau, des montagnes, des arbres, des lignes ondoyantes, pour exprimer des oiseaux, des montagnes, un forêt, et des rivieres. Cette maniere d'expliquer sa pensée étoit fort imparfaite, et demandoit plusieurs volumes pour exprimer assez peu des choses. D'ailleurs il y avoit une infinité d'objets, qui ne pouvoient être representez par la peinture.—C'est pourquoi insensiblement ils changerent leur ancienne maniere d'ecrire: ils composerent des figures plus simples, et en inventerent plusieurs autres, pour exprimer les objets, qui ne tombent point sous les sens. Mais ces caracteres plus modernes ne laissent pas d'être encore de vrais Hieroglifes. Premierement parce qu'ils sont composez de lettres simples, qui retiennent la même signification des caracteres primitifs: Autrefois, par exemple, ils representoient ainsi le Soleil par un cercle ⊖ et l'appelloient *Gé*; ils le representent maintenant, par cette figure 日, qu'ils nomment pareillement *Gé*. Secondement, parce que l'institution des hommes a attaché à ces figures la même idée, que ces premiers Symboles presentoient naturellement, et qu'il n'y a aucune lettre Chinoise qui n'ait sa propre signification, lorsqu'on la joint avec d'autres. *Tsai*, par exemple, qui veut dire, *malheur, calamité*, est composé de la lettre *mien*, qui signifie *maison*, et de la lettre *ho*, qui signifie *feu*, parce que le plus grand malheur est de voir sa maison en feu. On peut juger par ce seul exemple, que les caracteres Chinois n'étant pas des lettres simples, comme les nôtres, qui separement ne signifient rien, et n'ont de sens que quand elles sont jointes ensemble; ce sont autant de Hieroglifes, qui forment des images, et qui expriment les pensées."—DU HALDE, tom. ii. p. 227.

* Joseph Acosta (as we see above) expressly says, that "the Mexicans represented those things, which had bodily shape, by their proper figures, and *those which had none, by other significative characters*:"—"las cosas que tenian figuras las ponian con sus proprias ymagines; y para las cosas que no avia ymagen propria tenian otros caracteres significativos de aquello."

† The same Acosta says expressly, that, besides their *quippos* or "strings" variously knotted and coloured, they had paintings like the Mexicans.—Lib. vi. cap. 8.

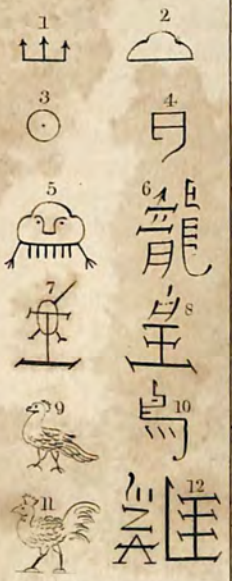
indeed, where hieroglyphic figures were so successfully cultivated as to give that general name to real characters, the use of marks by institution is more obscurely noticed. And for this, a reason will be assigned. Martinus Martinius, in his history of China, tells us,* they had two sorts of characters; the one, marks by institution, which had been substituted instead of knotted cords, once in use amongst them (as in Peru), but much more intricate than the Peruvian knots: their other characters were figures resembling the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and representing the *things* they were designed to express. Now as the Chinese improved in arts and empire, it is natural to suppose they would much increase their marks by institution. The growing number of these characters, the sciences to which they were applied, and their commodious and expeditious use, would tempt them even to change their analogic figures into marks by institution, till their whole writing became of this sort. It is now such: and that the change was produced in the manner here represented, we may collect from the words and scheme of Martinius on the other side.†

But to all this it may be said, How then came it to pass, that Egypt, which had the same imperial fortune in a long flourishing dominion, should be so far from changing their analogic figures into arbitrary marks, that their arbitrary marks were almost lost and absorbed in analogic figures? For such arbitrary marks they had, as we may collect from their monuments, where we find them intermixed with proper hieroglyphics; and from Apuleius, where we see them described in his account of the sacred book or ritual of the mysteries of Isis. "De opertis adyti profert quosdam libros, litteris ignorabilibus prænotatos: partim FIGURIS CUJUSCEMODI ANIMALIUM, concepti sermonis compendiosa verba suggerentes; partim NODOSIS, ET IN MODUM ROTÆ TORTUOSIS, capreolatimque condensis apicibus, a curiositate profanorum lectione munita:" the very same species of writing with that of the Chinese, described by Martinius, and almost in the same words: "Fohius characteres reperit, quos loco nodorum adhibuit; sed ipsis nodis intricatiores."

Now this opposite progress in the issue of hieroglyphic writing, in Egypt and China, may, I think, be easily accounted for by the different genius of the two people. The Egyptians were extremely inventive; and, what is often a consequence of that humour (though here other things contributed to promote it), much given to secrecy and mysterious conveyance: while the Chinese are known to be the least inventive people upon earth; and not much given to mystery. This difference in the genius of the two nations would make all the difference in the progress of hieroglyphic writing amongst them. I

* "Idem imperator [Fo-hi] Sinicos characteres reperit, quos loco nodorum adhibuit, sed ipsis nodis intricatiores."—*Sin. Hist.* lib i. † See plate VI.

PLATE 6



From Martinus Martinius.

Hæc litera 1. quæ montem significat, olim ita, 2. pingebatur. Sic solem eo modo exprimebant, quo Mathematicis hodie circulo medioque puncto, 3. describitur: nunc ista forma 4. effingunt. Draconis hæc. 5. olim figura erat: hodie ita, 6. formatur. Regis litera seu nomen sceptrum cum oculo, 7. referebat, nunc ita, 8. pingunt. Volucrem, gallinam, vel gallum, sua, hoc est, nativa specie, 9.-11. repræsentabant; nunc his ductibus, 10.12 explicantur. Habeo penes me librum literis Sinicis ad sex diversos modos conscriptum, opus antiquissimum and rarum, Sinis ob vetustatem raritatemque magno semper in pretio habitum. In eo libro antiqua literæ formam utcunque referunt earum, quas Romæ in obeliscis sæpe me videre memini.

PLATE 5

A Specimen of the more Modern Chinese Characters taken from their more Antient. The first row Modern the second Antient Correspondent to the first. From Kircher's China Illustrata.

have observed that the easiest, and most natural expression of the abstract conceptions of the mind, was by arbitrary marks: but yet the most ingenious way of representing them was by analogic or symbolic figures; as omniscience, by an *eye*; ingratitude, by a *viper*; impudence, by the *river-horse*. Now the Egyptians, who were of a lively imagination, and studious of natural knowledge, though at first, like the Chinese, they expressed mental ideas by arbitrary marks, yet, as they improved their inventive faculties by use, they fell naturally into this method of expressing them by analogic or symbolic figures; and their love of mystery disposed them to cultivate it: for these figures necessarily make the Character mysterious, as implying in the Inventor, and requiring in the User, a knowledge of physics; whereas arbitrary marks lie open to all, as requiring no knowledge but that of the institution. Hence we have a plain reason how it happened, that the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, from very early times, consisted principally of symbolic and analogic marks, and that those Chinese Hieroglyphics were turned altogether into marks by institution. For as the Egyptians had soon learnt to express abstract ideas by analogic signs, so the Chinese were at last drawn to express even material things by arbitrary marks.

In a word, the Chinese method of thus conducting hieroglyphic writing through all its changes and improvements, from a picture to a simple mark, was the occasion that the Missionaries, who considered the history of their *writing* only by parts, have given us such different accounts of it. Sometimes they represent it like the Mexican pictures; sometimes like the knotted cords of the Peruvians; sometimes as approaching to the characters found upon the Egyptian obelisques; and sometimes again as of the nature of the Arabic marks for numbers. But each man speaks only of the monuments of which he himself had got information; and these differed according to their age and place. He, whose attention was taken up with the most ancient only of the Chinese monuments, did not hesitate to pronounce them hieroglyphics, like the Egyptian; because he saw them to be analogic or symbolic signs, like the Egyptian: he who considered only the characters of later use denied them to be like the Egyptian, because he found them to be only marks by institution.

These imperfect accounts have misled the learned into several mistakes concerning the general nature and use of Hieroglyphics themselves. Some supposing it of their nature to be *obvious marks* of institution; and others, that it required a very *comprehensive knowledge* of physics to be able to compose them.

Mr. Freret, speaking of the Chinese characters, says, "Selon eux [les Chinois] ces anciens caractéres étoient tous fondés sur des raisons

philosophiques. Ils exprimoient la nature des choses qu'ils signifioient: ou du moins la determinoient en désignant les rapports de ces mêmes choses avec d'autres mieux connues." * But he doubts whether entire credit is to be given to their accounts; for he observes that "La construction d'une pareille langue demande une parfaite connoissance de la nature et de l'ordre des idées qu'il faut exprimer, c'est-à-dire, *une bonne metaphysique*, et, peut-être même *un systeme complet de philosophie*.—Les Chinois n'ont jamais eu rien de pareil." He concludes therefore, that the Chinese hieroglyphics "n'ont jamais eu qu'en rapport d'INSTITUTION avec les choses qu'elles signifient." This is strange reasoning. To know whether the ancient Chinese characters were founded on philosophic relations, does not depend on their having a true system of physics and metaphysics, but on their having a system simply, whether true or false, to which to adapt those Characters: Thus, that part of the Egyptian physics which taught, that the viper tore its way through its mother's entrails, and that the skin of the hyæna preserved the wearer invulnerable, served full as well for hieroglyphical uses, as the soundest part of their astronomy, which placed the sun in the center of its system.

Again, others have denied the Chinese characters to be properly Hieroglyphics, because they are arbitrary marks and not analogical. P. Parennin says, "Les caractéres Chinois ne sont hieroglyphes qu'improprement.—Ce sont des signes *arbitraires* qui nous donnent l'idée d'une chose, non par aucun rapport qu'ils aient avec la chose signifiée, mais parce qu'on a voulu par tel signe signifier telle chose.—En est-il de même des hieroglyphes Egyptiens?" P. Gaubil says,—"On voit l'importance d'une histoire critique sur l'origine et les changemens arrivés à plusieurs caractéres Chinois qui sont certainement hieroglyphes. D'un autre côté, il y a des caractéres Chinois, qui *certainement ne sont pas hieroglyphes*. Une histoire de ceux-ci seroit aussi importante." These Fathers, we see, suppose it essential to hieroglyphic characters, that they be analogic or symbolic signs; and finding the more modern Chinese writing to be chiefly composed of arbitrary marks, or signs by institution, they concluded that the Chinese characters were not properly Hieroglyphics. Whereas, what truly denotes a writing to be hieroglyphical is, that its marks are signs for THINGS; what denotes a writing not to be hieroglyphical, is that its marks are signs for WORDS. Whether the marks be formed by *analogy* or *institution* makes no alteration in the nature of the *writing*. If they be signs for *things*, they can be nothing but hieroglyphics; if they be signs for *words*, they may be, and I suppose always are, alphabetical characters; but never can be hieroglyphics. However, it is but justice to these learned Fathers to

* *Mem. de l'Acad.* tom. vi. p. 609.

observe, that one of them, from whom the others might have profited, appears to have a much clearer conception of this matter.—"*La nature des hieroglyphes*" (says he) "n'est pas d'être des figures naturelles des choses qu'ils signifient, mais seulement de les representer ou naturellement, ou par l'institution des hommes. Or tous les lettres Chinoises, ou sont des figures naturelles, comme les anciennes, du soleil, de la lune, ou autres semblables, ou sont des figures destinées pour signifier quelque chose, comme sont toutes celles qui signifient des choses qui n'ont aucune figure; comme l'ame, la beauté, les vertus, les vices, et toutes les actions des hommes et des animaux." *

On the whole, therefore, we see that, before the institution of letters to express SOUNDS, all characters denoted only THINGS; 1. By *representation.* 2. By *analogy* or *symbols.* 3. By *arbitrary institution.* Amongst the Mexicans, the first method was principally in use: The Egyptians chiefly cultivated the second: And the Chinese, in course of time, reduced almost all their characters to the third. But the empires of China and Egypt long flourishing in their different periods, had time and inclination to cultivate all the three species of hieroglyphic writing: only with this difference; the Egyptians beginning, like the Mexicans, with a picture, and being ingenious and much given to mystery, cultivated a species of hieroglyphics most abounding in signs by analogy, or symbols; whereas the Chinese, who set out like the Peruvians with a knotted cord,† and were less inventive, and without a secret worship, cultivated that species which most abounds in marks of arbitrary institution.‡

In a word, all the barbarous nations upon earth, before the invention or introduction of letters, made use of Hieroglyphics, or signs for things, to record their meaning: the more gross, by *representation;* the more subtile and civilized, by *analogy* and *institution.*

THUS we have brought down the general history of writing, by a gradual and easy descent, from a PICTURE to a LETTER; for Chinese marks which participate of Egyptian hieroglyphics on the one hand, and of alphabetic letters on the other (just as those hieroglyphics partook equally of Mexican pictures and Chinese characters) are on the very border of letters; an ALPHABET invented to express *sounds* instead of *things* being only a compendium of that large volume of arbitrary marks.

Some alphabets, as the Ethiopic and Coptic,§ have taken in hieroglyphic figures to compose their letters; which appears both from their shapes and names. The ancient Egyptian did the same, as

* P. MAGAILLANS, *Relat. de la Chine.* † "Les premiers inventeurs de l'écriture Chinoise, en s'attachant à des signes, qui n'ont qu'un rapport d'institution avec les choses signifiées, ont suivi le génie de la nation Chinoise; qui même avant Fo-hi, c'est à dire, dans la plus profonde antiquité, se servoit de cordelettes nouées en guise d'écriture."—*Mem. de l'Acad.* tom. vi. FRERET. ‡ See note S, at the end of this book.
§ See note T, at the end of this book.

a learned French writer hath shewn in a very ingenious and convincing manner.* But this is seen even from the names which express letters and literary-writing in the ancient languages: thus the Greek words ΣΗΜΕΙΑ and ΣΗΜΑΤΑ signify as well the images of natural things as artificial marks or characters; and ΓΡΑΦΩ is both to paint and to write. The not attending to this natural and easy progress of hieroglyphic images from pictures to alphabetic letters, made some amongst the ancients, as Plato and Tully, when struck with the wonderful artifice of an ALPHABET, conclude that it was no human invention, but the gift of the immortal Gods.

Here then we see the first beginnings of Hieroglyphics amongst the Mexicans, and the end of them amongst the Chinese; yet we never find them employed in either of these places for *mystery* or concealment: what there was of this practice, therefore, in the middle stage of their cultivation amongst the Egyptians, we must needs conclude had some private or peculiar cause, unrelated to their general nature.

But the course of the Mexican empire was too short to improve picture into an hieroglyphic; and the Chinese, which, in its long duration, hath brought this picture down, through hieroglyphics, to a simple mark, or character, hath not yet (from the poverty of its inventive genius,† and its aversion to foreign commerce) been able to find out an abridgment of those marks, by letters; it was the old and well established monarchy of Egypt, so propitious to arts and civil policy, which carried the PICTURE, through all the stages of its improvement, quite down to LETTERS, the invention of this ingenious people.‡

Now such a general concurrence in the method of recording the thoughts, can never be supposed the effect of chance, imitation, or partial purposes; but must needs be esteemed the uniform voice of nature, speaking to the first rude conceptions of mankind: for the reader may be pleased to observe, that not only the Chinese of the East, the Mexicans of the West, and the Egyptians of the South, but the Scythians likewise of the North (not to speak of those intermediate inhabitants of the earth, the Indians, Phœnicians, Ethiopians, Etruscans, &c.) all used the same way of writing by picture and hieroglyphic.§

But to shew still clearer, that it was nature and necessity, not choice and artifice, which gave birth and continuance to these several specieses of hieroglyphic writing, we shall now take a view of the

* See note U, at the end of this book. † See note X, at the end of this book.

‡ "Primi per *figuras animalium* ÆGYPTII sensus mentis effingebant; et antiquissima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impressa saxis cernuntur, et *litterarum* semet inventores perhibent; inde Phœnicas, quia mari præpollebant, intulisse Græciæ, gloriamque adeptos, tanquam repererint, quæ acceperant."—TACITI *Annales*, lib. xi. cap. 14.

§ See note Y, at the end of this book.

rise and progress of its sister-art, the art of SPEECH; and having set them together and compared them, we shall see with pleasure, how great a lustre they mutually reflect upon one another; for, as St. Austin elegantly expresses it, *Signa sint* VERBA VISIBILIA; *verba,* SIGNA AUDIBILIA.

I. LANGUAGE, as appears from the nature of the thing, from the records of history, and from the remains of the most ancient languages yet remaining, was at first extremely rude, narrow, and equivocal: * so that men would be perpetually at a loss, on any new conception, or uncommon accident, to explain themselves intelligibly to one another; the art of inlarging language by a scientific analogy being a late invention: this would necessarily set them upon supplying the deficiencies of speech by apt and significant SIGNS.† Accordingly, in the first ages of the world, mutual converse was upheld by a mixed discourse of words and ACTIONS; hence came the eastern phrase of *the voice of the sign;* ‡ and use and custom, as in most other affairs of life, improving what had arisen out of necessity, into ornament, this practice subsisted long after the necessity was over; especially amongst the eastern people, whose natural temperament inclined them to a mode of conversation, which so well exercised their vivacity, by motion; and so much gratified it, by a perpetual representation of material images. Of this we have innumerable instances in holy Scripture: as where the false prophet pushed with horns of iron, to denote the entire overthrow of the Syrians; § where Jeremiah, by God's direction, hides the linen girdle in a hole of the rock near Euphrates; ‖ where he breaks a potter's vessel in sight of the people, ¶ puts on bonds and yokes, ** and casts a book into Euphrates; †† where Ezekiel, by the same appointment, delineates the siege of Jerusalem on a tile; ‡‡ weighs the hair of his beard in balances; §§ carries out his houshold-stuff; ‖‖ and joins together the two sticks for Judah and Israel. ¶¶ By these actions the prophets instructed the people in the will of God, and conversed with them in signs: but where God teaches the prophet, and, in compliance to the custom of that time, condescends to the same mode of instruction, then the significative action is generally changed into a vision, either natural or extraordinary: as where the prophet Jeremiah is bid to regard the rod of the almond-tree, and the seething pot; *** the work on the potter's wheel, ††† and the baskets of good and bad figs; ‡‡‡ and

* See note Z, at the end of this book. † If this be true, it must be the case at all times, and in all places, where language remains within those narrow bounds. Thus Lafitau, speaking of the savages of North America, observes, "Ils parlent autant du GESTE que de la voix."—*Mœurs des Sauvages*, vol. i. p. 482, 4to edit. ‡ Exod. iv. 8. And not for the reason given by Le Clerc on the place: "Ideoque vox iis [prodigiis] tribuitur, cùm eorum operâ Deus, non minus ac voce, suum hunc prophetam esse significaret." § 1 Kings xxii. 11. ‖ Jer. xiii. ¶ Chap. xix. ** Chap. xxvii. †† Chap. li. ‡‡ Ezek. iv. §§ Chap. v. ‖‖ Chap. xii. ¶¶ Chap. xxxvii. 16. *** Jer. i. ††† Chap. xviii. ‡‡‡ Chap. xxiv.

the prophet Ezekiel, the ideal scene of the resurrection of dry bones.* The significative action, I say, was, in this case, generally changed into a vision; but not always. For as sometimes, where the instruction was for the people, the significative action was, perhaps, in *vision*: so, sometimes again, though the information was only for the prophet, God would set him upon a real expressive action, whose obvious meaning conveyed the intelligence proposed or sought. Of this, we shall give, at the expence of infidelity, a very illustrious instance.† The excellent Maimonides, not attending to this primitive mode of information, is much scandalized at several of these actions, unbecoming, as he supposed, the dignity of the prophetic office; and is therefore for resolving them in general into supernatural visions, impressed on the imagination of the prophet;‡ and this, because some few of them may, perhaps, admit of such an interpretation. In which he is followed by Christian writers,§ much to the discredit, as I conceive, of Revelation; and to the triumph of libertinism and infidelity;‖ the actions of the prophets being delivered as realities; and these writers representing them as *mean, absurd,* and fanatical, *and exposing the prophet to contempt.*¶ But what is it they gain by this expedient? The charge of absurdity and fanaticism will follow the prophet in his visions, when they have removed it from his waking actions: for if these actions were absurd and fanatical in the real representation, they must needs be so in the imaginary; the same turn of mind operating both asleep and awake.** The judicious reader therefore cannot but observe that the reasonable and true defence of the prophetic writings is what is here offered: where we shew, that information by action was, at this time, and place, a very familiar mode of conversation. This once seen, all charge of absurdity, and suspicion of fanaticism, vanish of themselves: the *absurdity* of an action consists in its being extravagant and insignificative; but use and a fixed application made these in question both sober and perti-

* Ezek. xxxvii. 2. † See the case of Abraham, book vi. sect. 5. ‡ *More Nevochim*, p. ii. cap. xlvi. which chapter he thus intitles, *Quòd opera ea, quæ prophetæ dicunt se fecisse, non fuerint facta revera et externè, sed tantum in visione prophetiæ*; and then goes on:—"Scias ergo, quemadmodum in somnio accidit, ut homini videatur, ac si in hanc vel illam regionem profectus esset, uxorem in ea duxisset, ac ad tempus aliquod ibi habitâsset, filium, quem N. appellârit, et qui talis aut talis fuerit, ex ea suscepisset; ita se quoque rem habere in illis parabolis prophetarum, quas vident aut faciunt in visione prophetiæ. Quicquid enim docent parabolæ illæ de actione aliquâ et rebus, quas propheta facit, de mensura et spatio temporis inter unam et alteram actionem, de profectione ex uno loco in alium: illud omne non est nisi in visione prophetica, nequaquam verò sunt actiones veræ et in sensus incurrentes; licet quædam partes præcisè et absolutè commemorentur in libris prophetarum." § Vide JOANNIS SMITH, *Theol. Cantab., Dissertationem de Prophetia et Prophetis ex transl. Jounnis Clerici*, cap. vi. and his late followers. ‖ See note AA, at the end of this book. ¶ See note BB, at the end of this book. ** "Prophetic dreams and visions were so very lively" (says a learned writer) "and affected the imagination with such force, that *the prophet himself could not at the time distinguish such visions from realities. Something of this kind we experience in our dreams and reveries.*"—See "Dissertation on Balaam," p. 193.

nent: the *fanaticism* of an action consists in a fondness for unusual actions and foreign modes of speech; but those in question were idiomatic and familiar. To illustrate this last observation by a domestic example: when the sacred writers talk of being *born after the spirit*, of being *fed with the sincere milk of the word*, of *putting their tears into a bottle*, of *bearing testimony against lying vanities*, of *taking the veil from men's hearts*, and of *building up one another*; they speak the common, yet proper and pertinent phraseology of their country; and not the least imputation of fanaticism can stick upon these original expressions. But when we see our own countrymen reprobate their native idiom, and affect to employ only scripture phrases in their whole conversation, as if some inherent sanctity resided in the Eastern modes of expression, we cannot chuse but suspect such men far gone in the delusions of a heated imagination. The same may be said of significative actions.*

But it is not only in sacred story that we meet with the mode of *speaking by action*. Profane antiquity is full of these examples; and it is not unlikely but, in the course of our enquiry, we shall have occasion to produce some of them: the early Oracles in particular frequently employed it, as we learn from an old saying of Heraclitus: *That the king whose Oracle is at Delphi, neither speaks nor keeps silent, but reveals by* SIGNS.†

Now this way of expressing the thoughts by ACTION perfectly coincided with that, of recording them by PICTURE. There is a remarkable case in ancient story, which shews the relation between *speaking by action* and *writing by picture*, so strongly, that we shall need no other proof of the similar nature of these two forms. It is told by Clemens Alexandrinus: *They say, that Idanthura, a king of the Scythians (as Pherecydes Syrius relates the story), when ready to oppose Darius, who had passed the Ister, sent the Persian a symbol instead of letters, namely, a mouse, a frog, a bird, a dart, and a plow.*‡ Thus this message being to supply both speech and writing, the purport of it was, we see, expressed by a composition of *action* and *picture*.

II. As speech became more cultivated, this rude manner of speaking by action was smoothed and polished into an APOLOGUE or *fable*; where the speaker, to inforce his purpose, by a suitable impression,

* See Clem. Walker's story of the fanatic soldier with his five lights. "Hist. Indep." part ii. p. 152.

† Οὔτε λέγει, οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει.—PLUTARCHUS Περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρὴν ἔμμετρα, p. 992, which being a less precise and more equivocal mode of information excellently well fitted the trade of oracles. The Lacedæmonians [see Herodotus in *Thalia*] preferred it to speech for another reason, viz. to hinder their being misled by the illusions of oratory.

‡ Φασὶ γοῦν καὶ Ἰδάνθουραν τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλέα, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος, Δαρείῳ διαβάντι τὸν Ἴστρον πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦντα πέμψαι σύμβολον ἀντὶ τῶν γραμμάτων, μῦν, βάτραχον, ὄρνιθα, ὀϊστὸν, ἄροτρον.—*Strom.* lib. v. p. 567.

told a familiar tale of his own invention, accompanied with such circumstances as made his design evident and persuasive: for language was yet too narrow, and the minds of men too undisciplined, to support only abstract reasoning and a direct address. We have a noble example of this form of instruction in the speech of Jotham to the men of Shechem; in which he upbraids their folly, and foretells their ruin, in chusing Abimelech for their king. As this is not only the oldest, but the most beautiful * apologue of antiquity, I shall need no excuse for transcribing it: "The trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over them, and they said unto the olive-tree, Reign thou over us. But the olive-tree said unto them, Should I leave my fatness, wherewith, by me, they honour God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees? And the trees said to the fig-tree, Come thou, and reign over us. But the fig-tree said unto them, Should I forsake my sweetness, and my good fruit, and go to be promoted over the trees? Then said the trees unto the vine, Come thou, and reign over us. And the vine said unto them, Should I leave my wine, *which cheareth God and man*, and go to be promoted over the trees? Then said all the trees unto the bramble, Come thou, and reign over us. And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come and put your trust in my shadow: and if not, let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon." †

How nearly the *apologue* and *instruction by action* are related, may be seen in the account of Jeremiah's adventure with the Rechabites; ‡ an instruction partaking of the joint nature of *action* and *apologue*.

This was the birth of the FABLE; a kind of speech which corresponds, in all respects, to *writing by hieroglyphics*, each being the symbol of something else understood. And, as it sometimes happened, when an Hieroglyphic became famous, it lost its particular signification, and assumed a general one; as the *Caduceus*, for instance, which was, at first, painted only to denote the pacific office of Hermes, became, in time, to be the common symbol of league and amity: so it was with the Apologue; of which, when any one became celebrated for the art and beauty of its composition, or for some extraordinary efficacy in its application, it was soon converted and worn into a PROVERB. We have a fine instance of this in the message of Jehoash to Amaziah, "Saying, *The thistle that was in Lebanon, sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife: and there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle.* Thou hast indeed smitten Edom, and thine

* See note CC, at the end of this book. † See note DD, at the end of this book. ‡ Jer. xxxv.

heart hath lifted thee up: glory of this, and tarry at home: for why shouldest thou meddle to thy hurt, that thou shouldest fall, even thou and Judah with thee?" * Where we see plainly that this satyric apologue of the thistle and cedar was now become a proverb: of a like kind is that of the prophet; *Howl, fir tree, for the cedar is fallen;* † to denote the danger of the lower people, when their superiors cannot withstand the civil tempest.

III. But as speech improved into an art, the Apologue was contracted into a SIMILE, in which men consulted closeness as well as brevity; for here the subject itself being still kept in sight, there was no need, as in the Apologue, of a formal application: and how easily the Apologue slid into the *Similitude*, we may see by the following passage of Jeremiah, which, being something between both these forms of speech, communicates of either's nature: *The Lord called thy name a green olive-tree, fair and of goodly fruit: with the noise of a great tumult he hath kindled fire upon it, and the branches of it are broken, &c.* ‡ This way of speaking by Simile, we may conceive to answer to the *Chinese marks* or characters in writing.

Again, as from such *marks* proceeded the abbreviated method of *alphabetic letters*, so from the Simile, to make language still more expedite and elegant, came the METAPHOR; which is indeed but a Simile in little: for men so conversant in *matter* still wanted sensible images to convey abstract ideas. The steps by which the *Simile* was contracted into the *Metaphor*, may be easily traced by a careful perusal of the prophetic writings; there being no mode of speech more common than that compounded of both; where the *Simile* is just about to be forsaken, and the *Metaphor* to be received. In this manner are God's judgments denounced against the king of Assyria: "Therefore thus saith the Lord God, because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top amongst the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have therefore delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen:—and strangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, and have left him: upon the mountains and in all the valleys his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land, and all the people of the earth are gone down from his shadow, and have left him. Upon his ruin shall all the fowls of heaven remain, and all the beasts of the field shall be upon his branches. To the end that none of all the trees by the waters exalt themselves for their height, neither shoot up their top amongst the thick boughs." § Quintilian considering this matter in an inverted order, yet makes an observation, where he speaks of *metaphors*, much to our purpose.—"Continuus [usus] vero

* 2 Kings xiv. 9, 10. † Zech. xi. 2. ‡ Jer. xi. 16. § Ezek. xxxi. 10, et seq.

in allegoriam et ænigmata exit." * That is, As the allegory may, by degrees, be contracted into a Metaphor, so the Metaphor, by beating long upon it, may be drawn back again into an allegory.

As the *Simile* slid into a *Metaphor*, so the metaphor often softened into a simple EPITHET, which soon discharged all the colouring of the figure. This is observable in the words *decrepit*,† *capricious*, and a great many others, when applied either to the body or mind. Which being first used in *simile*, then in *metaphor*, at length, by frequent use in *epithet*, lost the very memory of their original.‡

Thus we see the common foundation of all these various modes of WRITING and SPEAKING, was a PICTURE or IMAGE, presented to the *imagination* through the eyes and ears; which being the simplest and most universal of all kinds of information (the first reaching those who could not decypher the arbitrary characters of an alphabet; and the latter instructing those who were yet strangers to abstract terms), we must needs conclude to be the natural inventions of rude necessity.

And here it may not be amiss to repeat an observation made before, that the primitive and more simple way of expression, whether in *writing* or *speaking*, did not always straight grow into disuse on the invention of a more improved manner. Thus we see in Scripture, the way of *speaking* by action was still used after the introduction of the Apologue; and the Apologue, after that of the Simile and Metaphor. And so again in *writing*; the first and simplest hieroglyphics continued to be used in Egypt (as we shall see) long after the refinement of them into those more artful ones called *symbolical*; and these, after that further improvement into characters or *marks* resembling the Chinese, and even after the invention of *letters*.

But how, as in these several modes of speech, so in the several forms of writing, men made a virtue of necessity, and turned that into ornament and mystery, which had its birth in poverty, and was brought up in simplicity and plainness, is to be our next enquiry.

II.

It is now, I suppose, apparent, that the hitherto received opinion, that the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics to *conceal* their knowledge, and render it mysterious, is altogether without foundation. However, as it is very certain they did, at length, *employ* hieroglyphic writing to such a purpose, it will be proper to examine how this came about; How one of the simplest and plainest means of instruction came to be converted into one of the most artificial and abstruse.

* Lib. viii. cap. 6. † "DECREPITUS. Comparatio vitæ nostræ cum lucerna nota fuit Latinis, ut patet ex decrepitorum senum nuncupatione."—*Prima Scaligerana*, p. 48. ‡ See note EE, at the end of this book.

To support what we have to say on this head with proper authority, it will be necessary to produce two important passages from Porphyry and Clemens Alexandrinus, concerning the several natures and kinds of Egyptian writing. On these, we shall regulate our discourse; which will, in its turn, contribute to illustrate these passages, hitherto, as we conceive, very imperfectly understood.

But it will be proper first of all to give the reader a general idea of the several natures and kinds of Egyptian writing, according to the order of time in which each was invented and improved; and for the truth, as well as perfect intelligence of the account, refer him to the whole of the discourse.

Egyptian writing was of four kinds: the first, HIEROGLYPHIC, and this twofold: the more rude, called *curiologic;* and the more artificial, called *tropical:* the second, SYMBOLIC; and this likewise was twofold; the more simple, and the more mysterious; that *tropical,* this *allegorical.* These two kinds of writing, namely the hieroglyphic and symbolic (which went under the generic term of *hieroglyphics,* distinguished into *proper,* and *symbolic* hieroglyphics), were not composed of the letters of an alphabet, but of marks or characters which stood for THINGS, not words. The third EPISTOLIC, so called, as we shall see, from its being first applied to *civil* matters: and the fourth and last, HIEROGRAMMATIC, from its being used only in *religious.* These two last kinds of writing, namely, the epistolic and hierogrammatic, expressed WORDS, and were formed by the letters of an alphabet.

We come now to the passages in question. Porphyry, speaking of Pythagoras, tells us: That *he sojourned with the priests in Egypt, and learnt the wisdom and the language of the country, together with their three sorts of letters, the* EPISTOLIC, *the* HIEROGLYPHIC, *and the* SYMBOLIC; *of which the* HIEROGLYPHIC *expressed the meaning of the writer, by an imitation or picture of the thing intended to be expressed; and the* SYMBOLIC, *by allegorical enigmas.** Clemens is larger and more explicit:—*Now those who are instructed in the Egyptian wisdom, learn first of all the method of their several sorts of letters; the first of which is called* EPISTOLIC; *the second* SACERDOTAL, *as being used by the sacred scribes; the last, with which they conclude their instructions,* HIEROGLYPHICAL. *Of these different methods, the one is in the plain and common way of writing by the first elements of words, or letters of an alphabet; the other by* SYMBOLS. *Of the symbolic way of writing, which is of three kinds; the first is that plain and common one, of imitating the figure of the thing represented; the second is by tropical marks; and the third, in a contrary way, of allegorizing by Enigmas. Of the first sort, namely, by a plain and direct imitation of the figure, let this stand for an instance:—to*

* See note FF, at the end of this book.

signify the sun, they made a circle; the moon, a half circle. The second, or tropical way of writing, is by changing and transferring the object with justness and propriety: * *this they do, sometimes by a simple change, sometimes by a complex multifarious transformation; thus they leave engraven* † *on stones and pillars the praises of their kings, under the cover of theologic fables. Of the third sort, by enigmas, take this example: the oblique course of the stars occasioned their representing them by the bodies of serpents; but the sun they likened to a scarabæus, because this insect makes a round ball of beast's dung, and rolls it circularly, with its face opposed to that luminary.* ‡

Thus these two ancient Greeks: but both of them being in the general mistake concerning the original of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, it is no wonder their accounts should be inaccurate and confused. The first mistake common to both, and the natural consequence of that false principle, is making the EPISTOLARY writing first, in order of time,§ which was indeed the last. For that this was their sentiment appears from Clemens's calling hieroglyphic writing ὑστάτην καὶ τελευταίαν, the last and most perfect kind. The second common mistake is their counting but three sorts of writing, when, indeed, there were four; as is discoverable even from their own reckoning: Porphyry naming *epistolic, hieroglyphic,* and *symbolic;* Clemens, *epistolic, sacerdotal,* and *hieroglyphical;* the First leaving out *sacerdotal,* which the Second supplies; and the Second *symbolic,* which the first supplies. Their other mistakes are peculiar to each: Clemens errs most in enumerating the several sorts; and Porphyry in explaining their several natures.

This latter writer names the three sorts, *epistolic, hieroglyphic,* and *symbolic;* and this was not much amiss, because the fourth, the *hierogrammatic,* or *sacerdotal,* not differing from the *epistolic* in its nature, but only in its use, he comprised it, we may suppose, under the *generic* term of *epistolic:* but when he comes to explain the nature of the *symbolic,* which is performed two ways, *tropically* and *allegorically,* he quite omits the first, and insists only on the latter.

Clemens, on the other hand, gives us these three kinds, the *epistolic,* the *sacerdotal* or hierogrammatical, and the *hieroglyphical.* Here *epistolic* is used as a specific term, and *hieroglyphical* as a *generic;* just contrary to Porphyry, who, in his enumeration, employs them the other way: but then, as to their nature, Clemens says, the *epistolic and sacerdotal were by letters of an alphabet, and the hieroglyphic by symbols:* the first part of the explanation is exact. We have observed

* See note GG, at the end of this book. † See note HH, at the end of this book. ‡ See note II, at the end of this book. § See note KK, at the end of this book.

that Porphyry judiciously omits to explain epistolary writing, as supposing it to be well known: but Clemens, who adds to epistolary, *sacerdotal*, a way of writing, though like the epistolary, by an alphabet, yet being confined to the use of the priests, not so well known, he with equal judgment explains their nature: but the latter part of his account, where he says hieroglyphic writing was by symbols, making symbolic, which is a specific term, to be equivalent to hieroglyphical, which he uses generically, is an unlucky blunder; of which this is the consequence, that proceeding to divide *symbolic*, as a generic term, into three sorts, *curiologic*, *tropical*, and *allegorical*; he falls into a direct contradiction: τῆς δὲ Συμβολικῆς, says he, ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν, *the first kind of symbolic writing is by a plain and simple imitation of the figure of the thing intended to be represented*; which is directly contrary to the very nature of a symbol; a symbol being the representation of one thing by the figure of another. For instance, it was the bull Apis, and not the picture or image of Osiris, that was the *symbol* of Osiris: Clemens therefore, we conceive, should have said—*hieroglyphics* were written *curiologically* and *symbolically*; that the *curiologic hieroglyphics* were by *imitation*; the *symbolic*, by *conversion*; and that, of this *conversion*, there were two kinds, the *tropical* and *allegorical*; and then all had answered to his foregoing division. For the rest, He explains the nature of *curiologic* and *symbolic hieroglyphics* with sufficient exactness; save that the first instance he gives of *allegoric symbols* seems to belong to the *tropical*.

Thus we see how these writers contribute to the correcting one another's mistakes. What is necessary for the further clearing up their accounts, which, obscure as they are, are the best that antiquity will afford us, shall be occasionally considered as we go along.

Let us next enquire how HIEROGLYPHICS came to be employed for the *vehicle of mystery*.

I. The Egyptians, in the beginnings of their monarchy, wrote like all other infant nations, in a kind of universal character by picture; of which rude original essays, we have yet some traces remaining amongst the *hieroglyphics of Horapollo*; who tells us, that the ancient Egyptians painted a *man's two feet in water* to signify a *fuller*,* and *smoke ascending upwards* to denote *fire*.† But to render this rude invention less incommodious, they soon devised the more artful way of putting one single figure for the mark or representative of several things; and thus made their picture an HIEROGLYPHIC.

This was the first improvement of that rude and barbarous way of recording men's ideas; and was practised in a twofold manner; the

* HORAP. lib. i. cap. 65. † Lib. ii. cap. 16.

one more simple, by putting the principal part for the whole; the other more artificial, by putting one thing, of resembling qualities, for another. The first species was the CURIOLOGIC HIEROGLYPHIC; the second, the TROPICAL HIEROGLYPHIC; the latter of which was a gradual improvement on the former; as appears both from the nature of the thing, and from the records of antiquity. Thus the *moon* was sometimes represented by a *half circle*, sometimes by a *cynocephalus*:* The overflowings of the Nile, sometimes by a spreading *water in heaven and earth*, sometimes by a *lion*;† (a hieroglyphic, we may suppose, invented after they had learnt a little astronomy): a *judge*, sometimes by a *man without hands, holding down his eyes*,‡ to denote the duty of being unmoved by interest or pity: sometimes by a *dog near a royal robe*; § for they had a superstition that a dog, of all animals, was only privileged to see the gods; and it was an old custom for their judges to behold and examine their kings naked: Now in all these instances we see the first hieroglyphic is *curiological*; the second, *tropical*.

The Egyptians therefore, employed, as we say, the *proper hieroglyphics* to record, openly and plainly, their laws, policies, public morals, and history; and in a word, all kinds of civil matters.

1. This is seen from those remaining monuments of old Egyptian wisdom, the OBELISKS. ‖ That very ancient one of Ramesses, now standing before the pontific palace in Rome, and first erected to adorn the city of Heliopolis, is full of hieroglyphic characters; these Hermapion translated into Greek; and part of his translation is preserved in Ammianus Marcellinus. By which it appears, that the writings on this obelisk contained only a panegyric on Ramesses, and a history of his conquests. But this was not the subject of one only, but of all the obelisks in general.¶ We have seen already, and shall see further, what Clemens Alexandrinus hath observed to this purpose. Diodorus saith, that *Sesostris erected two obelisks of very durable stone, each twenty cubits high; on which he engraved the number of his forces, the particulars of his revenue, and a catalogue of the nations he had conquered.*** At Thebes, Strabo telleth us, there were *certain obelisks with inscriptions recording the riches and power of their kings, and the extensiveness of their dominion, stretching into Scythia, Bactria, India, and the country now called Ionia; together with the multitude of their tributes, and the number of the soldiery,*

* HORAP. lib. i. cap. 14. † Lib. i. cap. 21. ‡ PLUTARCH. *Is et Osir.*—DIOD. SIC. lib. i. § HORAP. lib. i. cap. 40. ‖ See note LL, at the end of this book. ¶ "O Ægypte, Ægypte, Religionum tuarum solæ supererunt fabulæ, et æque incredibiles Posteris suis; solaque supererunt verba LAPIDIBUS incisa, TUA FACTA NARRANTIBUS."—APULEIUS, Elmenh. ed. p. 90. ** Δύο δὲ λιθίνους Ὀβελίσκους ἐκ τοῦ σκληροῦ λίθου, πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέγραψε τότε μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσόδων, καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων ἐθνῶν.—Lib. i. p. 37, Stephani ed.

*which consisted of a million of men:** And Proclus assureth us, *That the Egyptians recorded all singular events, memorable actions and new inventions on columns, or stone pillars.*† Tacitus is more particular than the rest: for speaking of Germanicus's voyage into Egypt, and his curiosity in examining its antiquities, he saith: *Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia; et manebant structis molibus litteræ Ægyptiæ, priorum opulentiam complexæ: jussusque è senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari: atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libya, Æthiopia, Medisque et Persis, et Bactriano, ac Scythia potitum; quasque terras Syri Armeniique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bythynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. Legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equorumque, et dona templis, ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quæque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica, quam nunc, vi Parthorum, aut potentia Romana, jubentur.*‡ But to obviate at once all the cavils of Kircher against this concurrent testimony, I observe, in the last place, that it receives the fullest confirmation from that excellent treatise of Horapollo, which consists chiefly of the ancient and proper hieroglyphics; all of them relating to civil life, and altogether unfit for the abstruse speculations of philosophy and theology.

2. This is further seen from that celebrated inscription on the temple of Minerva at Saïs, so much spoken of by the Ancients; where an infant, an old man, a hawk, a fish, and a river-horse, expressed this moral sentence, *All you who come into the world, and go out of it, know this, that the Gods hate impudence.* The excellent Stillingfleet, who was in the common opinion that the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics to *secrete* their profound wisdom, and that this inscription at Saïs was part of that wisdom, pronounces sentence from hence, on all their mystic learning in general:—"Certainly" (says he) "this kind of learning deserves the highest form amongst the *difficiles nugæ;* and all these hieroglyphics put together will make but one good one, and should be for—*labour lost.*" § But there might be much knowledge in their mystic learning, whatever becomes of the hieroglyphical inscription at Saïs; which was indeed no part of that learning, but a plain and public admonition in the proper hieroglyphic; so far from being a *difficult trifle*, to be secreted,

* Ἐν δὲ ταῖς δήκαις ἐπί τινων ὀθελίσκων ἀναγραφαὶ δηλοῦσαι τὸν πλοῦτον τῶν τότε βασιλέων, καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν, ὡς μέχρι Σκυθῶν, καὶ Βακτρίων, καὶ Ἰνδῶν, καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἰωνίας διατείνασαν· καὶ φόρων πλῆθος, καὶ στρατιᾶς περὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδας.—Lib. xvii. † Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἔτι καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διὰ τῆς μνήμης ἀεὶ νέα παρέστιν· ἡ δὲ μνήμη, διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας· αὕτη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν στυλῶν, ἐν αἷς ἀπεγράφοντο τὰ παράδοξα, καὶ τὰ θαύματος ἄξια τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴτε ἐν πράξεσιν, εἴτε ἐν εὑρέσεσιν.—PROCLUS *in Timæum*, lib. i. p. 31, f. ‡ *Annal.* lib. ii. § *Orig. Sacr.* lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 79.

that it was a very plain and important truth to be read and understood by the people; as appears from the place where it was engraved, the vestibule of a public temple.

And here KIRCHER'S visionary labours on this subject might have been pitied, had he discovered in any of his voluminous writings on the Hieroglyphics, the least regard to truth or probability. This learned person had collected a fact from Antiquity, which the notoriety of it will not suffer us to call in question, namely, that *the old Egyptians committed their profound and secret wisdom to the seal of hieroglyphics.* Egyptian wisdom was a matter of moment. But the learned Jesuit did not duly consider, whether any of the vehicles of that wisdom were yet in being; much less did he reflect that the same Antiquity which tells us they had much profound wisdom, tells us likewise, that it was all collected in their sacerdotal books,* books long since lost; and that the ancient monuments of stone still remaining, were records of another nature. However, inflamed with the glory of a Discoverer, he lanches out in search of this unknown World; guided by some of the latest Greek writings, in conjunction with the earliest Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Greek writings indeed pretended (though very impudently †) to ancient Egyptian wisdom; but these hieroglyphics constantly disclaimed it: ‡ By this direction he steered at large: and it is pleasant to see him labouring through half a dozen folios with the writings of late Greek Platonists, and the forged books of Hermes, which contain a philosophy, not Egyptian, to explain and illustrate old monuments, not philosophical. While Hermapion, Diodorus, Strabo, Proclus, Tacitus, and Pliny, are carefully avoided as false lights, which would drive him upon rocks and shallows.—But to proceed.

II. Thus far went the two species, of the *proper* Hieroglyphic; which, in its last stage of the tropical, touched upon SYMBOLS (of which we are now to speak) they having this in common, that each *represented one thing by another;* in this they differed, that the *tropical Hieroglyphic* was employed to divulge; the *tropical Symbol,* to secrete: for all the several modes of writing by THINGS having had their progressive state, from less to more perfection, they easily fell into one another; so that there was but little difference between the *proper* Hieroglyphic in its last state, and the *symbolic* in its first. For this method of contriving *tropical hieroglyphics,* by similar properties, would of itself produce refinement and nice enquiry into the more hidden and abstruse qualities of things; which meeting at the

* See CLEMENS ALEXAND. *Strom.* lib. vi. † Vol. i. b. iii. § 4. ‡ Thus in one place he expresses himself:—"Plerique ferè Herodotum, Diodorum, Plinium secuti, *Obeliscos* non nisi historicas regum veterum commemorationes continere opinati sunt; quod tamen falsum esse, ex dictis *luce meridiana clarius patet.*"—Pp. 269, 270, of his *Œdip. Ægypt.* tom. iii.

same time with a temper now much turned to speculation * on matters of theology and philosophy, would as naturally introduce a new species of zographic writing, called by the ancients SYMBOLIC, and employed for SECRECY; † which the high speculations, conveyed in it, required; and for which it was well fitted by the ænigmatic quaintness of its representations.

As the proper Hieroglyphics were of two kinds, *curiological* and *tropical*, so were SYMBOLS; the more natural, simply TROPICAL; the more artificial, ENIGMATICAL.

1. TROPICAL symbols were made by employing the less known properties of things. The quality was sometimes used for the sake of a fanciful resemblance; as a *cat* stood for the *moon*, because they observed the pupil of her eye to be filled and enlarged at the full moon, and to be contracted and diminished during its decrease: ‡ sometimes it was founded on the natural history of an animal; as a *serpent* represented the *divine nature*, on account of its great vigour and spirit, its long age and reviresence. § How easily the *tropical hieroglyphic* fell into the *tropical symbol*, we may see by the following instances: *eternity* was sometimes expressed by the sun and moon, sometimes by the basilisk; ‖ *Egypt*, sometimes by the crocodile, sometimes by a burning censer with a heart upon it: ¶ where the simplicity of the first representation and the abstruseness of the latter, in each instance, shew, that the one was a *tropical hieroglyphic* employed for communication; the other a *tropical symbol* contrived for secrecy.

2. ENIGMATIC symbols were formed by the mysterious assemblage of different things, as in the *Caduceus*; or of the parts of different animals, as in a *serpent with a hawk's head*; ** or of things and animals together, as in a serpent with a hawk's head *in a circle*: †† the change of the *tropical* into the *enigmatic* symbol is seen in this, To signify the sun, they sometimes ‡‡ painted a *hawk*, and this was *tropical*; sometimes a *scarabæus with a round ball in its claws*, and this, as we see in Clemens, was of the *enigmatic* kind. Thus at length, though by insensible degrees, these characters, called *enigmatic symbols*, became immensely distant from those called *curiologic hieroglyphics*: to conceive this, the reader need only cast his eye on two the most celebrated of the Egyptian hieroglyphics employed to denote the *universal Nature*; namely, the *Diana Multimammia*; §§

* Τἀυτος, ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι Θὼθ προσαγορεύουσι, σοφίᾳ διενεγκὼν παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι, πρῶτος τὰ κατὰ τὴν θεοσέβειαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν χυδαίων ἀπειρίας, εἰς ἐπιστημονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν διέταξεν.—SANCH. apud EUSEBII *Præpar. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10. † See note MM, at the end of this book. ‡ Αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν αὐτοῦ κόραι πληροῦσθαι μὲν καὶ πλατύνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἐν πανσελήνῳ, λεπτύνεσθαι δὲ καὶ μαραυγεῖν ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσι τοῦ ἄστρου. —PLUTARCHUS *De Is. et Os.* § EUSEBII *Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10. ‖ HORAP. lib. i. cap. 1. ¶ Lib. i. cap. 22. ** EUSEBII *Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10. †† Ibid. ‡‡ HORAP. lib. i. cap. 6. §§ See note NN, at the end of this book.

and the winged globe with a serpent issuing from it; * the first is in the very simplest style, of a *curiologic hieroglyphic;* the other mysterious assemblage, is an *enigmatic symbol:* but, under the first figure, we must observe that the *universal Nature* was considered *physically;* under the latter, *metaphysically;* agreeably to the different genius of the times in which each was invented.

But this was not all: the Egyptian Hieroglyphic, in passing from an instrument of open communication, to a vehicle of secrecy, suffered another and more remarkable change. We have observed before, that the early Egyptian hieroglyphics resembled, in this, the Mexican, that what things had bodily form were generally represented by figures; what had not, by marks or characters. Which we find verified in the most ancient of the Egyptian Obelisks yet remaining. The reader need but cast his eye into Kircher, to see how exactly their hieroglyphics in this point resembled the *American,* published by Purchas, not only in their use, which as Purchas † and Diodorus ‡ say, were to record the number of their troops, the particulars of their revenue, and the names of their conquered towns and provinces; but likewise in their forms and figures. But when now every thing was directed to secrecy and mystery, *modes* as well as *substances* were painted by *images.*§ Thus *openness* was expressed by a hare,‖ *destruction* by a mouse,¶ *uncleanness* by a wild goat,** *impudence* by a fly,†† *knowledge* by an ant,‡‡ *aversion* by a wolf,§§ *anger* by a cynocephalus,‖‖ *&c.* And to make the matter still more mysterious, one animal was made to represent many and very contrary moral modes; thus the *hawk* signified sublimity, humility, victory, excellence,¶¶ &c. On the contrary, and for the same reason, one thing was represented by many and various hieroglyphics; sometimes for an addition, out of choice, to confound the vulgar; sometimes for a change, out of necessity, when a hieroglyphic by long or frequent use was become vulgar or common.

Now the ancient Greeks, though they saw this to be a different species of writing from the proper hieroglyphic, and accordingly, as we find by Porphyry, distinguished them into two kinds, *hieroglyphical* and *symbolical,* yet confounding their original, in supposing both invented out of choice, have not accurately distinguished either their different natures or uses: they took it for granted that the *hieroglyphic,* as well as *symbol,* was a mysterious representation; and, what was worse, a representation of speculative notions in philosophy and theology; whereas it was used only in public and open writings, to register their civil policy and history:—These mistakes involved the whole history of hieroglyphic writing in infinite confusion.

* See the Bembine Table. † See p. 174. ‡ See p. 194. § See pp. 178, 179. ‖ HORAP. lib. i. cap. 26. ¶ Cap. 50. ** Cap. 49. †† Cap. 51. ‡‡ Cap. 52. §§ Lib. ii. cap. 22. ‖‖ Lib. i. cap. 14. ¶¶ Lib. i. cap. 6.

But it is now time to speak of an alteration, which this change of the subject and manner of expression made in the DELINEATION of hieroglyphic figures. Hitherto the animal or thing representing was drawn out graphically; but when the study of philosophy (which had occasioned *symbolic* writing) had inclined their learned to write much, and variously; that exact manner of delineation would be as well too tedious as too voluminous: by degrees, therefore, they perfected another character, which we may call the *running-hand* of hieroglyphics, resembling the Chinese writing, which being at first formed only by the outlines of each figure,* became at length a kind of marks. One natural effect which this running-hand would, in time, produce, we must not omit to mention; it was, that the use would take off the attention from the *symbol*, and fix it on the *thing signified*; by which means the study of symbolic writing would be much abbreviated, the reader or decypherer having then little to do, but to remember the power of the symbolic mark; whereas before, the properties of the thing or animal employed as a symbol were to be learnt: in a word, this, together with their other *marks* by *institution*, to design mental ideas, would reduce the characters to the present state of the *Chinese*. And these were properly what the ancients call HIEROGRAPHICAL;† used afterwards on subjects which had employed the ancient hieroglyphic, as we may see by what follows: Dr. Robert Huntington, in his *Account of the porphyry pillars in Egypt*,‡ tells us, there are yet some ancient monuments remaining of this kind of writing:—"The Franks" (says he) "call these pillars *Aguglia's*, and the English, in particular, *Cleopatra's needles*; but the inhabitants content themselves with the general name of pillars. They have no bases or pedestals above ground; and if they ever had any, they must needs be very deep in the earth. The hieroglyphic characters, wherewith they are engraven, are probably the aboriginal Egyptian letters, long become obsolete, and they resemble the Chinese characters, each whereof represents a word, or rather an entire sentence; besides, they seem to be written the same way, namely, from top to bottom." Apuleius,§ speaking of his initiation into the mysteries of Isis, describes the sacred book or ritual (which we find was written partly in *symbolic*, and partly in these *hierographic* characters of arbitrary institution, resembling the Chinese) in this manner: "He [the Hierophant] drew out certain books from the secret repositories of the Sanctuary, written in unknown characters, which contained the words of the sacred Formula, compendiously expressed, partly by FIGURES of animals, and partly by certain MARKS *or notes, intricately knotted, revolving*

* See note OO, at the end of this book. † See note PP, at the end of this book. ‡ "Philos. Trans." No. clxi. p. 624. § *Metamorphosis*, lib. ii.

in the manner of a wheel, and crouded together and curled inward like the tendrils of a vine,* so as to hide the meaning from the curiosity of the prophane."† The characters here described may be seen in almost every compartment of the *Bembine-table,* between the larger human figures; and likewise on several of the *obelisks,* where they are disposed in the same manner. As we find these characters mixed with the *symbolic,* in the ritual of Apuleius; so in the *Bembine-table* we find them mixed both with the *proper hieroglyphic* and the *symbolic.*

III. And now this contracted manner of hieroglyphic writing, called *hierographical,* will lead us, by an easy step, to the *third* species, called by Porphyry and Clemens the EPISTOLIC: For now we are come to one of those links of the chain which served to connect *hieroglyphic marks* and *alphabetic letters;* the first of which contained *curiologic* or *symbolic* signs of things; the other comprised signs of words by *arbitrary institution.* For those hieroglyphic marks which were SIGNS OF THINGS BY ARBITRARY INSTITUTION, partook of the proper hieroglyphics in being *signs for things,* and of alphabetic letters in being *signs by institution.* And the contrivance of employing these arbitrary marks to design all the primitive sounds of the human voice was inventing an *alphabet.* This was what the Egyptians called their EPISTOLIC writing. And, this, let me observe, the ancients agree, was invented by the SECRETARY OF AN EGYPTIAN KING. A circumstance which will much conduce to the discovery of the cause of its original.

Now, as it is evident that every kind of hieroglyphic writing, when employed in public business to convey the royal commands to leaders of armies and distant governors, must be unavoidably attended with the inconveniencies of imperfect and obscure information, it was natural for our *Secretary* to set himself upon contriving a remedy: and this he found in the invention of the letters of an alphabet; serving to express *words,* not *things;* whereby all the inconveniencies of imperfect information, so fatal in nice conjunctures, were avoided, and the writer's mind delivered with the utmost clearness and precision: which too had this further advantage, that as the Government would endeavour to keep their invention to themselves, LETTERS OF STATE were, for some time, conveyed with the security of our modern cyphers:‡ and thus, being at first appropriated to the use of the

* For a specimen of the marks thus described, see plate IX. fig. 1. † *De opertis adyti profert quosdam libros, litteris ignorabilibus prænotatos: partim figuris cujuscemodi animalium, concepti sermonis compendiosa verba suggerentes;* PARTIM NODOSIS, ET IN MODUM ROTÆ TORTUOSIS, CAPREOLATIMQUE CONDENSIS APICIBUS, *a curi.sitate profanorum lectione munita.* ‡ It was an ancient custom, as DIODORUS tells us, for the kings of Egypt to read all the letters of state, themselves:—Ἐωθεν μὲν γὰρ ἐγερθέντα λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔδει πρῶτον τὰς πανταχόθεν ἀπεσταλμένας ἐπιστολὰς, ἵνα δύνηται πάντα κατὰ τρόπον χρηματίζειν καὶ πράττειν, εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν συντελουμένων.—P. 44.

cabinet, literary writing naturally acquired the name of EPISTOLARY; * which if you will not allow, no reasonable account, I think, can be given of its title.

That this was, indeed, the fact, appears from Plato's account of Theuth's INVENTIONS. He tells us that when Theuth came to consult his master, king Thamus, about communicating his discoveries to the people, παρὰ τοῦτον ἐλθὼν ὁ Θεὺθ τὰς τέχνας ἐπέδειξε, καὶ ἔφη δεῖν διαδοθῆναι τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις, the king declared particularly against communicating the invention of LETTERS. But the reason he gives for the prohibition, we see, was not the principal and more immediate (as it rarely is amongst Politicians), but only a secondary, and more remote; namely, a regard to the interests of hieroglyphic learning: for the King tells his *Secretary*, that, if this secret should be divulged, men's attention would be called away from THINGS, to which hieroglyphics, and the manner of explaining them, necessarily attached it, and be placed in exterior and arbitrary SIGNS, which would prove the greatest hindrance to the progress of knowledge.† What is still more pleasant, and in the true genius of politics, even the reason given was thought fit to be disguised: for though there might be some truth in this; yet, without doubt, the chief concern of the Egyptian Priests was to continue themselves useful; which they would be, while science lay concealed in *hieroglyphics*.

Thus the reader finds, that the very contrary to the common opinion is the true; that it was the *first literary writing*, not the *first hieroglyphical*, which was invented for *secrecy*. In the course of time, indeed, they naturally changed their use; *letters* became common, and *hieroglyphics* hidden and mysterious.

But now it may be said, that though the progress from a *Picture* to a simple *Mark* hath been traced out, step by step, and may be easily followed, till we come to that untried ground where ART takes the lead of nature, the point where *real* characters end, and the *literary* begin; yet here, art seeing a precipice before her, which seems to divide the two characters to as great a distance as at first setting out, she takes so immense a leap as hath been thought to exceed all human efforts: which made Tully say, "Summæ sapientiæ fuisse sonos vocis,‡ qui infiniti videbantur, paucis literarum notis terminare;" § and many of the ancients to believe that LITERARY WRITING was an invention of the Gods.

However, if we would but reflect a little on the nature of sound, and its unheeded connexion with the objects of sight, we should be

* See note QQ, at the end of this book.

† Τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν μαθόντων λήθην μὲν ἐν ψυχαῖς παρέξει, μνήμης ἀμελετησίᾳ, ἅτε διὰ πίστιν γραφῆς ἔξωθεν ὑπ' ἀλλοτρίων τύπων, οὐκ ἔνδοθεν αὐτοὺς ὑφ' αὑτῶν ἀναμιμνησκομένους· οὐκουν μνήμης, ἀλλ' ὑπομνήσεως φάρμακον εὗρες· σοφίας δὲ τοῖς μαθηταῖς δόξαν, οὐκ ἀλήθειαν πορίζεις.— *Phædrus.*

‡ See note RR, at the end of this book.

§ *Tusc. Disput.* i. 25.

able to conceive how the chasm closed, and how the passage from a *real* to a *literary* character was begun and smoothed out.

While the picture, or image of the thing represented, continued to be objected to the sight of the reader, it could raise no idea but of the thing itself. But when the *picture* lost its form, by being contracted into a *mark* or *note*, the view of this mark or note would, in course of time, as naturally raise, in the mind, the *sound* expressing the idea of the thing, as the idea itself. How this extension, from the idea to the sound, in the use of the real character first arose, will be easily conceived by those who reflect on the numerous tribe of words in all languages, which is formed on the sound emitted by the thing or animal.*

Yet the use to which this new connexion might be applied, would never be thought of till the nature of human sounds had been well studied.

But when men had once observed (and this they could not but observe early and easily, by the brute and inarticulate sounds which they were perpetually hearing emitted) how small the number is of primitive sounds, and how infinite the words are which may be formed by varied combinations of those simple sounds, it would naturally and easily occur to them, that a very few of those *marks*, which had before casually excited the sensation of those simple sounds, might be selected and formed into what has been since called an alphabet, to express them all: And then, their old accustomed way of combining primitive sounds into words, would as naturally and easily direct them to a like combination of what were now become the simple marks of sound; from whence would arise LITERARY WRITING.

In the early language of men, the simple, primitive sounds would be used, whether out of choice or necessity, as significative words or terms, to denote the most obvious of those things with which they perpetually conversed. These sounds, without arbitrary institution, would incite the idea of the thing, sometimes, as its *audible image*, sometimes, as its *natural representative*. Therefore the old *marks* for things, to which words of this original belonged, would certainly be first thought of for the figures of those *alphabetic* letters by the ingenious inventer of this wonderful contrivance. And, in fact, this which appears so natural has been found to be actually the case: the most early *alphabets* being framed from the outlines of those figures in the real characters, which, by use, in their *hieroglyphic* state, had arrived at the facility of exciting, in the mind, the SOUND as well as THING.†

* For example, (to use the words of St. Austin) when we say in Latin, "Æris *tinnitum*, equorum *hinnitum*, ovium *balatum*, tubarum *clangorem*, *stridorem* catenarum, perspicis hæc verba ita sonare, ut res quæ his verbis significantur." This class of words the Greeks designed by the name of ὀνοματοποιία. † Plate VIII.

IV. But this *political* alphabet, as at first it was, soon occasioned the invention of another called SACRED: for the priests having a share in the Government, must have an early communication of the secret; and being now immerged in deep philosophy, they would naturally employ, in their hidden doctrines, a method so well adapted to convey abstract speculations with exactness and precision. But the various uses of an Alphabet in civil business not permitting it to continue long a secret, when it ceased to be so, they would as naturally invent another alphabetic character for their *sacred* use: which from that appropriation was called HIEROGRAMMATICAL.

That the Egyptian priests had such a *sacred alphabetic character*, we are informed by Herodotus:—"The Greeks" (says he) "write their letters, and make their computations with counters, from the left to the right; the Egyptians, on the contrary, from the right to the left."—"They use two sorts of letters, one of which they called *sacred*, the other *popular*."* Diodorus is yet more express; "the PRIESTS" (says he) "taught their sons two sorts of letters, the one called *sacred*, the other, the common and *popular*."† Clemens Alexandrinus goes still farther, and describes the very books in which this *sacred alphabet* was principally employed: And as the place, where he explains this matter, is very curious, and contributes to the farther illustration of the subject, I shall consider it more at large. It hath been shewn that Clemens, in the passage quoted above, understood what he called the *sacerdotal*, ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ, to be an *alphabetic* character. Now the same writer speaking in another place‡ of the forty-two books of Hermes, which contained all the civil and religious science of the Egyptians, informs us, that ten of these books were called *sacerdotal*, and were the particular study of the chief priest, —*ὡροστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ* ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΑ *καλούμενα ι' βιβλία ἐκμανθάνει*. These ten, therefore, were written in a *sacred alphabetic character*; though, as we learn from him in the same place, all the various kinds of *sacred characters* were employed in the composition of these forty-two books; for some were written in hieroglyphics; as he tells us, where he speaks of the sacred scribe, whose business it was to study those called *hieroglyphical*,—*τοῦτον τά τε* ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΑ *καλούμενα*· And, what is very remarkable, we find the subject of these to be of a popular and civil nature, such as cosmography, geography, the simple elements of astronomy, the chorography of Egypt, the description of the Nile,§

* Γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι, "Ελληνες μὲν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά.—διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν, ἱρὰ, τὰ δὲ, δημοτικὰ καλέεται.—Lib. ii. cap. 36.

† Παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς υἱούς οἱ μὲν Ἱερεῖς γράμματα διττὰ, τά τε ἱερὰ καλούμενα, καὶ τὰ κοινοτέραν ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν.—P. 51.

‡ *Strom.* lib. vi. pp. 633, 634, edit. Colon. 1688.

§ Περί τε τῆς κοσμογραφίας, καὶ γεωγραφίας, τῆς τάξεως τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ περὶ τῶν ε' πλανωμένων· χωρογραφίαν τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Νείλου διαγραφῆς.—Ibid.

&c. conformable to what has been laid down concerning the use and application of the most early hieroglyphics. Others again of these books were written in *symbols*, particularly those two which the chanter had in care:—ὁ ᾠδὸς ἕν τι τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ἐπιφερόμενος ΣΥΜΒΟΛΩΝ· τοῦτον φασὶ δύο βίβλους ἀνειληφέναι δεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ. Here then we have all the three species of sacred writing, the *hieroglyphic*, the *symbolic*, and the *hierogrammatic* or *sacerdotal*; the last of which, as we hold, was by letters of an *alphabet*.

But an ALPHABET for secrecy, and consequently different from the vulgar, was a thing in use amongst the priesthood of almost all nations. Philo Biblius, in Eusebius, speaking of Sanchoniatho's history, tells us, that the author composed it by the assistance of certain records which he found in the temples written in AMMONEAN LETTERS,* not understood by the people: these Ammonean letters Bochart explains to be such as the priests used in sacred matters.† Diogenes Laertius informs us, from Thrasyllus, that Democritus wrote two books, the one of the *sacred letters of the Babylonians*, the other of the *sacred letters of the city Meroë*:‡ and concerning these last, Heliodorus saith, that the Ethiopians had two sorts of letters, the one called *regal*, the other *vulgar*; and that the regal resembled the *sacerdotal* characters of the Egyptians.§ Theodoret, speaking of the Grecian temples in general, says that they had certain forms of letters for their own use, called *sacerdotal*;‖ and Fourmont, and others, suppose that this general custom prevailed among the Hebrews also.¶ Which opinion, a passage in Irenæus seems to support.**

And now we shall know how to deal with a strange passage†† of Manetho in Eusebius. This historian assures his reader, "that he took his information from pillars in the land of Seriad, inscribed by Thoyth the first Hermes, with *hierographic letters* in the *sacred dialect*; and translated, after the flood, out of the sacred dialect, into the

* Ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδύτων εὑρεθεῖσιν ἀποκρύφοις Ἀμμουνέων γράμμασι συγκειμένοις, ἃ δὲ οὐκ ἦν πᾶσι γνώριμα.—*Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap 9. † "Ammoneorum, i. e. *Ammanim*—Abenezra in Levit. xxvi. 30. *Templa facta ad cultum Solis.* Quod verissimum; Sol enim Hebræis est *amma*, unde *amman* templum Solis, quem solum Cœli Dominum crediderunt prisci Phœnices. Sanchoniathon, τοῦτον γὰρ (τὸν ἥλιον) θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον. Itaque hic præcipue cultus. Tamen, crescente superstitione, crediderim nomen *Ammanim* etiam ad alia delubra pertinuisse. Itaque *literæ Ammoneorum* seu *Ammanim* sunt literæ templorum, literæ in sacris receptæ."—*Geogr. Sacr.* pars ii. lib. ii. cap. 17. ‡ See note SS, at the end of this book. § Ἐπελεγόμην τὴν ταινίαν γράμμασιν Αἰθιοπικοῖς, οὐ δημοτικοῖς, ἀλλὰ βασιλικοῖς ἐστιγμένην, ἃ δὴ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ ὁμοιοῦνται.—Lib. iv. ‖ Ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ναοῖς ἴδιοι τινὲς ἦσαν χαρακτῆρες γραμμάτων, οὓς ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΥΣ προσηγόρευον.—*In Genes.* Qu. 61. ¶ "Cette coûtume de la plûpart des nations Orientales, d'avoir des Characteres Sacres, et des Charácteres Profanes ou d'un usage plus vulgaire, étoit aussi chez les HEBREUX."—*Reflex. Crit.* vol. i. p. 36. ** "Antiquæ et primæ Hebræorum literæ, quæ SACERDOTALES nuncupatæ, decem quidem fuere numero."—*Adversus Hæret.* lib. ii. cap. 41. †† See STILLINGFLEET'S *Origines Sacræ*, book i. chap. ii. § 11, and MR. SHUCKFORD'S "Connections," vol. i. ed. 2, p. 247.

Greek tongue, with HIEROGLYPHIC *letters*, and deposited in volumes by Agathodæmon, the second Hermes, father of Tat, in the Adyta of the Egyptian temples." The original is in these words: Ἐκ τῶν Μανεθῶ τοῦ Σεβεννύτου, ὃς ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἰδώλων, χρηματίσας ἐκ τῶν τῇ Σηριαδικῇ γῇ κειμένων στηλῶν ἱερᾷ, φησὶ, διαλέκτῳ καὶ ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι κεχαρακτηρισμένων ὑπὸ Θωὺθ τοῦ πρώτου Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ ἑρμηνευθεισῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γράμμασιν ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΟΙΣ, καὶ ἀποτεθεισῶν ἐν βίβλοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαθοδαίμονος τοῦ δευτέρου Ἑρμοῦ, πατρὸς δὲ τοῦ Τὰτ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τῶν ἱερῶν Αἰγυπτίων.* Stillingfleet objects, with reason, to the absurdity of translating into the Greek tongue with hieroglyphic characters: and the author of the *Connections* well seeing that by γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς must be understood an alphabetic character, says the words should not be translated *hieroglyphics*, but *sacred letters*:† he might as well have said *Gothic letters*, ἱερογλυφικὰ being always used by the Ancients to denote characters for *things*, in opposition to alphabetic letters, or characters, composing *words*. It is certain the text is corrupt; as may be seen, 1. From the word γράμμασιν (which in strict propriety signifies the *letters of an alphabet)* its being joined to ἱερογλυφικοῖς, which denotes a species of *marks* for things. 2. From the mention of a *sacred dialect*, ἱερὰ διάλεκτος (of which more hereafter); for if these records were written in a *sacred dialect*, it is plain the character employed must be *alphabetic*; and so indeed it is expressed to be in the words ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι, which immediately follow; and if, out of this dialect, it were translated into another, must not alphabetic characters be still employed? And now we see not only that the present reading is wrong, but are led, by this last observation, to the right; the passage being without all question to be read thus:—μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γράμμασιν ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΙΣ, καὶ ἀποτεθεισῶν ἐν βίβλοις, &c.—γράμμασιν ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΙΣ, in speaking of the translation, being the very words just before employed in speaking of the original; and with great propriety: for ἱερογραφικὰ was used by the ancients as a generic term, to signify as well *sacred letters* composing *words*, as *sacred marks* standing for *things*; ἱερογλυφικὰ not so, but denoting only *marks for things*: so that the plain and sensible meaning of the passage is, that a work, written by the first Hermes, in the *sacred dialect*, and *sacred letters*, was translated, by the second Hermes, into the *Greek dialect*; the original *sacred letters* being still employed. And the reason is evident; the Greek translation was for

* EUSEBII *Chron.* ed. Scal. Amst. 1658, p. 6.

† "Connection of the Sacred and Profane History," vol. i. p. 274, and vol. ii. p. 294.

the use of the Egyptians: but such would be soonest invited to the study of a foreign dialect when written in their own letters: a common inducement for translators into a foreign language, to preserve the original character. Besides, this version was not for the Egyptians in general, but for the priests only; and therefore their peculiar character was preserved.

We now begin to see that the whole extravagance in this account, which made it rejected by the Critics with so much contempt, is only in the high antiquity given to the fact; and this, the very circumstance of the fact refutes: for it not only tells us of *sacred alphabetic letters*, which we have shewn to be of late use amongst the Egyptians, but likewise of a *sacred dialect*, which certainly was still later: And, if I be not much mistaken, a passage in Herodotus will lead us to the time when this translation was made. The historian tells us, that when Psammitichus, by the assistance of the Ionians and Carians, had subdued all Egypt, he placed these Greek adventurers on both sides the Nile; where he assigned them lands and habitations, and sent among them Egyptian youths to be instructed in the Greek language; from whence sprung the State-interpreters for that tongue:* Thus far the historian; from whose account of Psammitichus's project it appears, that his purpose was to establish a constant intercourse with the Grecian nations. The youth picked out for interpreters were, without question, of the priesthood, all letters and learning residing in that order; which had likewise a great share in the public administration. And now the priesthood having the Greek tongue amongst them, which its use in public affairs would make them diligently cultivate; Where was the wonder that, about this time, some of these interpreters, Ἑρμηνέες, should employ themselves in translating the *sacred* Egyptian records into the Grecian language?

But then as to the precise time of the invention of EGYPTIAN LETTERS, it can never be so much as guessed at; because *hieroglyphics* continued to be in use long after that time; particularly on their public Monuments, where we find no appearance of alphabetic characters. However, that *letters* were very early, we have shewn above, as well from other circumstances, as from this, the giving the invention of them to the Gods.†

Those who are for deriving all civil improvements from the line of *Abraham*, of course, bestow upon it the invention of an ALPHABET.

* Τοῖσι δὲ Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσὶ, τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισι αὐτῷ, ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἐχοντος·—καὶ δὴ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους, τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν, οἱ νῦν Ἑρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι.—*Euterpe*, lib. ii. cap. 154. Hence it appears that the learned Dr. Prideaux was mistaken when he said—*But the worst of it is, the ancient Egyptians did not speak Greek; the Ptolemys first brought that language amongst them*—"Connection," part ii. lib. i. p. 12.

† See p. 184 of this volume.

But as this fancy is only amongst the loose ends of an hypothesis, without any foundation in Scripture, these critics differ much about the time. Some suppose *letters* to have been in use amongst the Patriarchs; and, by them, transmitted to the Egyptians; but there are such strong objections to this opinion (to mention no other than the Patriarchs' sending verbal messages where it was more natural as well as more expedient to send them written), that others have thought proper to bring down the time to that of MOSES:* When GOD, they say, taught him the use of *alphabetic* letters, in the exemplar of the two tables written, as the text assures us, *with the Finger of GOD*. But how, from words, which at most only imply that the Ten Commandments were miraculously engraved as well as dictated, it can be concluded that letters were then first invented, I have not logic enough to find out. A common reader would be apt to infer from it, that letters were now well known to the Israelites, as GOD had thought fit to deliver the first elements of their religion in that kind of writing; I say, he would be thus apt to infer, though MOSES had never spoken of them on other occasions (which he hath done) as of things in familiar use:† But if GOD was indeed the revealer of the artifice, how happened it that the history of so important a circumstance was not recorded? for, as we shall see presently, the *Memory* of it would have been one of the strongest barriers to idolatry.

However, though I think it next to certain that MOSES brought letters, with the rest of his learning, from Egypt, yet I could be easily persuaded to believe that he both enlarged the alphabet, and altered the shapes of the letters.‡ 1. The Hebrew alphabet, which he employed in the composition of the Pentateuch, is considerably fuller than that which Cadmus brought into Greece. Cadmus was of Thebes in Egypt; he sojourned in Syria, and went from thence into Greece: His country shews that his letters were Egyptian; and this, their difference in number from the Hebrew, sufficiently confirms; Cadmus having only sixteen, and the Hebrews two and twenty. 2. That MOSES likewise altered the shape of the Egyptian letters I think probable; all hieroglyphic writing was absolutely forbidden by the second commandment, and with a view worthy the divine wisdom; hieroglyphics being, as we shall see hereafter, the great source of their idolatries and superstitions. But now alphabetic letters (which henceforth could be only used amongst the Hebrews) being taken by the Egyptians § from their hieroglyphic figures, retained, as was natural, much of the shapes of those characters: to cut off therefore all occasion of danger from symbolic images, MOSES, as I sup-

* See note TT, at the end of this book.
† See note UU, at the end of this book.
‡ See note XX, at the end of this book.
§ See p. 177, of this volume.

pose, altered the shapes of the Egyptian letters, and reduced them into something like those simple forms in which we now find them. Those who in much later ages converted the northern Pagans to the Christian Faith observed the same caution. For the characters of the northern alphabet, called RUNIC, having been abused to magical superstition, were then changed to the *Roman*.—"Tantas in his *Runis*" (says Sheringham) "latere virtutes Gothi ante fidem susceptam rati sunt, ut sive hostium caput diris sacrandum, sive pestis morbique amoliendi, sive aliud opus suscipiendum se incantationibus *Runisque* muniebant—Post fidem vero susceptam *Runæ*, qui incantationibus præstigiisque magicis in tantum adhibitæ fuerint, adeo fastidiri cœperunt, ut multi libri, multaque antiqua monumenta exinde præpostero zelo dejecta atque deleta sunt: unde historia Getica magnum detrimentum clademque accepit. Tandem vero, teste Loccenio, Sigfridi episcopi Britannici opera (Papa etiam Romano suam operam præstante) eò res devenit ut *Runæ* in Suecia A. D. M. L. penitus abolerentur; et characteres Latini substituerentur." *

This account will reconcile the differing systems of Marsham and Renaudot; one of whom contends,† that the letters which Cadmus brought into Greece were Egyptian: the other, that they were Phenician; ‡ and both of them appeal to the authority of Herodotus; who says plainly, "that the *alphabet brought by Cadmus into Greece was Egyptian;* and yet, speaking of the three most ancient inscriptions in Greece, he says, *they were in Phenician characters*, which very much resembled the Ionic:" for if what has been here supposed be allowed, then the alphabet which Cadmus carried with him was doubtless of Moses's invention, as to the *form*, but Egyptian, as to the *power*. It may be just worth observing, that Renaudot's discourse is full of paralogisms, which this solution detects.

3. To this let me add another consideration. The vowel-points (as seems now to be generally agreed on) were added since the Jews ceased to be a nation. The Hebrew language was originally, and so continued to be for a long time, written without them. Now if God first taught Moses an alphabet, can we believe that the vowels would have been thus generally omitted? But suppose Moses learnt his alphabet of the Egyptians, and only made it fuller, and altered the form of the letters, we may easily give a good account of the omission. The Egyptian alphabet, as we observed, was invented for precision, and used for secrecy. Both ends were answered by an alphabet with hardly any vowels.

Thus we see that the form of alphabetic characters was a matter of much importance to the Hebrews, as to the integrity of their religion.

* *De Anglic. Gent. Orig.* pp. 292, 293. † *Can. Chron.* ‡ *Sur l'Origine des Lettres Grecques.*

If therefore GOD was the immediate author of them, it is difficult to suppose that Moses could omit to record the history of their invention; such a history being the best sanction to recommend their use; and the best security against a return to the idolatrous practice of hieroglyphic-writing; to which this people, so fond of Egyptian manners, were violently inclined.

But we have not yet done with Manetho; The last circumstance opening the way to another discovery of great importance in the Egyptian antiquities: for by this passage we find they had not only *sacred characters and letters*, but a *sacred* DIALECT or *language* also; for what he here calls ἱερὰ διάλεκτος, in another place (where he interprets a certain Word in this language) he calls ἱερὰ γλῶσσα.* It might perhaps be imagined that this *sacred dialect* was only the more ancient Egyptian language; which being now grown into disuse, was preserved amongst the priesthood: But if we consider the small and slow change to which the Eastern languages were subject; especially that of a people who admitted so little of foreign manners, we can scarce believe this to have been the case. Besides, the *sacred dialect* was used for secrecy (being known only to the priests) which could never be the condition of a national language, how obsolete soever we may suppose it to be grown. All this considered, I take the *sacred dialect* to have been a language of their own framing: and one of their latest expedients for keeping their science to themselves. We have shewn how, for the sake of exactness, as they grew more speculative, they invented an alphabet to express their conceptions by marks for *words*, instead of marks for *things*: But the simple mystery of a peculiar alphabet, employed in a common tongue, would be soon detected; they therefore, as now it appears, invented a peculiar language for the use of their alphabet; and thus, under a double cover, effectually secured their hidden science. The way of framing the *sacred dialect*, I suppose, to be this: They called things by the names of their hieroglyphical representatives: Thus ΥΚ in the Egyptian tongue signifying a serpent; and a serpent, in their hieroglyphics, denoting a king,† ΥΚ, as Manetho informs us above, signified a king in the *sacred dialect*: And in this manner, their hieroglyphics became a sufficient fund for a new language.

On the whole then it appears that the Egyptian priests had these three methods of secreting their recorded knowledge; by HIEROGLYPHIC SYMBOLS, by a SACERDOTAL ALPHABET, and by a SACRED DIALECT. In explaining their several natures, and distinguishing

* Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν ἔθνος ΥΚΣΩΣ, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι βασιλεῖς ποιμένες· τὸ γὰρ ΥΚ καθ' ΙΕΡΑΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΝ βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ΣΩΣ ποιμὴν ἐστι, καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΝ, καὶ οὕτω συντιθέμενον γίνεται ΥΚΣΩΣ. —Apud JOSEPHUM *Contra Apion.* lib. i. cap. 14.

† HORAPOLLO, lib. i. cap. 59—64.

them from the *proper hieroglyphic*, I have endeavoured to disembroil a subject which seems to have perplexed even the Ancients themselves; who, in their accounts of the Egyptian literature, perpetually confound the several species of *sacred writing* with one another. What greatly contributed to this confusion, I presume, was the sacerdotal practice of promiscuously using, in one and the same book or literary monument, the several various species of *sacred writing*; that is to say, the *proper hieroglyphic*, the *symbolic*, and the *hierogrammatic*; as was done in composing the Bembine table, and the mystic ritual described by Apuleius.

Thus we find how it happened that that which had its origin in *necessity*, came, in time, to be employed for *secrecy*, and was at length improved into an *ornament*. But now, in the incessant revolutions of things, this imagery, which was at first invented for open communication, and was from thence converted into mystery, at length resumed its primitive use; and, in the flourishing ages of Greece and Rome, was employed in their monuments and medals as the shortest and plainest method of conveying men's conceits; and a SYMBOL, which, in Egypt, was pregnant with profound wisdom, was in those places the vocabulary of the people.

To illustrate these several changes and revolutions, we shall once again take up our instance from LANGUAGE (which still, in all its minuter alterations and improvements, ran parallel with WRITING); and shew, how the original expedient, to communicate our thoughts in converse, the rude effort of *necessity*, came in time, like the first hieroglyphics, to be turned into *mystery*, and afterwards improved into the arts of *eloquence* and persuasion.

I. It hath been already shewn, in the fable of Jotham, how the *Apologue* corresponded to the *proper Egyptian hieroglyphic*; and was invented only to present a sensible image to the unimproved conception of the hearer.

As the change of the object, which the fable introduced, made it exactly answer to the *tropical* hieroglyphic; so that sort of PROSOPOPOEIA, which the fable much employed, representing a multitude under the image of one, made it equally correspond with the *curiological* hieroglyphic.

II. But, now, in after-times, either when men began to affect mystery, or their subject to require secrecy, they gradually changed the *Apologue* or fable, by quaint and far-fetched allusions, into a PARABLE, or set purpose to throw obscurity over the information; just as the *tropical hieroglyphic* was turned into the *tropical symbol*. We find innumerable instances of this mode of speech in Scripture: Thus GOD by the prophet Ezekiel:—"Son of man, utter a PARABLE unto the rebellious house, and say unto them, Thus saith the LORD

GOD, Set on a pot, set it on, and also pour water into it: gather the pieces thereof into it, even every good piece, the thigh and the shoulder, fill it with the choice bones. Take the choice of the flock, and burn also the bones under it, and make it boil well, and let them seeth the bones of it therein." *

And in this manner was the *Parable* employed both amongst the Orientalists and Greeks: and thus the Jews understood it, as appears by the complaint of the prophet: "Ah, LORD! they say of me, Doth he not speak PARABLES?" † and by this denunciation of our LORD himself; "Unto you it is given to know the *mysteries* of the kingdom of GOD; but to others in PARABLES; that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand." ‡ And thus that great master of Grecian eloquence, Demetrius Phalereus, explains it: "The allegory is used" (says he) "as a covering and disguise to the discourse." §

III. We have observed, that the *Symbol*, the more it receded from the proper Hieroglyphic, the more it became obscure; till it divided itself, at length, into two sorts, the *tropical* and the *enigmatical*: Just so again it was with the *Parable*, which (answering to the *tropical symbol)* grew more and more mysterious, till it became a RIDDLE; and this again exactly corresponded to the *enigmatical* Hieroglyphic.

This, in sacred Scripture, is called a DARK SAYING κατ' ἐξοχήν. For the nature of God's dispensation required enigmas; and the genius of those times made them natural. The prophet Ezekiel will furnish us with an example:—"And the word of the LORD" (says he) "came unto me, saying, Son of man, put forth a RIDDLE, and speak a *Parable* unto the house of Israel; and say, Thus saith the LORD GOD, A great eagle with great wings, long winged, full of feathers, which had divers colours, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar; he cropt off the top of his young twigs, and carried it into a land of traffic," &c. ‖ In the interpretation of these *Riddles* consisted much of the old Eastern Wisdom, according to the observation of the Wise-man: "A man of understanding" (says he) "shall attain unto wise counsels; to understand a Proverb and the interpretation; the words of the Wise and their DARK SAYINGS." ¶ It was the custom too, as we learn from Scripture ** (and it lasted long, as we learn from Josephus), †† for the Sages of those

* Ezek. xxiv. 3, et seq. † Ezek. xx. 49. ‡ Luke viii. 10. § Ὥσπερ συγκαλύμματι τοῦ λόγου, τῇ ἀλληγορίᾳ κέχρηται.—*De Eloc.* sect. 100. ‖ Ezek. xvii. 2, et seq. ¶ Prov. i. 5, 6. ** Judges xiv. 12—14. †† Καὶ Σοφίσματα δὲ καὶ λόγους ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΩΔΕΙΣ διεπέμψατο πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶνα ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς, παρακαλῶν ὅπως αὐτῷ τούτους σαφηνίσῃ, καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητουμένων ἀπαλλάξῃ· τὸν δὲ, δεινὸν ὄντα καὶ συνετὸν οὐδὲν τούτων παρῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα νικήσας τῷ λογισμῷ, καὶ μαθὼν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφώτισε.—*Antiq. Jud.* lib. viii. cap. 5.

times to send or offer RIDDLES to each other, for a trial of sagacity, to the exposition of which, rewards and penalties were annexed; * so that the present of a *riddle* was sometimes only a stratagem for a booty: hence, the *understanding dark sentences* became proverbial amongst the Hebrews to signify the arts of fraud and deceit; as may be collected from the character given by Daniel of Antiochus Epiphanes: "And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance and UNDERSTANDING DARK SENTENCES shall stand up." †

The mysterious cover to this kind of wisdom made it (as always such a cover will) the most high-prised accomplishment: so when the Psalmist would raise and engage the attention of his audience, he begins his song in this manner: "Hear, all ye people; give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world: both low and high, rich and poor together. My mouth shall speak of wisdom, and the meditation of my heart shall be of understanding. I WILL INCLINE MINE EAR TO A PARABLE; I WILL OPEN MY DARK SAYING UPON THE HARP." ‡ For as a great Critic in sacred and profane learning rightly observes upon the place: *Psalmi hujus auctor, quo auditores attentos reddat, his promittit se de rebus maximis, et in quibus summa sapientia posita sit, dicturum; et in carmine hoc componendo artem quam potuit maximam adhibuit, ut materia dignum redderet.* §

And as, in the improved art of WRITING by *Symbols*, the Egyptians (as well to give it the air of learning and elegance, as to cloud it with a variegated obscurity) studied all the singular *properties of beings*, and their *relations*, in order to fit them for representatives of other things; so in the art of SPEAKING, men soon began to adorn those modes of information just now mentioned with *tropes and figures*; till at length posterity began to doubt about the original of *figurative expression*; even as they had doubted about the original of *hieroglyphic painting*; whereas, in truth, the first, like the latter, owed its birth to mere want and rusticity; that is, a want of words, and rusticity of conception. To give an instance of the first want, in the PLEONASM; of the latter, in the METAPHOR: for Eastern speech abounds with these *figures*; they constitute its pride and beauty; and to excel in them, consists the art of their orators and poets.

1. The *Pleonasm* evidently arose from the narrowness of a simple language: the Hebrew, in which this figure abounds, is the scantiest of all the learned languages of the East: *Amant* (says Grotius) *Hebræi verborum copiam; itaque rem eandem multis verbis exprimunt.* ‖

* Διὸς—τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι, φησὶ, πρὸς τὸν Εἴραμον ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΑ, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντα· τὸν δὲ, μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρῖναι, τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀποτίνειν.—Idem, ibid. † Daniel viii. 23. ‡ Psalm xlix. 4. § *Psalmorum Liber in Versiculos metrice divisus*, &c. ED. HARE, Episc. Cicest. p. 265. ‖ In Hab. ii. 1.

He does not tell us the reason; but it is seen above, and appears to be the true: for when the speaker's phrase comes not up to his ideas (as in a scanty language it often will not), he naturally endeavours to explain himself by a repetition of the thought in other words; as he whose body is straitened in room is never relieved but by a continual change of posture. We may observe this to happen frequently in common conversation; where the conception of the speaker is stronger than his expression. The most scanty language therefore will be always fullest of repetitions, which is the only *copia* in *that* which Grotius speaks of.

2. The *Metaphor* arose as evidently from rusticity of conception, as the *pleonasm* from the want of words. The first simple ages, uncultivated, and immerged in sense, could express their rude conceptions of abstract Ideas, and the reflex operations of the mind, only by material images; which, so applied, became *metaphors*. This, and not the warmth of a florid and improved fancy, as is commonly supposed, was the true original of figurative expression. We see it even at this day in the style of the American savages, though of the coldest and most phlegmatic complexions, such as the Iroquois of the Northern continent; of whom a learned missionary says: "They affect a lively close expression, like the Lacedemonians; yet for all that their style is *figurative*, and wholly *metaphorical*."* Their phlegm could only make their style concise, not take away the figures; and the conjunction of these different characters in it, shews plainly that *metaphors* were from necessity, not choice. The very same character, in other words, Diodorus gives of the style of the ancient Gauls: *In conversation*, says he, *they use the utmost brevity, attended with a highly figurative obscurity: their speech abounds with a licentious kind of Synecdoche, which leaves much to the hearer to unriddle and divine; and also with hyperboles.*†

But we need not these far-fetched examples. He who will only reflect on what is so common as generally to escape reflection, may observe, that the common people are always most given to speak in figures. Cicero observed this long ago, where encouraging the use of *metaphors*, even in the simpler style, he says,—"Translatione fortasse crebrior, qua frequentissime sermo omnis utitur non modo urbanorum, sed etiam *rusticorum*. Siquidem est eorum, *gemmare vites, sitire agros, lætas esse segetes, luxuriosa frumenta*. Nihil horum parum audacter, sed aut simile est illi, unde transferas: aut, si res suum nullum habet nomen, *docendi causa sumptum, aut ludendi videtur*."‡ Hence too, the people's delight in that other figure of speech, PROVERBS, a passion not stronger in our own times than in

* See note YY, at the end of this book. † See note ZZ, at the end of this book. ‡ *Orator.* cap. 24.

those of Aristotle; who observes οἱ ΑΓΡΟΙΚΟΙ μάλιστα ΓΝΩΜΟΤΥΠΟΙ εἰσί. And the gross images under which proverbial truths in all languages are conveyed, shew they only delighted in their own inventions: for, to the People, it is certain, we are altogether indebted for this species of instruction.

It is true, when gross conception met with a warm imagination which delighted in painting strong and lively images, and was improved by exercise and use, figurative expression would be soon adorned with all the flourishes of wit. For WIT consists in using strong *metaphoric images* in uncommon yet apt allusions: just as ancient Egyptian WISDOM did in *hieroglyphic symbols* fancifully analogized. Plato perhaps had something of this in his thoughts (if he had not, he had hardly any thing so good) when he observed to Alcibiades, that the *People was an excellent master of language.**

Thus we see it has ever been the way of men, both in *Speech* and *Writing*, as well as in Clothes and Habitations, to turn their wants and necessities into parade and ornament.†

IV. In the first parallel between *Speech* and *Writing*, we have compared *metaphors* to the *letters of an alphabet;* and how well the parallel runs may be further seen from hence: The Egyptians had, as has been shewn, two sorts of alphabetic letters, the one *popular*, the other *sacerdotal;* so had the ancients in general two sorts of *metaphors;* one *open* and *intelligible*, another *hidden* and *mysterious*. The prophetic writings are full of this latter sort. To instance only in the famous prediction of Balaam: *There shall come a* STAR *out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.*‡ This prophecy may possibly in some sense relate to David; but, without question, it belongs principally to Jesus: the metaphor of a *sceptre* was common and popular, to denote a ruler, like David; but the *star*, though it also signified, in the prophetic writings,§ a temporal prince or ruler, yet had a secret and hidden meaning likewise: a *star* in the Egyptian hieroglyphics denoted GOD:‖ and how much *hieroglyphic writing* influenced the *eastern languages* we shall see presently. Thus GOD, in the prophet Amos, reproving the Israelites for their idolatry on their first coming out of Egypt, says: "Ye have born the tabernacle of your *Moloch*, and *Chiun* your images, THE STAR OF YOUR GOD, which ye made to yourselves."¶ *The star of your* GOD is a sublime figure to signify *the image of your* GOD; for a *star* being employed in hieroglyphics to signify GOD, it is used here with great elegance, to signify the material image of a GOD: the words, *the star of your* GOD, being only a repetition, so usual in the Hebrew tongue,

* See note AAA, at the end of this book. † See note BBB, at the end of this book. ‡ Num. xxiv. 17. § Dan. viii. 10. ‖ Ἀστὴρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραφόμενος ΘΕΟΝ σημαίνει.—HORAPOL. *Hierog.* lib. ii. cap. 1. ¶ Amos v. 25, 26.

of the preceding, *Chiun your images.* Hence we conclude that the metaphor here used by Balaam of a *star* was of that abstruse mysterious kind; and is so to be understood; and consequently that it related only in the mysterious sense to CHRIST, the eternal son of GOD.

We have observed how *Symbols,* which came from open *Hieroglyphics,* lost their mysterious nature, and recovered again their primitive use in the flourishing ages of Greece and Rome. Just so again it was with the *Parable;* which coming from the simple *Apologue,* often returned to its first clearness, and became a proverb plain and intelligible to all. "In that day" (says the prophet Micah) "shall one take up a *Parable* against you," &c.* "Shall not all these" (says Habakkuk) "take up a *Parable* against him, and a taunting *proverb* against him, and say," &c.†

Thus WRITING and LANGUAGE, throughout all their various modes, ran exactly the same fortune: invented out of necessity, to communicate men's thoughts to one another; they were continued out of choice, for mystery and ornament; and they ended at last as they began, in the way of popular information.

Hitherto we have considered the *relation* only as they stand in an independent parallel; but as they are only two different ways of communicating the same conceptions, they must needs have a mighty influence upon one another. To explain this in the manner it deserves would require a just volume; and as a properer place may be found for it, when we come to consider the objections to the *style of Scripture,* it will be sufficient just to touch upon it at present.

1. The influence *Language* would have on the first kind of writing, which was *hieroglyphical,* is easy to conceive. Language, we have shewn, was, out of mere necessity, highly figurative, and full of material images; so that when men first thought of recording their conceptions, the writing would be, of course, that very picture which was before painted in the fancy, and from thence, delineated in words: Even long after, when figurative speech was continued out of choice, and adorned with all the invention of wit, as amongst the Greeks and Romans, and that the genius of the simpler *hieroglyphic* writing was again revived for ornament, in EMBLEMS and DEVICES, the poetic habit of personalizing every thing, filled their coins, their arches, their altars, &c. with all kinds of imaginary Beings. All the qualities of the mind, all the affections of the body, all the properties of countries, cities, rivers, mountains, became the seeds of living things: for,

> ——"as IMAGINATION bodied forth
> The forms of things unknown, the *artist's hand*
> Turn'd them to shape, and gave to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name."‡

* Micah ii. 4. † Habak. ii. 6. ‡ Shakespear.

2. The reciprocal influence *hieroglyphic writing* would have on *language* is as evident. The Chinese, we have seen, used this kind of writing, as well as the Egyptians; and the character given of their language is entirely correspondent: "The style of the *Chinese*, in their compositions," (says Du Halde,) "is MYSTERIOUS, *concise*, ALLEGORIC, and sometimes *obscure*. They *say much in few words*. Their expressions are lively, animated, and thick sown with *bold comparisons*, and *noble metaphors*." * Their style, we see, was *concise* and *figurative*; the very character, as we have seen, of all the barbarous nations upon earth, both ancient and modern; for Nature is ever uniform. The cold phlegmatic temper of the Chinese made their style short and *laconic*; the use of hieroglyphics made it *figurative*; and from this mixture it became *obscure*: but had those remote inhabitants of the East and West possessed the warm imagination of the proper Asiatics, then had their language, like that of the people spoken of above, abounded with *pleonasms* instead of *laconisms*. The old Asiatic style, so highly figurative, seems likewise, by what we find of its remains, in the prophetic language of the sacred writers, to have been evidently fashioned to the mode of ancient Hieroglyphics, both *curiologic* and *tropical*. Of the first kind are the figurative expressions of *spotted garments*, to denote iniquity; an *intoxicating draught*, to signify error and misery; the *sword and bow*, a warrior; a *gigantic stature*, a mighty leader; *balance, weights and measures*, a judge or magistrate; *arms*, a powerful nation, like the Roman. Of the second kind, which answers to the *tropical* hieroglyphic, is the calling empires, kings, and nobles, by the names of the *heavenly luminaries*, the *sun, moon, and stars*; their temporary disasters or entire overthrow, denoted by *eclipses and extinctions*; the destruction of the Nobility, by *stars falling from the firmament*; hostile invasions, by *thunder and tempestuous winds*; and leaders of armies, conquerors, and founders of empire, by *lions, bears, leopards, goats*, or *high trees*. In a word, the prophetic style seems to be a SPEAKING HIEROGLYPHIC.

These observations will not only assist us in the intelligence of the Old and New Testament, but likewise vindicate their character from the illiterate cavils of modern libertines, who have foolishly mistaken that colouring for the peculiar workmanship of the speaker's heated imagination, which was the sober established language of their times; a language which GOD and his Son condescended to employ, as the properest vehicle of the high mysterious ways of Providence, in the revelation of themselves to mankind.

* "Le Stile des Chinois dans leurs compositions est *mystericux*, concis, *allegorique*, et quelquefois obscur. Ils disent beaucoup de choses en peu de paroles. Leurs expressions sont vives, animées et semées de comparaisons hardies, et de metaphores nobles." —*Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 227, Paris, 1735.

But to come to a conclusion. We must observe in the last place, that, besides the many changes which the ancient Egyptian *hieroglyphics* underwent, they at length suffered a very perverse corruption. It hath been already seen, how the MYSTERIES, that other grand vehicle of *Egyptian wisdom*, degenerated into *magic:* just so it happened with the HIEROGLYPHICS; for their characters being become, in a proper sense, sacred (as will be explained hereafter), it disposed the more superstitious to engrave them upon gems, and wear them as amulets or charms. But this abuse seems not to have been much earlier than the established worship of the God Serapis: which happened under the Ptolemys; and was first brought to the general knowledge of the world by certain Christian heretics,* and natives of Egypt, who had mingled a number of Pagan superstitions with their Christianity. These gems, called ABRAXAS, frequently to be met with in the cabinets of the curious, are engraven with all kinds of hieroglyphic characters. For this abusive original, we have the testimony of Rufinus, the ecclesiastical historian, contemporary with St. Jerome: *Who can reckon up,* says he, *the horrid superstitions practised at Canopus? where under pretence of interpreting the* SACERDOTAL LETTERS, *for so they call the ancient Egyptian characters, a public school may be almost said to be opened for the teaching magical arts.*† Hence these characters came to be called *Chaldaic*, the Chaldeans being particularly addicted to magic. So Cassiodorus, speaking of the obelisks in the Roman circus, which were brought from Egypt, calls the inscriptions on them *Chaldaica signa:* ‡ To the *Abraxas* afterwards succeeded TALISMANS: § which (mixed, like the other, with the dotages of judicial astrology) are held in high reverence to this day, in all Mahometan countries. And here let me observe, that from the low date of these kinds of charms may be seen the impertinence of what Sir John Marsham brings from late Greek and Roman writers, to confront and discredit the mysterious elevation of the brazen serpent in the wilderness.‖

But what must we think of KIRCHER, who hath mistaken these superstitions for the ancient Egyptian wisdom; and setting up with this magic, and that other of the *mysteries*, which the later Platonists and Pythagoreans had jumbled together, in the production of their fanatic-philosophy, soon ingrossed, in imagination, all the treasures of Antiquity? ¶ However, to be just, it must be owned that he was

* See note CCC, at the end of this book. † *Canopi quis enumeret superstitiosa flagitia? Ubi prætextu* SACERDOTALIUM LITERARUM, *ita enim appellant* antiquas Ægyptiorum literas, *Magicæ artis erat pene publica schola.—Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. xxvi. ‡ *Ubi sacra priscorum Chaldaicis signis, quasi literis, indicantur.*—Lib. iii. ep. 51, et lib. iii. ep. 2. § See note DDD, at the end of this book. ‖ See note EEE, at the end of this book. ¶ The following are three of his six *Postulata* on which he founds his whole interpretation of the Egyptian *hieroglyphics*:—1. *Hieroglyphica Ægyptiorum doctrina nihil aliud est quam arcana de Deo, divinisque Ideis,*

misled by the Ancients themselves; some of whom imagined that the very first *hieroglyphics* were tainted with this magical pollution, just as some Moderns would have the first *Mysteries* to be corrupted by debauched practices. So Lucan, speaking of the times before alphabetic writing, says,

> "Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere Biblos
> Noverat, et *saxis* tantum *volucresque* feræque
> Sculptaque servabant MAGICAS animalia LINGUAS."

Here, we see, the *abuse* and the *invention* are made coeval. An extravagant error, which the least attention to the history of the human mind and the progress of its operations might have prevented.

To conclude, I have here presumed to dispute an unquestioned proposition, *That the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics for the sake of secrecy*. It will be well if the evidence of the reasoning may excuse the singularity of the paradox. This is certain, the subject hath long remained in obscurity; and as certain, that I have, some how or other, been able to throw a little scattered light into the darkest corners of it. Whether the common opinion occasioned the obscurity, and the notion here advanced has contributed to remove it, is left for the candid reader to determine.*

III.

And now to apply this matter to the proof of our Proposition; for this long discourse on *Hieroglyphic writing* is particularly given to deduce from its nature, origin, and use, an internal argument for the high antiquity of *Egyptian learning*.

Let us see then how the evidence stands: The true Egyptian learning, which the early Greek Sages brought from thence to adorn their own country, was, by the concurrent testimony of these writers, all contained in *Hieroglyphics*. They record a simple fact; and, in a fact of this nature, they could not be deceived; though in the causes of it they well might; and, as we have shewn, indeed were.—But hieroglyphic-writing thus invented, was improved into a contrivance to record their secret wisdom, long before an *Alphabet* was found out; and yet an alphabet was of so high and almost immemorial antiquity as to pass for an invention of the Gods; and consequently

Angelis, Dæmonibus, cæterisque mundanarum potestatum classibus ordinibusque scientia, saxis potissimùm insculpta. 5. Hieroglyphica Symbola non tantùm sublimiora erant significativa sacramentorum; sed et naturalem quandam efficaciam habere credebantur, tum ad Genios bonos quibuscum occultam, et in abdita naturæ abysso latentem sympathiam habere putabantur, attrahendos; tum ad contrarios et antitechnos Genios, ob eorundem cum iis antipathiam, coërcendos profligandosque. 6. Hieroglyphica Symbola nihil aliud quàm prophylactica quædam signa, omnium malorum averruncativa, ob mirificum catenarum mundialium consensum connexionemque, esse existimabantur.—Œdip. Ægypt. tom. iii. p. 4.

* See note FFF, at the end of this book.

to deceive some men into an opinion that *Letters* were prior in time to *Hieroglyphics*.*

To this it may be objected, "That, as I pretend *Hieroglyphics* were not invented for secrecy, but afterwards turned to that use, and even employed in it, long after the invention of alphabetic letters, it might very well be, that this profound learning, which all agree to have been recorded in *Hieroglyphics*, was the product of ages much below the antiquity enquired after."

Now, not to insist upon the Grecian testimony, which makes the *learned hieroglyphics* coeval with the first race of kings; I reply, and might well rest the matter on this single argument,—That if at the invention of *letters*, much high-prized learning had not been contained in *Hieroglyphics*, but only plain memorials of civil matters, no plausible reason can be given why the Egyptians did not then discontinue a way of writing so troublesome and imperfect. It hath been shewn, that in the very early ages of the world, all nations, as well as the Egyptian, used to record the succession of time and revolutions of State in *hieroglyphic* characters: but, of these, none, besides the Egyptians, continued to write by marks for things, after the invention of *letters*. All others immediately dropt their hieroglyphics on the discovery of that more commodious method. The reason of which is plain; all others were totally unlearned in those periods of their existence preceding the knowledge of letters; consequently, as their hieroglyphics were employed in nothing but to record the rude annals of their history, they had no inducement to continue them: but at this remarkable æra, Egypt was very learned: and hieroglyphics being the repositories of its learning, these monuments would be in high veneration, and that veneration would perpetuate their use. There is but one example perhaps in the world, besides the Egyptian, where a people's learning was *first* recorded in *hieroglyphic* characters; and this one example will support our argument: the people I mean are the CHINESE; who, as the Missionaries assure us, bear such esteem and reverence for their *ancient character*, that, when they find it curiously written, they prefer it to the most elegant painting, and purchase the least scrap at an excessive price: they will not (we are told) apply the paper even of any common book, on which these characters are written, to a profane or vulgar use; and their joiners and masons do not dare to tear a printed leaf which they find pasted to the wall or wainscot.† Now if at length, these

* See note GGG, at the end of this book.

† "Ils preferent même un beau caractere à la plus admirable peinture, et l'on en voit souvent qui achetent bien cher une page de vieux caracteres, quand ils sont bien formez. Ils honorent leurs caracteres jusques dans les livres les plus ordinaires, et si par hasard quelques feüilles etoient tombées, ils les ramassent avec respect: ce seroit, selon eux, une grossiereté et une impolitesse, d'en faire un usage profane, de les fouler aux pieds en marchant, de les jetter

people should be prevailed on to use the more excellent way of writing with the letters of an alphabet, can any one doubt but that their Mandarins would still continue these venerable hieroglyphic characters in their works of Science and Religion? Thus, what we see would be the case here was without all question the case of the Egyptians: Characters become the vehicle of such treasures of learning must be in the highest reverence: and, indeed, the name of *Hieroglyphics*, under which they were delivered to the Greeks, shews they were in fact thus reverenced.* But that *learning* which was contained in hieroglyphics, and was, of itself, sufficient to perpetuate their use, gave birth to a tradition which would effectually secure it; and this was, that *the* GODS *themselves invented hieroglyphic writing.*

On the whole, The argument drawn from their CONTINUED USE seems so sure a proof of the high antiquity of Egyptian learning in general, that one might safely rest the whole upon it: But to remove all cavil, I shall proceed to other, and, as I think, incontestable proofs of the antiquity of that *learning*, and particularly the *theologic*: the one taken from the true original of the art of ONIRO-CRITIC, or *interpretation of dreams*; and the other from the true original of ANIMAL WORSHIP: both of these fantastic superstitions being the genuine and peculiar growth of EGYPT.

I. The art of ONIROCRITIC, from whose *original* I deduce my first proof, made a very considerable part of ancient Pagan religion. Artemidorus, who lived about the beginning of the second century, and wrote a treatise on *Dreams*, collected from much earlier writers, divides *dreams* into two kinds, the *speculative* and the *allegorical*; † the first kind is that which presents a plain and direct picture of the matter about which the Dream gives information; the second is an oblique intimation of it, by a tropical or symbolic image: This latter, which makes up the large farrago of dreams, is the only kind that needs an Interpreter; on which account Macrobius defines a *Dream* to be the notice of something *hid in allegory which wants to be explained.*‡

So that the question will be, on what grounds or rules of interpretation the Onirocritics proceeded, when, if a man dreamt of a dragon, the Interpreter assured him it signified *majesty*; if of a serpent, a *disease*; a viper, *money*; frogs, *impostors*; pigeons and stock-

même avec indifference; souvent il arrive, que les menuisiers et les maçons n'osent pas dechirer une feüille imprimée, qui se trouve collée sur le mur, ou sur le bois. Ils craignent de faire une faute."—DU HALDE, *Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 228.

* See p. 175; and see note HHH, at the end of this book.

† Ἔτι τῶν ὀνείρων, οἱ μὲν εἰσὶ θεωρηματικοί· οἱ δὲ ἀλληγορικοί. Καὶ θεωρηματικοὶ μέν, οἱ τῇ ἑαυτῶν δέᾳ προσεοικότες—Ἀλληγορικοὶ δὲ, οἱ δι' ἄλλων ἄλλα σημαίνοντες.—ARTEMIDORI *Oneir.* lib. i. cap. 2.

‡ "Somnium proprie vocatur, quod tegit figuris et velut ambagibus, non nisi interpretatione intelligendam, significationem rei quæ demonstratur."—*In Somnium Scipionis*, lib. i. cap. 3.

doves, *women:* partridges, *impious persons;* a swallow, *sorrow, death,* and *disaster;* cats, *adultery;* the ichneumon, *deceitful and mischievous men, &c.** for the whole art of ancient *onirocritic* was concerned in these remote and mysterious relations. Now the early *Interpreters of dreams* were not juggling impostors; but, like the early judicial *Astrologers,* more superstitious than their neighbours; and so the first who fell into their own delusions. However, suppose them to have been as arrant cheats as any of their successors, yet at their first setting up they must have had materials proper for their trade; which could never be the wild workings of each man's private fancy. Their Customers would look to find a known analogy, become venerable by long application to mysterious wisdom, for the ground-work of their deciphering; and the Decipherers themselves would as naturally fly to some confessed authority, to support their pretended Science. But what ground or authority could this be, if not the mysterious learning of *symbolic characters?* Here we seem to have got a solution of the difficulty. The *Egyptian priests,* the first interpreters of dreams, took their rules for this species of DIVINATION, from their *symbolic* riddling, in which they were so deeply read: A ground of interpretation which would give the strongest credit to the Art; and equally satisfy the Diviner and the Consulter: for by this time it was generally believed that their Gods had given them *hieroglyphic writing.* So that nothing was more natural than to imagine that these Gods, who in their opinion gave *dreams* likewise, had employed the same mode of expression in both revelations. This, I suppose, was the true original† of *onirocritic,* or the interpretation of those dreams called allegorical; that is, of dreams in general; for the wildness of an unbridled fancy will make almost all natural dreams to be of that kind. It is true, the Art being now well established, every age adorned it with additional superstitions; so that at length the old foundation became quite lost in these new incrustations.

If this account of its original stood in need of farther evidence, I might urge the rules of interpretation here given from Artemidorus, and a great many more which might have been given; all of them conformable to the *symbolic hieroglyphics* in Horapollo.

Herodotus, in Clio, tells us, how Cyrus, dreaming that young Darius had WINGS on his shoulders, which, when spread out, shaded Asia and Europe, understood this dream by the assistance of his Interpreters, to signify (as we must needs conclude) a conspiracy formed against him by that young man. Now Sanchoniatho tells us‡ that in the most ancient *hieroglyphic writing,* a supreme governor was designed by a man with four WINGS, and his lieutenants or

* Vide ARTEMIDORUM. † See note III, at the end of this book. ‡ See above, p. 177.

princes under him by a man with two: and that their being *outstretched* signified action or design.*

But there is one remarkable circumstance which puts the matter out of all doubt. The technical term used by the Onirocritics for the phantasms seen in dreams, was ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ,† *elements*. It would be hard to give a good account of the use of so odd a term on any other supposition than the derivation of onirocritic from symbolic writing. On that supposition it is easy and evident; for symbolic marks‡ were called ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ. Now when they used symbols to decipher dreams, nothing was more natural than to give the same significative images, on the stone and in the fancy, the same appellation.

The reason why the Egyptian priests (who, we have seen, used the Greek tongue very early) called their hieroglyphic and symbolic marks Στοιχεῖα, was because, in this way of writing, they employed all kinds of natural entities, to denote their mental conceptions; the proper signification of Στοιχεῖα being the first elements and principles of things, out of which all beings arise, and, of which, they are compounded.§ Hence it came that *alphabetic* letters, which were an improvement on *hieroglyphics* and received their first shapes from hieroglyphic images, were called Στοιχεῖα.

So much for the *original* of onirocritic. To bring it to the point, we are next to consider its *antiquity*. Now Scripture leads us to the practice of this art as high up as the age of Joseph.

Pharaoh had two dreams; ‖ one of *seven kine*, the other of *seven ears of corn*. We see both these phantasms [Στοιχεῖα] were *symbols* of Egypt: The *ears* denoting its distinguished fertility; the *kine*, its great tutelary patroness, Isis. Pharaoh knew thus much without an Interpreter; and hence arose his solicitude and anxiety to understand the rest, as a matter that concerned the Public: Accordingly, when Joseph¶ comes to decipher these dreams, he does not tell the king that the two *sevens* denoted *seven years in Egypt*, but simply *seven years*: The scene of the famine needed no deciphering. Unlike, in this, to the interpretation of Daniel, when Nebuchadnezzar saw in a dream *a fair and high tree*; which being the symbol of majesty in general, the prophet explains its particular meaning, "The tree that thou sawest—it is THOU, O king." **

The argument therefore stands thus: the *Onirocritics* borrowed their art of deciphering from symbolic hieroglyphics.—But this could not be till hieroglyphics were become sacred, by being made the cloudy vehicle of their Theology; because, till then, hieroglyphics

* See note KKK, at the end of this book. † See note LLL, at the end of this book. ‡ See note MMM, at the end of this book. § See p. 177, and notes LLL and MMM. ‖ Gen. xli. ¶ See note NNN, at the end of this book.
** Dan. iv. 19—21.

had neither authority enough to support the credit of those interpretations, nor a perplexity sufficiently copious to support the mystery of this application.—But by the time hieroglyphics were become sacred, Egypt was very learned.—Now they were sacred in the days of Joseph, as appears from the use of interpreting dreams according to those symbols.—Therefore *learned Egypt of very high antiquity.*

II. My second argument for this antiquity is deduced from the true original of ANIMAL-WORSHIP; and stands thus: We have observed, that in those improved hieroglyphics, called *Symbols* (in which, it is confessed, the ancient Egyptian learning was contained) the less obvious properties of animals occasioned their becoming marks, by analogical adaption, for very different ideas, whether of substances or modes; which plainly intimates that physical knowledge had been long cultivated. Now these symbols I hold to be the true original of ANIMAL-WORSHIP in Egypt. But animal-worship was the *established worship* in the time of MOSES, as is evident from the book of *Exodus:* Therefore the Egyptian learning was of this high antiquity.* The only proposition, in this argument, that needs any proof, is the first. The reasons therefore which induce me to think *symbolic writing* to be the sole origin of *Animal-worship* are these:

1. This kind of idolatry was peculiar to the *Egyptian* superstition; and almost unknown to all the Casts of paganism, but such as were evidently copied from that original: † MOSES treats it as their distinguishing superstition: ‡ The Greeks and Romans, though at a loss for its original, yet speak of it as the peculiar extravagance of *Egypt:* And the most intelligent of the moderns consider it in the very same light.§

2. The *Egyptians* not only worshipped *Animals,* but PLANTS; and, in a word, every kind of being that had qualities remarkably singular or efficacious; because all these had found their place in symbolic writing: For, as hath been shewn, when Hieroglyphics came to be employed for mystery, no sooner was one symbol grown common and vulgar, than another was invented of a more recondite meaning: so that the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms would be all explored to paint the histories of their Gods.

* See note OOO, at the end of this book. † Such as the several Gentile nations of Palestine and India. ‡ Deut. iv. 14—21. § The learned Fourmont thus expresses himself:—*Mais pour parler simplement et sans fard, il faudra bon gré mal gré en revenir à ceci, que les Egyptiens etoient, et, s'ils pensoien tun peu, devoient se croire eux mêmes un peuple fort extravagant; on n'apotheose point sans folie les Oignons et les Asperges: que pensez encore des Dieux Oiseaux, Poissons, Serpens, Crocodiles? mais non-seulement ils avoient deifié les animaux; ce qui est plus etrange encore, infatuez de la Metempsycose, ils s'etoient enthousiasmez la dessus de Mystagogies incomprehensibles. Leurs pretres, par un zele qu'on ne connoit pas trop, s'etoient rendus les Predicateurs de ces mêmes folies; et ils en avoient dans leurs conquêtes, ou par des missions,* infecté tout l'Inde, toute la Chine, tout le Japon.—*Reflex. Crit. sur les Hist. des Anc. Peuples,* tom. i. p. 227.

3. Besides the adoration of almost every thing existing, the *Egyptians* worshipped a thousand Chimeras of their own creation: Some with human bodies, and the head or feet of brutes; others with brutal bodies, and the heads or feet of men; while others again were a fantastic compound of the several parts of beasts, birds, and reptiles, terrestrial and aquatic: for besides the simpler method, in hieroglyphic writing, of expressing their hero-gods by an intire plant or animal, there were two others which the more circumstantial history of those deities brought in use. Thus when the subject was only one single quality of a god or hero, the human shape was only partially deformed; * as with the head of a dog, hawk, or ram, to denote fidelity, vigilance, or strength; with the feet and thighs of a goat, to represent rusticity, agility, or lust; and this gave Being to their Anubis, Pan, and Jupiter Ammon: But where the subject required a fuller catalogue of the hero's virtues or useful qualities, there they employed an assemblage of the several parts of various animals: each of which, in hieroglyphic writing, was significative of a distinct property: in which assemblage, that animal, more peculiarly representative of the God, was most conspicuous. This will explain the verse of *Anticlides* in his hymn to the sun,

Ἡέλιος δὲ Νότοιο Ἄναξ ΙΕΡΑΞ ΠΟΛΥΜΟΡΦΕ.

The sun was generally expressed by a *hawk*; but this *symbolic hawk*, under various considerations, had the various parts of other animals added to it.

4. That animal which was worshipped in one city was sacrificed in another. Thus, though at Memphis they adored the ox, at Mendes the goat, and at Thebes the ram; yet, in one place or other, each of these animals was used in sacrifice: but bulls and clean calves were offered up in all places. The reason of this can only be that at Memphis the ox was, in hieroglyphic learning, the symbol of some deity; at Mendes the goat; and at Thebes the ram; but the bull and calf no where: For what else can be said for the original of so fantastical a diversity in *representative* deities within a kingdom of one national religion?—But farther: the same animal was feasted in one place, with divine honours; in another it was pursued with the direst execrations. Thus, at Arsinoë, the crocodile was adored; because having no tongue it was made in hieroglyphic writing the symbol of the divinity; † elsewhere it was had in horror, as being made in the

* Εἴκασται παρ' αὐτοῖς τις μέχρι τραχήλου ἀνθρωποειδὴς, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον ὑρνέου, ἢ λέοντος. ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ζώου κεκτημένος· καὶ πάλιν αὖ κεφαλὴ ἀνθρωπείος, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ζώων μέρη πῆ μὲν ὑποκείμενα, πῆ δὲ ἐπικείμενα.—PORPHYRIUS *De Abst.* lib. iv.

† Plutarch, in general, tells us, that the Egyptians thus considered the crocodile; but this author, for private ends, delivering a false original of Animal-worship, it was not to his purpose to tell us it was so considered in *symbolic writing*:—οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ Κροκόδειλος αἰτίας πίθανῆς ἀμοιροῦσαν ἔσχηκε τιμὴν, ἀλλὰ οὐ μίμημα θεοῦ λέγεται γεγονέναι, μόνος μὲν ἄγλωσσος ὤν· φωνῆς γὰρ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀπροσδεὴς ἐστι.—*De Is. et Osir.*

same writing the symbol of Typhon;* that is, it was used as a *sacred character* in the history both of their *natural* and *civil* Theology.

5. Brute-worship was, at *first*, altogether objective to their hero-gods; of whom animals were but the representatives. This is seen from the rank they hold on ancient monuments; from the unvaried worship of some few of them, as the *Apis*, which still continued to be adored as the representative of Osiris:—and from the express testimony of Herodotus; who says, that, when the Egyptians addressed the sacred Animal, their devotions were paid to that God to whom the beast belonged.†

6. But to make the matter still plainer, it may be observed, that the most early brute-worship in Egypt was not an adoration of the living animal, but only of its picture or image. This truth Herodotus seems to hint at in Euterpe, where he says, the Egyptians erected the first altars, images, and temples to the gods, and carved the FIGURES OF ANIMALS on stones.‡ Now, were the original of brute-worship any other than what is here supposed, the living animal must have been first worshipped, and the image of it would have been only an attendant superstition. From the SECOND COMMANDMENT, and Moses's exhortation to obedience, it appears that the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus, worshipped no living animal, but the picture or image only: "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them." § Thus speaks the law of the first table; by which we not only see that brute-worship was under an image, but that such image was symbolical of Gods different from the animal pictured, and alluded to in the words, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.* Another thing observable in the law is, that not only the making pictures and images for adoration was forbidden, but the simple making of them at all. And thus the Jews understood it. The consequence was, that *hieroglyphics* were forbidden: a strong proof of their being the source of the idolatry in question. MOSES, in his exhortation to the people, paraphrases and explains this law: "Take ye, therefore, good heed unto yourselves (for ye saw *no manner of similitude on the day that the LORD spake to you in* Horeb, out of the midst of the fire) lest ye corrupt yourselves and make you

* The subsequent doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* soon made this the foundation of a fable, that the soul of *Typhon* had passed into a crocodile,—that *Typhon* had assumed that figure, &c. See ÆLIAN'S "Hist. of Animals," lib. x. cap. 21. † Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῃσι πόλισι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τὰς δέ σφι ἀποτελέουσι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἂν ᾖ τὸ θηρίον.—Lib. ii. cap. 65. ‡ Βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους, καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοισι ἐγγλύψαι.—Cap. 4. § Exod. xx. 3—5.

a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of *male or female*, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air, the likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth." * There are two important conclusions to be drawn from the reason of this exhortation, *for you saw no manner of similitude, &c.* The first is, that the Egyptian brute-worship was *symbolical;* the other, that MOSES's prime intention was to warn the people against representing the GOD of Israel under the shape of men or animals, in the guise of the greater Gods of Egypt. This observation will open our way to another circumstance, which shews that the worship of the *living animal* was not yet in use amongst the Egyptians; and that is, the idolatrous erection of the *golden calf*.† The people now suspecting they had lost MOSES, whom they were taught to consider as the vicegerent, or representative of their GOD, grew impatient for another; and, besotted with Egyptian superstitions, chose for his representative the same which the Egyptians used for the symbol of their great God, Osiris. Interpreters seem to run into two different extremes concerning this matter, some conceiving that the Israelites worshipped an Egyptian God under the *golden calf;* though the worshippers themselves expresly declare the contrary: "These" (say they) "be thy Gods, *O Israel*, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." ‡ Others suppose the *calf* was not made in imitation of any Egyptian symbol whatsoever, because it was the living Apis that represented Osiris; but we see the worship of the living animal was not yet introduced. However, in time, and in no long time neither, for it was as early as the Prophets, the Egyptians began to worship the *animal itself;* which worship, as might be well expected, prevailed at length over that of its image. *Colunt effigies multorum animalium, atque ipsa* MAGIS *animalia*, says Pomponius Mela § of the Egyptians; and this naturally gave birth to new superstitions; for, as he goes on, *Apis populorum omnium numen est. Bos niger, certis maculis insignis—raro nascitur*, nec coitu pecoris *(ut aiunt)* sed divinitus et cœlesti igne conceptus.

These considerations are sufficient to shew that *hieroglyphics* were indeed the original of *brute-worship:* And how easy it was for the Egyptians to fall into it from the use of this kind of writing, appears from hence. In these hieroglyphics was recorded the history of their greater, and tutelary deities, their kings and lawgivers; represented by animals and other creatures. The symbol of each God was well known and familiar to his worshippers, by means of the popular paintings and engravings on their temples and other sacred monu-

* Deut. iv. 15—18. † See note PPP, at the end of this book. ‡ Exod. xxxii. 4. § *De Situ Orb.* lib. i. cap. 6.

ments: * so that the symbol presenting the idea of the God, and that idea exciting sentiments of religion, it was natural for them, in their addresses to any particular deity, to turn towards his representative, mark or symbol. This will be easily granted if we reflect, that when the Egyptian priests began to speculate, and grow mysterious, they feigned a *divine original* for hieroglyphic characters, in order to render them still more august and venerable. This would, of course, bring on a *relative* devotion to these symbolic figures; which, when it came to be paid to the living animal, would soon terminate in an *ultimate* worship.

But the occasional propensity to this superstition was, without question, forwarded and encouraged by the Priesthood; for it greatly supported the worship of the hero-deities, by making their theology more intricate; and by keeping out of sight, what could not but weaken religious veneration in remote posterity, the naked truth, that they were only DEAD MEN DEIFIED. And these advantages they afterwards improved with notable address; by making those Symbols as well relative to new conceived imaginary qualities and influences of their first *natural gods*, the host of heaven, as to what they properly respected, in hieroglyphic writing, their later heroes and tutelary deities; Which trick, invented to keep the Egyptians in their superstition, spread so impenetrable an obscurity over paganism, as hindered the most sagacious Philosophers and knowing Antiquaries of Greece from ever getting a right view of the rise and progress of their own idolatry.

And, if I be not much mistaken, it was the design of these Egyptian priests to commemorate the advantages of this contrivance in the celebrated fable † of TYPHON'S WAR WITH THE GODS; who, distressed and terrified by this earth-born giant, fled from his persecution into EGYPT; and there hid themselves each under the form of a several ANIMAL. This adventure is related by Ovid in a very agreeable and artful manner, where he makes one of the impious Pierides sing it, in their contest with the Muses:

> *Bella canit superûm:* Falsoque in honore gigantes
> *Ponit, et* extenuat magnorum facta deorum;
> *Emissumque ima de sede Typhoëa terræ*
> *Cœlitibus fecisse metum; cunctosque dedisse*
> *Terga fugæ: donec fessos* ÆGYPTIA *tellus*
> *Ceperit, et septem discretus in ostia Nilus.*
> *Huc quoque terrigenam venisse Typhoëa narrat,*
> *Et se* MENTITIS *superos celasse* FIGURIS:

* This account is supported by Herodotus, where saying that the *Egyptians first of all raised altars, statues, and temples to the gods*, he immediately adds, and *engraved animals on stone*: βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους, καὶ ΖΩΑ ΕΝ ΛΙΘΟΙΣΙ ΕΓΓΑΤΨΑΙ.—Lib. ii. cap. 4. † DIOD. SICUL. lib. i. p. 54, Steph. ed. informs us, that this was an Egyptian fable: as does LUCIAN, in his tract *De Sacrificiis*.

Duxque gregis, dixit, fit Jupiter: UNDE recurvis
Nunc quoque formatus Libys est cum cornibus Ammon.
Delius in corvo, proles Semelëia capro,
Fele soror Phœbi, nivea Saturnia vacca,
*Pisce Venus latuit, Cyllenius Ibidis alis.**

Typhon, amongst the Egyptians, was the exemplar of impiety: so that under that name we are to understand the *inquisitive*, which the priests always surnamed *the impious* (such who in after-times followed the celebrated Euhemerus of Greece); these, in a malicious search into the genealogies of their Gods, had so near detected their original, and consequently endangered their worship, that the priests had nothing left but to perplex and embroil the enquiry, by encouraging the SYMBOLIC worship as explained above. Hence this fable (in which they celebrated the subtilty of their expedient) that Egypt afforded a place of refuge for the Gods; who there lay hid under the *forms of beasts*. Where we must observe, that the shape each God was said to have assumed was that of his symbolic mark in hieroglyphic writing.† Indeed Antonius Liberalis ‡ differs from Ovid in the particular transformations; and Lucian,§ from them both; but this rather confirms than weakens our interpretation; since each God, as we have seen, was denoted by divers hieroglyphics. We must not suppose, however, that the whole of their distress came from the quarter of their enemies. More favourable enquirers would be a little troublesome. And the same expedient would keep them at a distance likewise. The Priests seem to have hinted at this case likewise, in the similar story they told Herodotus, "that Hercules was very desirous to see Jupiter, who was by no means consenting to this interview; at last overcome by the hero's importunity, he eluded his curiosity, by this expedient: he flay'd the carcase of a ram; and investing himself with the skin separated with the head from the body, he presented himself under that appearance to the inquirer."‖ Herodotus himself seems to hint at something like the explanation of the fable of Typhon given above, where speaking of Pan soon after, and on the same occasion, he says, "The Egyptians represent Pan as the Grecians paint him, with the face and legs of a goat. Not that they imagine this to be his real form, which is the same with that of the other Gods. But I take no satisfaction in recording the reason they give for representing him in this manner."¶ From these two different ways of relating the circumstance of Jupiter's and Pan's

* *Metam.* lib. v. fab. 5. † See note QQQ, at the end of this book. ‡ Cap. xxviii. § *De Sacrif.* ‖ Θηβαῖοι μέν νυν, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους δῖων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφι τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τέλος δὲ, ἐπεί τε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι, κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προεχέσθαί τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος, οὕτω οἱ ἐωϋτὸν ἐπιδεῖξαι.—Lib. ii. cap. 3. ¶ Τοῦ Πανὸς τὤγαλμα, κατάπερ Ἕλληνες, αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα· οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναί μιν, ἀλλ' ὅμοιον τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι. ὅτευ δὲ εἵνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτὸν, οὐ μοι ἡδιόν ἐστι λέγειν.—Lib. ii. cap. 46.

disguises under a brutal form, it appears that the Egyptian priests had two accounts concerning it, the exoteric and the esoteric. Herodotus, in the story of Jupiter, makes no scruple to record the first; but the other, which concerns Pan's transformation, he did not care to touch upon.

If this explanation of the famous fable of Typhon needed any further support, we might find it in what the Egyptian Theologers continued to deliver down concerning it. Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the difficulty in discovering the true original of Egyptian brute-worship, says, that the priests had a profound secret concerning it:* A strong presumption that this here delivered was the secret; it being the only one which the Priests were much concerned to keep to themselves; as we shall see when we come to speak of the *causes* assigned by the Ancients for brute-worship. What the Priests thought fit to intrust to the people concerning this matter, the Sicilian tells us, was this; *That the Gods of the early times being few in number, and so forced to yield to the multitude and injustice of earth-born men, assumed the forms of divers Animals, and by that means escaped the cruelty and violence of their enemies; but that, at length, gaining the empire of the world, they consecrated the species of those Animals whose forms they had assumed, in gratitude for that relief which they had received from them in their distresses.*† The moral of the fable lies too open to need an Interpreter: it can hardly, indeed, be any other than that we have here given. But Diodorus aids us in the discovery of that secret, which he himself appears not to have penetrated, where he says that Melampus, who brought the *Mysteries of Proserpine* from Egypt into Greece, taught them the story of TYPHON, and *the whole history of the disasters and sufferings of the Gods.*‡ Now we have shewn§ that one part of the office of the *Hierophant* of the Mysteries was to reveal the true original of Polytheism: which instruction could not be conveyed more appositely, than in the history of *Typhon*, as here explained. From the whole then, we conclude, that *this* was indeed the *profound secret*, which the Egyptian priests had concerning it. So that the passage of Diodorus, last quoted, not only supports our interpretation of the *fable of Typhon*, but of the *secret of the Mysteries* likewise.

Only one thing is worth our notice, that the Priests should think fit to give the people this curious origin of brute-worship: We have observed, that they promoted and encouraged this Brutal-idolatry in

* Οἱ μὲν Ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν ἀπόῤῥητόν τι δόγμα περὶ τούτων ἔχουσιν.—Lib. i. p. 54.
† Φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένους θεοὺς, ὀλίγους ὄντας καὶ κατισχυομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἀνομίας τῶν γηγενῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμοιωθῆναι τισὶ τῶν ζώων, καὶ διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου διαφυγεῖν τὴν ὠμότητα καὶ βίαν αὐτῶν· ὕστερον δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον πάντων κρατήσαντας καὶ τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς σωτηρίας χάριν ἀποδιδόντας, ἀφιερῶσαι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν οἷς ἀφωμοιώθησαν.—Lib. i. p. 54.
‡ Τὸ σύνολον τὴν περὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν θεῶν ἱστορίαν.—Lib. i.
§ "Divine Legation," vol. i. pp. 299, &c.

order to hide the weakness of their Hero-worship; but then some reason was to be given for that more extravagant superstition: so, by a fine contrivance, they made the *circumstances* of the fable, by which they would commemorate their address in introducing a new superstition to support the old, a *reason* for that introduced support. This was a fetch of policy worthy of an Egyptian priesthood.

But let us hear what the Ancients in general have to say concerning the beginning of *brute-worship*. Now the Ancients having generally mistaken the origin of *Hieroglyphics*, it is no wonder they should be mistaken in this likewise: and how much they were mistaken, their diversity and inconstancy of opinion plainly shew us: And yet, amidst this diversity, the cause here assigned hath escaped them; which had otherwise, 'tis probable, put an end to all farther conjecture. But as they chanced to fall into variety of wrong opinions, it will be incumbent on me to examine and confute them. What I can at present recollect as any way deserving notice, are the following:

They suppose brute-worship to have arisen,

1. From the *benefits* men receive of animals.
2. From the doctrine of the *metempsychosis*.
3. From the use of *asterisms*.
4. From the notion of GOD'S *pervading all things*.
5. From the use of Animals as *Symbols* of the divine nature.
6. From the invention of a certain Egyptian king for his private ends of *policy*.

These, I think, are all the opinions of moment. And of these, we may observe in general, that the fourth and fifth are least wide of the truth, as making brute-worship *symbolical*: But the defect, common to them all, is that the reason assigned by each concludes for the universality of this worship throughout paganism; whereas it was in fact peculiar to Egypt; and seen and owned to be so by these very Ancients themselves.

I. The first opinion is that we find in CICERO,* who supposes the original to be *a grateful sense of benefits received from animals*.

1. This labours under all the defects of an inadequate cause, as concluding both too much, and too little: Too much; because, on this ground, brute-worship would have been common to all nations; but it was peculiar to the Egyptian and its colonies: Too little; 1. because on this ground none but useful animals should have been worshipped; whereas several of the most useless and noxious † were held sacred. 2. *Plant-worship* must then, in the nature of things, have been prior to, or at least coeval with, that of *brutes*. But it

* See note RRR, at the end of this book. † See note SSS, at the end of this book.

was much later; and, on our theory, we see how this came to pass; the *vegetable* world would not be explored, to find out hieroglyphical analogies, 'till the *animal* had been exhausted.

II. Neither could *the doctrine of the metempsychosis*, mentioned by DIODORUS,* be the origin of brute-worship: 1. Because that opinion was common to all nations; but brute-worship peculiar to Egypt. The doctrine of the *metempsychosis* flourisheth, at this day, with greater vigour in India, than, perhaps, it ever did in any place or age of the world; yet it occasions no worship, or religious veneration to those animals which are supposed the receptacles of departed souls. A very excessive charity towards them it does indeed afford. And this is the more remarkable, not only as this people are sunk into the most sordid superstitions, but because, having learnt animal-worship of Egypt,† if the doctrine of the *metempsychosis* had any natural tendency to inflame that superstition, they had by this time been totally devoted to it. 2. Because the hypothesis which makes *transmigration* the origin of brute-worship, must suppose brutes to be venerated as the receptacle of *human* souls become deified: but the ancient Egyptians deified none but *heroic* and *demonic* souls: and souls of this order were not supposed subject to the common law of the *metempsychosis*.‡ 3. The intrusion of those souls into brutal bodies, according to the law of transmigration, was understood to be a punishment for crimes. Their prison-house therefore could never become the object of adoration; but rather of aversion and abhorrence; as all *subterraneous* fire was amongst the ancient Romans, and as that of *purgatory* is amongst the modern. 4. Lastly, the doctrine of the *metempsychosis* was much later than the first practice of brute-worship; and evidently invented to remove objections against Providence,§ when men began to speculate and philosophise. What seems to have given birth to this opinion of the origin of brute-worship; was the fancy of the later Egyptians, that the soul of Osiris resided in the Apis. Diodorus himself supports the conjecture: For, reckoning up the several opinions concerning the origin of brute-worship, when he comes to that of the *metempsychosis*, he delivers it in a popular relation of the soul of Osiris residing in the Apis.

III. The third opinion we find to be favoured by LUCIAN: || which

* Diodorus delivers this original, in his account of the superstitious worship of the Apis: Τῆς δὲ τοῦ βοὸς τούτου τιμῆς αἰτίαν ἔνιοι φέρουσι, λέγοντες ὅτι τελευτήσαντος Ὀσίριδος, εἰς τοῦτον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ μετέστη, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα διατελεῖ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀναδείξεις αὐτοῦ μεθισταμένη πρὸς τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους.—Lib. i. p. 54.

† As appears from hence, that those few animals, which are the objects of their religious worship, are such as were formerly most reverenced in Egypt; and into such, no souls are doomed by the law of transmigration; the reason of which we shall see presently.

‡ The difference between *heroic*, *demonic*, and *human* souls, as it was conceived by the most early pagans, will be explained hereafter.

§ See vol. i. p. 439.

|| Οἱ δὲ [Αἰγύπτιοι] καὶ ἄλλα ἐμήσαντο πολλῷ μείζω τουτέων· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ παντὸς ἠέρος, καὶ ἀστέρων τῶν ἄλλων, ἀπλανέων τε καὶ εὐσταθέων, καὶ οὐδ' ἅμα κινεομένων, δυώδεκα

is, that *the Egyptian invention of distinguishing the Constellations, and marking each of them with the name of some animal, gave the first occasion to brute-worship.* But, 1. the same objection lies against this solution as against the two preceding: for this way of distinguishing the Asterisms was in use in all nations; but brute-worship was confined to Egypt and its colonies. 2. This way of solving the difficulty creates a greater: for then nothing will be left in antiquity,* to account for so extraordinary a custom as the giving to one Constellation the form of a ram, to another the form of a scorpion, &c. when, in the apparent disposition of those stars, there was not so much resemblance to any one part of any one animal as was sufficient to set the fancy on work to make out the rest. But if, for distinction sake, those things were to have a name which had no shape,† why then, as being of such regard from their supposed influences, were they not rather honoured with the titles of their heroes than of their brutes? Would the polite Egyptian priests, who first animalized the Asterisms, do like Tom Otter in the comedy, bring their *Bulls* and *Bears* to court? would they exalt them into heaven before they had made any considerable figure upon earth? The fact is, indeed, just otherwise. It was brute-worship which gave birth to the Asterisms. That the constellations were first named and distinguished by the Egyptians, is agreed on all hands: that they were much later than the beginning of brute-worship, is as evident; the confused multitude of stars not being thus sorted into bands, till the Egyptian priests had made some considerable progress in astronomy: But brute-worship, we know from Scripture, was prior to the time of MOSES. When they began to collect the stars into Constellations, a name was necessary to keep up the combination; and animals, now become the religious symbols of their Gods, afforded the aptest means for that purpose: For, 1. It did honour to their heroes: 2. It supported their *astrology* (which always went along, and was often confounded with, their *astronomy,*) it being understood to imply that their country Gods had now taken up their residence in Constellations of benignant influence.

IV. Nor is there any better foundation for the fourth opinion;

μοίρας ἐτάμοντο ἐν τοῖσι κινεομένοισι, καὶ οἰκεῖα ζῶα ἐόντα, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐς ἄλλην μορφὴν μεμιμέαται—ἀπὸ τέων δὴ καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια πολυειδέα ποιέεται· οὐ γὰρ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῶν δυώδεκα μοιρέων πασέων ἐμαντεύοντο, ἄλλοι δὲ, ἀλλοίῃσι μοίρῃσιν ἐχρέοντο· καὶ κριὸν μὲν σέβουσιν, ὁκόσοι ἐς κριὸν ἀπέβλεπον· ἰχθύας δὲ οὐ σιτέονται, ὁκόσοι ἰχθύας ἐπεσημήναντο· οὐδὲ τράγον κτείνουσιν, ὅσοι αἰγόκερων ᾔδεσαν—καὶ μὴν καὶ Ταῦρον ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ ἠερίου Ταύρου σεβίζονται.—De Astrologia, tom. ii. p. 363, edit. Reitzii, Amst. 4to. 1743.

* I say, in Antiquity: for as to the solution of this point by the liberty of imagining, nothing is more easy. The French author of "the History of the Heavens" has, by the mere force of imagination, removed all these difficulties; not only without any support from Antiquity, but even in defiance of it.

† Εἴδεα σημαίνοιεν ἄφαρ δ' ὀνόμαστα γένοιντο
Ἄστρα.—ARATUS *in* Φαινομ.

which is that of PORPHYRY; * who supposes that *the doctrine of* GOD'S *pervading all things was the original of brute-worship.* But, 1. it proves too much: for according to this notion, every thing would have been the object of divine worship amongst the early Egyptians; but we know many were not. 2. According to this notion, nothing could have been the object of their execration; but we know many were. 3. This notion was never an opinion of the people, but of a few of the learned only: 4. And those, not of the learned of Egypt, but of Greece.† In a word, this pretended original of brute-worship was only an invention of their late Philosophers, to hide the deformities, and to support the credit of declining Paganism.‡

V. Akin to this, and invented for the same end, is what we find in JAMBLICHUS; § namely, *That brutes were deified only as the symbols of the first Cause, considered in all his attributes and relations.* Groundless as this fancy is, yet as it is embraced by our best philologists, such as Cudworth, Vossius, and Kircher, on the faith of those fanatic and inveterate enemies to Christianity, Porphyry and Jamblichus, I shall endeavour to expose it as it deserves. This will be the best done by considering the rise and order of the *three great species of idolatry.* The first, in time, was, as we have shewn, the worship of the *heavenly bodies;* and this continued unmixed till the institution of political Society: Then, another species arose, the deification of *dead kings and lawgivers.* Such was the course of idolatry in all places as well as in Egypt: but there, the method of recording the history of their hero Gods, in improved *hieroglyphics,* gave birth to the third species of idolatry, *brute-worship;* and this was peculiar to Egypt and its colonies. Now as the method used by all nations, of ingrafting *hero-worship* on *star-worship,* occasioned the Philologists to mistake || the former as symbolical of the latter; so the method, used by the Egyptians (mentioned a little before) of supporting brute-worship, which was really symbolical of their hero Gods, made the same writers think it to be originally symbolical of star-Gods, and even of the first Cause. Thus the very learned Vossius fell into two mistakes: 1. That hero-worship was symbolical of star-worship: 2. That brute-worship was symbolical of it likewise. The consequence of

* Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι τῆς ἀσκήσεως, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκειώσεως, ἔγνωσαν, ὡς οὐ δι' ἀνθρώπου μόνου τὸ θεῖον διῆλθεν, οὔτε ψυχὴ ἐν μόνῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ γῆς κατεσκήνωσεν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἡ αὐτὴ διὰ πάντων διῆλθεν τῶν ζώων· διὸ εἰς τὴν θεοποίαν παρέλαβον πᾶν ζῶον.—*De Abstinen.* lib. iv. † See book iii. sect. 6, p. 33. ‡ See vol. i. § Πρότερον δή σοι βούλομαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸν τρόπον τῆς θεολογίας διερμηνεῦσαι· οὗτοι γὰρ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ παντὸς, καὶ τὴν δημιουργίαν τῶν θεῶν μιμούμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν μυστικῶν καὶ ἀποκεκρυμμένων καὶ ἀφανῶν νοήσεων εἰκόνας τινὰς διὰ συμβόλων ἐκφαίνουσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ φύσις τοῖς ἐμφανέσιν εἴδεσι τοὺς ἀφανεῖς λόγους διὰ συμβόλων, τρόπον τινὰ, ἀπετυπώσατο· ἡ δὲ τῶν θεῶν δημιουργία, τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν εἰδῶν διὰ τῶν φανερῶν εἰκόνων ὑπεγράψατο· εἰδότες οὖν χαίροντα πάντα τὰ κρείττονα ὁμοιώσει τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, καὶ βουλόμενοι αὐτὰ ἀγαθῶν οὕτω πληροῦν διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μιμήσεως, εἰκότως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν πρόσφορον αὐτοῖς τρόπον τῆς κεκρυμμένης ἐν τοῖς συμβόλοις μυσταγωγίας προφέρουσιν.—*De Mysteriis Ægypt.* sect. vii. cap. i. || See book iii. sect. 6, p. 31.

which was, that the system of physical-theology, which was, indeed, one of the last sciences of the Egyptian *school*, was supposed to be the first; and hero-worship, which was indeed the first religion of the Egyptian *church*, was supposed to be the last. This is no more than saying, that (for reasons given before) the Magistrate would very early institute the worship of their dead benefactors, and that the Philosopher could have no occasion, till many ages afterwards (when men grew inquisitive or licentious), to hide the ignominy of it, by making those hero Gods only shadowy Beings, and no more than emblems of the several parts of nature.*

Now though the doctrine of this early *physical Theology*, as explained by the Greeks, makes very much for the high antiquity of Egyptian learning, the point I am concerned to prove; yet as my only end is truth, in all these enquiries, I can, with the same pleasure, confute an error which supports my system, that I have in detecting those which made against it.

The common notion of these Philologists, we see, brings Hero-worship, by consequence, very low; and as some of their followers have pursued that consequence, I shall beg leave to examine their reasonings. The learned author of the *Connections* pushes the matter very far:—"It does not appear from this table [the *Bembine*] that the Egyptians worshipped any idols of human shape, at the time when this table was composed; but rather, on the contrary, all the images herein represented, before which any persons are described in postures of adoration, being the figures of birds, beasts, or fishes; this table seems to have been delineated BEFORE the Egyptians worshipped the images of men and women; WHICH WAS THE LAST AND LOWEST STEP OF THEIR IDOLATRY." † Now the whole of this observation will, I am afraid, only amount to an *illogical consequence* drawn from *a false fact;* let the reader judge. *All the images* (he says) *herein represented, before which any persons are described, in postures of adoration, are the figures of birds, beasts, and fishes.* I was some time in doubt whether the learned writer and I had seen the same table: for in that given us by Kircher, the whole body of the picture is filled up with the greater Egyptian Gods in HUMAN SHAPE; before several of which, are other human figures in postures of adoration; unless the learned writer will confine that posture to kneeling; which yet he brings no higher than the time of Solomon.‡ Some of these worshippers are represented *sacrificing;* § others in the act of offering; and offering to Gods inthroned.‖ One of which figures I have caused to be engraved, ¶ where a mummy from Kir-

* See note TTT, at the end of this book. † "Sacred and Profane History of the World connected," vol. ii. p. 320. ‡ Ibid. p. 317. § As at [S. V.] ‖ As at [T. Φ.] [O. Σ.] and [S. X.] ¶ See plate ix. fig. 1.

Part of one Side of the Florentine Obelisk from Kircher PLATE 8

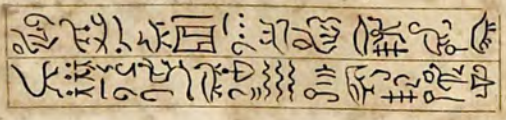


PLATE. 9.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 1.

Fig 1. From the Bembine Table
Fig 2. A Mummy from Kirchers Oedipus.
This Mummy Fig 2 shews what sort of Idol it is we see worshipped Fig 1.
Fig 3. The Pictoral Cloth of ye Mummy Fig 2 on which it is depicted the
office and manner of embalming from Kirchers Oedipus

cher's *Oedipus* * will shew us what sort of idol it is which we see worshipped by offerings.† With regard to the kneeling postures of adoration, to birds, beasts, and fishes, these are in a narrow border of the table, which runs round the principal compartments. The learned writer indeed seems to make a matter of it, "that all the images that kneel are represented as paying their worship to some animal figure; there not being one instance or representation of this worship paid to an image of human form, either on the border or in the table." ‡ But surely there is no mystery in this. The table was apparently made for the devotees of Isis in Rome.§ Now, amongst the Romans, brute-worship was so uncommon, that the artist thought proper to mark it out by the most distinguished posture of adoration; while the worship of the greater Hero-Gods, a worship like their own, was sufficiently designed by the sole acts of offering and sacrifice.

But supposing the fact to have been as the writer of these *Connections* represents it; how, I ask, would his consequence follow, *That the table was made* BEFORE *the Egyptians worshipped the images of men and women?* It depends altogether on this supposition, that Brute-worship was not symbolical of Hero-worship; but the contrary hath been shewn. The learned author himself must own that Apis, at least, was the *symbol* of the Hero-God Osiris. But can any one believe, he was not worshipped in his own figure before he was delineated under that of an ox? To say the truth, had this author's fact been right, it had been a much juster consequence, *That the table was made* AFTER *the Egyptians had generally left off worshipping the images of men and women;* for it is certain, the symbolic worship of brutes brought human images into disuse. Who can doubt but human images of Hero-Gods were used in Egypt long before the time of Strabo? yet he tells us,‖ that in their temples (of which he gives a general description) they either have no images, or none of human form, but of some beast. He could not mean in those temples dedicated to animals; for where had been the wonder of that? nor will this disuse of human images appear strange to those who reflect on what hath been said of these *Symbols,* which being supposed given by the Gods themselves, their use in religious worship would be thought most pleasing to the givers.

This conclusion is further strengthened by these considerations: 1. That the age of the *table* is so far from being of the antiquity conceived by the learned writer, that it is the very latest of all the

* Fig. 2. plate ix. † Fig. 1. ‡ "Sacred and Profane History of the World connected," vol. ii. p. 318. § See note UUU, at the end of this book.

‖ Τῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἡ διάθεσις τοιαύτη. Κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὸ τέμενος, &c—μετὰ δὲ τὰ προπύλαια, ὁ νεὼς προόναον ἔχων μέγαν, καὶ ἀξιόλογον· τὸν δὲ σηκὸν σύμμετρον, ξόανον δὲ οὐδὲν, ἢ οὐκ ἀνθρωπόμορφον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τινός. —*Geogr.* lib. xvii. pp. 1158, 1159, Amst. ed.

old Egyptian monuments; as appears from the mixture of all kinds of hieroglyphic characters in it. 2. That on almost all the obelisks * in Kircher's *Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, which are undoubtedly very ancient, we see adoration given to idols in human form; and likewise in that very way the learned author so much insists upon, namely *Genuflexion*.

Thus, though from the *Bembine-table* nothing can be concluded for the high date of heroic image-worship, yet nothing can be concluded for the low. However the learned writer will still suppose (what every one is so apt to do) that he is in the right; and therefore tries to maintain his ground by fact and reason.

His argument from *fact* stands thus:—"The Egyptians relate a very remarkable fable of the birth of these five Gods. They say that Rhea lay privately with Saturn, and was with child by him; that the Sun, upon finding out her baseness, laid a curse upon her, that she should not be delivered in any month or year: That Mercury being in love with the goddess lay with her also; and then played at dice with the Moon, and won from her the seventy-second part of each day, and made up of these winnings five days, which he added to the year, making the year to consist of three hundred sixty-five days, which before consisted of three hundred sixty days only; and that in these days Rhea brought forth five children, Osiris, Orus, Typho, Isis, and Nephthe. We need not inquire into the mythology of this fable; what I remark from it is this, that the fable could not be invented before the Egyptians had found out that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days, and consequently that by their own accounts the five deities said to be born on the five ἐπαγόμεναι, or additional days, were not deified before they knew that the year had these five days added to it; and this addition to the year was made about—*A.M.* 2665, a little after the death of Joshua." †

I agree with this learned author, that *the fable could not be invented before the Egyptians had found out that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days;* I agree with him, that *the addition of the five days might be made about* A.M. 2665; but I deny the consequence, that *the five Gods were not deified before this addition to the year;* nay, I deny that it will follow from the fable, that the makers and venders of it so thought. What hath misled the learned writer seems to be his supposing that the fable was made to commemorate the deification of the five Gods, whereas it was made to commemorate the insertion of the five days; as appears from its being told in that figurative and allegoric manner in which the Egyptians usually con-

* Namely, the Lateran of Ramesses, the Flaminian of Psammitichus, the Sallustian, and the Constantinopolitan. † "Connection," vol. ii. pp. 283, 284.

veyed the history of their science: and it was ever the way of Antiquity, to make the Gods a party, in order to give the greater reverence to the inventions of men. A design to commemorate the *time of deification* was so absurd a thing in the politics of a Pagan priest, that we can never believe he had any thing of that kind in view: it was his business to throw the Godhead back before all time; or at least to place it from time immemorial. But admitting the maker of this fable intended to celebrate in general the history of these five gods, can we think that he, who was hunting after the marvelous, would confine his invention within the inclosure of dates? a matter too of so dangerous a nature to be insisted on. We know (and we now, partly, see the reason of it) that the ancient mythologists affected to confound all chronology; a mischief which hath so shaken the crazy edifice of ancient times, that the best chronologists have rather buried themselves in its ruins, than been able to lead others through it; besides, it is evident that new lies were every year told of their old Gods. Let him who doubts of this consider what additions following poets and theologers have made to the fables which Homer and Hesiod had recorded of the Gods; additions, seen, by their very circumstances, not to have been invented when those ancient bards sung of their intrigues. In these later fables we frequently find the Gods of Greece and Egypt concerned in adventures, whose dates, if measured by determined synchronisms, would bring down their births to ages even lower than their long established worship. The not attending to this has, as will be seen hereafter, egregiously misled the incomparable Sir Isaac Newton in his *ancient Chronology*. Thus the same author,* Plutarch, tells us, in the same place, of another Egyptian fable, which makes *Typhon beget Hierosolymus and Judæus*.† But what then? must we believe, that Typhon was no earlier than the name of Judæus? must we not rather conclude, that this was a late story invented of him out of hatred and contempt of the Hebrews?

In a word, this practice of adding new mythology to their old divinity was so notorious, that the learned *Connector of sacred and prophane history* could not himself forbear taking notice of it: "The Egyptians" (says he) "having first called their heroes by the names of their *siderial* and *elementary* deities, ADDED IN TIME TO THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND ACTIONS OF SUCH HEROES, A MYTHOLOGICAL *account of their philosophical opinions* concerning the Gods whose names had been given to such heroes.‡

"But," says this writer, "had *Osiris, Orus, Typho, Isis,* and

* *Isis et Osir.* † Tacitus seems to allude to this paltry fable: *Quidam, regnante Iside, exundantem per Ægyptum multitudinem, duabus* Hierosolyma et Juda, *proximas in terras exoneratam.—Historia,* lib. v. cap. 2. ‡ "Connection," vol. ii. pp. 300, 301.

Nephthe, been esteemed deities before this additional length of the year was apprehended, *we should not have had this, but some other fabulous account of their birth transmitted to us.*"* Here the premisses and conclusion are severally propped up by two false suppositions; the premisses, by this, that the fable was invented to *commemorate the origin of these gods;* and the conclusion, by this, that we have no *other fabulous account of their birth.*

From fact, the learned writer comes to reason; and speaking of the Egyptian Hero-Gods, who, he supposes, were ante-diluvian mortals, he says:—"But I do not imagine they were deified until about this time of correcting the year; for when this humour first began, it is not likely that they made Gods of men but just dead, of whose infirmities and imperfections many persons might be living witnesses: but they took the names of their first ancestors, whom they had been taught to honour for ages, and whose fame had been growing by the increase of tradition, and all whose imperfections had been long buried, that it might be thought they never had any.—It is hard to be conceived that a set of men could ever be chosen by their contemporaries to have divine honours paid them, whilst numerous persons were alive, who knew their imperfections, or who themselves or their immediate ancestors might have as fair a pretence, and come in competition with them. Alexander the Great had but ill success in his attempt to make the world believe him the son of Jupiter Ammon; nor could Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, make Romulus's translation to heaven so firmly believed, as not to leave room for subsequent historians to report him killed by his subjects. Nor can I conceive that Julius Cæsar's canonization, though it was contrived more politicly, would ever have stood long indisputable, if the light of Christianity had not appeared so soon after this time as it did, and impaired the credit of the heathen superstitions. The fame of deceased persons must have ages to grow up to heaven, and divine honours cannot be given with any shew of DECENCY, but by a late posterity."†

He says, *it is not likely they made Gods of men but just dead, of whose infirmities and imperfections many persons might be living witnesses.* How *likely* shall be considered presently; but that they did in fact do so, is too plain, methinks, to be denied. The learned Eusebius, a competent judge (if ever there was any) of ancient fact, delivers it as a notorious truth, that in the early ages, those who excelled in wisdom, strength, or valour, who had eminently contributed to the common safety, or had greatly advanced the arts of life, were either deified during life, or immediately on their decease:‡

* "Connection," vol. ii. p. 284. † Idem, vol. ii. pp. 286, 287. ‡ Τρίτοι δὲ ἄλλοι, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ γῆς βίψαντες· τοὺς ἐπὶ συνέσει τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς προφέρειν νενο-

This he had reason to believe, for he had good authority, the venerable history of Sanchoniathon the Phenician; which gives a very particular account of the origin of Hero-worship, and expresly says the deification was immediate: And surely, when men were become so foolish as to make Gods of their fellow-creatures, the *likeliest*, as well as most excusable season was, while the heat of gratitude, for new-invented blessings, kept glowing in their hearts; or, at least, while the sense of those blessings was yet fresh and recent in their memories; in a word, while they were warmed with that enthusiastic *love* and *admiration* which our great poet so sublimely describes:

> "'Twas virtue only (or in Arts or Arms,
> Diffusing blessings, or averting harms)
> The same, which in a sire the sons obey'd,
> A prince, the father of a people made.
> On him their second providence they hung,
> Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.
> He from the wond'ring furrow call'd the food;
> Taught to command the fire, controul the flood,
> Draw forth the monsters of th' abyss profound,
> And fetch th' aerial eagle to the ground."*

Was there any wonder in this, that he who taught mankind to subject all the elements to their use, should, by a rude admiring multitude, be adjudged a Being of a superior order?

But they took the names of their first ancestors, whose fame had been growing up by the increase of tradition. Without doubt, the ancestors, men deified, and which, as being extreme early, may be called the *first*, had a very large and spreading reputation. But how was this procured but by an early apotheosis? which, by making them the continual subject of hymns and panegyrics, preserved them from the oblivion of those unletter'd ages: And in fact, the fame of all, but those so deified, was very soon extinct and forgotten.

—And all whose imperfections had been long buried, that it might be thought they never had any. By this, one would be apt to think that the Hero-Gods of Greece and Egypt, whose deification the learned writer would bring thus low, had nothing unseemly told of them in their Legends: Which, were it true, the argument would have some weight. But what school-boy has not read of the rogueries which the Pagan worshippers have every where recorded of their Gods? Are not these a convincing proof of their deification by that very age which saw both their virtues and their vices; but, with the fondness of times newly obliged, saw nothing but in an honourable light; † and so unhappily canonized both the good and

μισμένους, ἢ καὶ βώμῃ σώματος, καὶ δυναστείας ἰσχύι τῶν πλειόνων ἐπικρατήσαντας, γίγαντάς τινας, ἢ τυράννους, ἢ καὶ γόητας, καὶ φαρμακέας ἄνδρας, ἔκ τινος τῶν δειστέρων ἀποπτώσεως, τὰς κακοτέχνους γοητείας συνεσκευασμένους· ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κοινῆς τέ τινος καὶ βιωφελοῦς εὐεργεσίας προάρξαντας, ζῶντάς τε ἔτι καὶ μετὰ τελευτὴν Θεοὺς ἐπεφήμισαν.—*Præp. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 5.

* "Essay on Man," ep. iii.

† "Quæ ista justitia est, nobis succensere, quòd talia dicimus de diis eorum; et sibi non succensere, qui hæc in Theatris libentissimè

the bad together, and, in that condition, delivered them all down to posterity? Not that I suppose (for I have just shewn the contrary) that late poets and mythologists did not add to the tales of their forefathers. I can hardly believe Jupiter to have been guilty of all the adulteries told of him in Ovid:. But this one may safely say, that unless he had been a famed Adulterer in early tradition, his later worshippers had never dared to invent so many odious stories of the *Sire of gods and men.*

But, *it is hard to be conceived that they should have divine honours immediately paid them, because their contemporaries might have as fair a pretence, and come in competition with them.* I understood that *none* were deified but those whose benefits to their fellow-citizens, or to mankind at large, were very eminent; and that *all* with these pretensions were deified; so that I scarce know what to make of this observation.

—But *Alexander and Cæsar's apotheoses were scorned and laughed at.** And so they deserved. For if they, or their flatterers for them, would needs affect deification in a learned and enlightened age and place, no other could be expected from so absurd an attempt. But then those, who knew better how to lay a religious project, found no impediment from their *nearness* to its execution. Thus Odin,† about this very Cæsar's time, aspired to immediate worship amongst a rude and barbarous people (the only scene for playing the farce with success), and had as good fortune in it, as either Osiris, Jupiter, or Belus.

—*Nor could Numa Pompilius make Romulus's translation to heaven so firmly believed, as not to leave room for subsequent historians to report him killed by his subjects.* Here the writer conscious that Antiquity opposed his hypothesis of the *late* deification of their early heroes, with many glaring examples to the contrary, has thought fit to produce one‡ which he fancied he could deal with. *Romulus's translation was never so firmly believed but that* SUBSEQUENT HISTORIANS, *&c.* As if at all times speculative men did not see the origin of their best established Hero-Gods: As if we could forget, what the learned writer himself takes care to tell us in this very place, that *Euhemerus Messenius wrote a book to prove the ancient*

spectant crimina deorum suorum? et quod esset incredibile, nisi contestatissime probaretur, hæc ipsa theatrica crimina deorum suorum IN HONOREM INSTITUTA SUNT eorundem deorum."—AUGUSTINUS *De Civitate Dei*, lib. iv. cap. 10.

* Plutarch uses this very argument against Euhemerus, to prove that their country gods *never* were mortal Men. Περὶ ΙΣ. καὶ ΟΣ. p. 641. † Odinus *supremus est et antiquissimus Asarum, qui omnes res gubernat; atque etiamsi cæteri Dii potentes sint, omnes tamen ipsi inserviunt, ut patri liberi.—Cum Pompeius dux quidam Romanorum Orientem bellis infestaret,* Odinus *ex Asia huc in septentrionem fugiebat.*—Edda Snorronis apud THOM. BARTHOLIN. *De Antiq. Danic.* pp. 648, 652. ‡ See note XXX, at the end of this book.

*gods of the heathen world to have been only their ancient kings and commanders.**

The fame of deceased persons (says he) *must have ages to grow up to heaven.—Must!* that is, in spite of a barbarous multitude, who would make Gods of them out of hand: in spite of ancient Story, which tells us plainly, they had their wicked wills.

—And divine honours cannot be given with any shew of decency but by a late posterity. It must be confessed, the Ancients observed much *decency* when, in the number of their greater Gods, they admitted ravishers, adulterers, pathics, vagabonds, thieves, and murderers.

But now the learned writer, in toiling to bring hero-worship thus low, draws a heavier labour on himself; to invent some probable cause of the *apotheosis:* that warmth of gratitude for god-like benefits received, which ancient history had so satisfactorily assigned for the cause, being now quite out of date. For when gratitude is suffered to cool for many ages, there will want some very strong machine to draw these mortals up to heaven. However, our author has supplied them with a most splendid vehicle. "Some ages after" (says he) "they descended to worship heroes or dead men.—The most celebrated deities they had of this sort were Cronus, Rhea, Osiris, Orus, Typhon, Isis, and Nephthe; and these persons were said to be deified upon an opinion that, at their deaths, their souls migrated into some STAR, and became the animating spirit of some luminous and heavenly body: This the Egyptian priests expressly asserted.—Let us now see when the Egyptians first consecrated these hero-gods, or deified mortals. To this I answer, Not before they took notice of the appearances of the particular *stars* which they appropriated to them. Julius Cæsar was not canonized until the appearance of the *Julium Sidus*, nor *could the Phenicians have any notion* of the divinity of Cronus until they made some observations of the *star* which they imagined he was removed into."†

He says, *the Egyptian priests* EXPRESLY ASSERTED *that these persons were said to be deified* upon an opinion *that at their death their souls migrated into some star.* And for this he quotes a passage out of Plutarch's tract of *Isis* and *Osiris;* which I shall give the reader in Plutarch's own words, that he may judge for himself. Speaking of the tombs of the Gods, he says: *But the priests affirm not only of these, but of all the other Gods, of that tribe which were not unbegotten nor immortal, that their dead bodies are deposited amongst them and preserved with great care, but that their souls illu-*

* P. 288. See the first volume of "the Divine Legation," pp. 205, 207—209.
† "Connection," vol. ii. pp. 281—283.

*minate the stars in heaven.** All here *asserted* is that the Egyptians thought the souls of their hero-gods had migrated into some star; but not the least intimation that *they were deified upon this opinion of their migration.* These are two very different things. The opinion of their migration might, for any thing said by Plutarch, be an after superstition; nay we shall make it very probable that it was so: for the *Connector* not resting on this authority, as indeed he had small reason, casts about for some plausible occasion, how men come to be deified upon so strange *an opinion;* and this he makes to be *their* FIRST *notice of the appearance of a particular star.* But how the new appearance of a star should make men suppose the soul of a dead ancestor was got into it, and so become a God, is as hard to conceive as how Tenterden steeple should be the cause of Goodwin-Sands. Indeed, it was natural enough to imagine such an ἐπιφάνεια, when the cultivation of *judicial astrology* had aided a growing superstition to believe that their tutelary God had chosen the convenient residence of a culminating star, in order to shed his best influence on his own race or people. This seems to be the truth of the case: and this, I believe, was all the Egyptian priests, in Plutarch, meant to say.

But from a *sufficient cause,* this *new appearance* is become (before the conclusion of the paragraph) the *only cause* of deification: *Julius Cæsar was not canonized until the appearance of the Julium Sidus: nor* COULD *the Phenicians have any notion of the divinity of Cronus until they made some observations of the star which they imagined he was removed into.* As to Cæsar's apotheosis it was a vile imitation of those viler flatteries of Alexander's successors in Greece and Egypt; and the *Julium Sidus* an incident of no other consequence than to save his sycophants from blushing. But abandoned Courtiers and prostitute Senates never wait for the declaration of Heaven: and when the slaves of Rome sent a second tribe of Monsters to replenish the Constellations, we find that Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, &c. who rose into Gods as they sunk below humanity, had no more Stars in their favour than Teague in the Committee. But of all cases, the Phenicians' seems the hardest: who with their infinite superstitions could yet have no notion of Cronus's divinity, 'till they had read his fortune in his Star. I am so utterly at a loss to know what this can mean, that I will only say, if the reader cannot see how they might come by this notion another way, then, either he has read, or I have written, a great deal to very little purpose.

VI. We come now to the last cause assigned by the Ancients for

* Οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτων οἱ ἱερεῖς λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ὅσοι μὴ ἀγένν-ητοι μηδὲ ἄφθαρτοι, τὰ μὲν σώματα παρ' αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι καμόντα καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ λάμπειν ἄστρα.—Page 640, edit. Steph. 8vo.

brute-worship, as we find it in EUSEBIUS; * namely, That it was the invention of a certain king, for his private ends of policy, to establish in each city the exclusive worship of a different animal, in order to prevent confederacies and combinations against his Government. That an Egyptian king did in fact contrive such a political institution one may safely allow, because, on this very supposition, it will appear that brute-worship had another and prior original. For it is not the way of Politicians to invent new Religions, but to turn those to advantage which they find already in use. The cunning, therefore, of this Egyptian monarch consisted in founding a new institution of *intolerance*, upon an old established practice in each city of different *animal-worship*. But supposing this king of so peculiar a strain of policy that he would needs invent a new Religion; How happened it that he did not employ *hero-worship* to this purpose (so natural a superstition that it became universal) rather than the whimsical and monstrous practice of *brute-worship*, not symbolical, when direct hero-worship would have served his purpose so much better; religious zeal for the exclusive honour of a dead citizen being likely to rise much higher than reverence to a compatriot animal? The only solution of the difficulty is this, Brute-worship being then the favourite superstition of the people, the politic monarch chose that for the foundation of his contrivance. So that we must needs conclude, this pretended cause to be as defective as the rest.

These were the reasons the Greek writers gave for *brute-worship* in general. But besides these, they invented a thousand fanciful causes of the worship of this or that animal in particular; which it would be to no purpose to recount.

On the whole, so little satisfaction did these writers afford to the learned Fourmont (who yet is for making something or other out of every rag of Antiquity, which he can pick up and new-line with an Etymology), that he frankly owns the true original of brute-worship is the most difficult thing imaginable to find out: *Si on nous demandoit* (says he) *de quel droit, tel ou tel dieu, avoit sous lui tel ou tel animal, pour certain, rien de plus difficile à deviner.*†

However, amidst this confusion, the Greeks, we see, were modest. They fairly gave us their opinions, but forged no histories to support them. The Arabian writers were of another cast: it was their way to free themselves from these perplexities by telling a story: Thus Abennephi, being at a loss to account for the Egyptian worship of a fly, invents this formal tale, That the Egyptians being greatly infested with these insects, consulted the oracle, and were answered, that they

* See "Divine Legation," vol. i. p. 364. † *Refl. Crit. sur les Histoires des anciens Peuples*, liv. ii. § 4.

must pay them divine honours. *See then*, says this dextrous writer, *the reason of our finding so many on the obelisks and pyramids.*

But of all the liberties taken with remote Antiquity, sure nothing ever equalled that of a late French writer, whose book, intituled, HISTOIRE DU CIEL, accidentally fell into my hands as this sheet was going to the press. Kircher, bewildered as he was, had yet some ground for his rambles. He fairly followed Antiquity: unluckily indeed, for him, it proved the *ignis fatuus* of Antiquity; so he was ridiculously misled. However he had enough of that fantastic light to secure his credit as a fair writer. But here is a man who regards Antiquity no more than if he thought it all imaginary, like his countryman, Hardouin. At least, he tells us in express words, that the study of the tedious and senseless writings of Herodotus, Plato, Diodorus, Plutarch, Porphyry, and such like, is all labour lost. The truth is, these volatile writers can neither rest in fact nor fable; but are in letters what Tacitus's Romans were in civil government, who could neither bear a perfect freedom, nor a thorough slavery.* Only with this additional perversity, that when the inquiry is after Truth they betray a strange propensity to Fable; and when Fable is their professed subject, they have as untimely an appetite for Truth; thus, in that philosophical Romance called *La vie de Sethos*, we find a much juster account of old Egyptian wisdom than in all the pretended *Histoire du Ciel*. This Historian's System is, that all the civil and religious customs of Antiquity sprung up from AGRICULTURE; nay that the very Gods and Goddesses themselves were but a part of this all-bounteous harvest:†

Nec ulla interea est inaratæ gratia terræ.

Now the two most certain facts in Antiquity are these, "That the idolatrous worship of the HEAVENLY BODIES arose from the visible influence they have on sublunary things;" and "That the country-gods of all the civilized nations were DEAD MEN deified, whose benefits to their fellow-citizens, or to mankind at large, had procured them divine honours." Could the reader think either of these were likely to be denied by one who ever looked into an ancient book; much less by one who pretended to *interpret* Antiquity? But neither Gods nor Men can stand before a *system*. This great adventurer assures us that the whole is a delusion; that Antiquity knew nothing of the matter; that the *heavenly bodies* were not worshipped for their influences; that Osiris, Isis, Jupiter, Pluto, Neptune, Mercury, nay their very hero-gods, such as Hercules and Minos, were not

* This shews why LOCKE is no favourite of our historian: "J'ai lû le TRES-ENNUIEUX traité de LOCKE *sur l'entendement humain*," &c.—Vol. i. pp. 387, 388. † See pp. 99, 315, et passim, vol. i. ed. Par. 1739, 8vo.

mortal men nor women; nor indeed any thing but the letters of an ancient alphabet; the mere figures which composed the symbolic directions to the Egyptian husbandmen.* And yet, after all this, he has the modesty to talk of SYSTEMES BIZARRES; † and to place the *Newtonian system* in that number. It would be impertinent to ask this writer, where was his regard to Antiquity or to Truth, when we see he has so little for the public, as to be wanting even in that mere respect due to every reader of common apprehension? and yet this *System*, begot by a delirious imagination on the dream of a lethargic pedant, is to be called *interpreting Antiquity.*‡ However, as it is a work of entertainment, where AGRICULTURE has the top part in the piece, and Antiquity is brought in only to decorate the scene, it should, methinks, be made as perfect as possible. Would it not therefore be a considerable improvement to it, if, instead of saying the Egyptian husbandmen found their gods in the symbolic directions for their labour, the ingenious author would suppose that they turned them up alive as they ploughed their furrows, just as the Etruscans found their god Tages:§ This would give his piece the *marvelous*, so necessary in works of this nature, corrected too by the probable, that is, some kind of support from Antiquity, which it now totally wants. Besides, the moist glebe of Egypt, we know, when impregnated with a warm Sun, was of old famed for hatching men || and monsters.

To return. From what hath been last said, we conclude, That the true original of *brute-worship* was the use of *symbolic writing:* and, consequently, that Symbols were extreme ancient; for brute-worship was national in the days of MOSES. But Symbols were invented for the repository of Egyptian wisdom; therefore the Egyptians were very learned even from those early times: The point to be proved.

And now, had this long discourse on the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* done nothing but afford me this auxiliary proof, which my argument does not want, I should certainly have made it shorter. But it is of much use besides, for attaining a true idea of the EASTERN ELOCUTION (whose genius is greatly influenced by this kind of writing), and is therefore, I presume, no improper introduction to the present volume, whose subject is the religion and civil policy of the Hebrews.

* See note YYY, at the end of this book. † See p. 122, of his *Revision de l'Histoire du Ciel.*

‡ "S'il y a même quelque chose de solide et de suivi dans l'histoire, que je vais donner de l'origine du ciel poetique, j'avoue que j'en suis redevable à l'explication ingénieuse, mais simple, par laquelle l'auteur des saturnelles [MACROB. *Saturn.* lib. i. cap. 17.] nous a éclairci l'origine du nom de ces deux signes."—*Hist. du Ciel*, vol. i. cap. 1.

§ "*Tages* quidam dicitur in agro Tarquiniensi, cum terra araretur et sulcus altius esset impressus, extitisse repente, et eum adfatus esse, qui arabat. Is autem *Tages*, ut in libris est Etruscorum, puerili specie dicitur visus, sed senili fuisse prudentia," &c.—CICERO *De Div.* lib. ii. cap. 23.

|| Δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὅν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
Θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, ΤΕΚΕ δὲ ζείδωρος ΑΡΟΥΡΑ.—*Ilias*, ii. ver. 547.

The excellent Mr. Mede pointed to this use: and the learned Mr. Daubuz endeavoured to prosecute his hint, at large; but falling into the visions of Kircher, he frustrated much of that service, which the application of hieroglyphic learning to scripture language would otherwise have afforded.

A farther advantage may be derived from this long discourse: it may open our way to the true Egyptian Wisdom; which by reason of the general mistakes concerning the origin, use, and distinct species of Hieroglyphic writing, hath been hitherto stopped up. The subject now lies ready for any diligent enquirer; and to such an one, whose greater advantages of situation, learning, and abilities, may make him more deserving of the public regard, I leave it to be pursued.

But whatever help this may afford us towards a better acquaintance with the ancient *Egyptian* Wisdom, yet, what is a greater advantage, it will very much assist us in the study of the *Grecian;* and, after so many instances given of this use, one might almost venture to recommend these two grand vehicles of Egyptian learning and religion, the MYSTERIES treated of in the former volume, and the HIEROGLYPHICS in the present, as the cardinal points on which the interpretation of GREEK ANTIQUITY should from henceforth turn.

SECTION V.

THE course of my argument now brings me to examine a new hypothesis against the high antiquity of Egypt, which hath the incomparable Sir ISAAC NEWTON for its Patron; a man, for whose fame Science and Virtue seemed to be at strife. The prodigious discoveries he had made in the *natural* world, and especially that superiority of genius which opened the way to those discoveries, hath induced some of his countrymen to think him as intimate with the *moral;* and even to believe with a late ingenious commentator on his Optics, that as every thing which Midas touched turned to gold, so all that Newton handled turned to demonstration.

But the sublimest understanding has its bounds, and, what is more to be lamented, the strongest mind has its foible. And this miracle of science, who disclosed all nature to our view, when he came to correct old Time, in the chronology of Egypt, suffered himself to be seduced, by little lying Greek mythologists and story-tellers, from the *Goshen* of MOSES, into the thickest of the Egyptian darkness. So pestilent a mischief in the road to Truth is a favourite hypothesis: an evil, we have frequent occasion to lament, as it retards the progress of our enquiry at almost every step. For it is to be observed, that Sir Isaac's *Egyptian* chronology was fashioned only to support his *Grecian;* which he erected on one of those sublime conceptions peculiar to his amazing genius.

But it is not for the sake of any private System that I take upon me to consider the arguments of this illustrious man. The truth is, his discourse of *the empire of Egypt* contradicts every thing which MOSES and the PROPHETS have delivered concerning these ancient people. Though some therefore of his admirers may seem to think that no more harm can derive to religion by his contradicting the *History*, than by his overturning the *Astronomy*, of the Bible, yet I am of a different opinion; because, though the end of the sacred history was certainly not to instruct us in Astronomy, yet it was, without question, written to inform us of the various fortunes of the People of God; with whom, the history of Egypt was closely connected. I suspect therefore, that the espousing this hypothesis may be attended with very bad consequences in our disputes with Infidelity. The present turn, indeed, of Free-thinking is to extol the high antiquity of Egypt, as an advantage to their cause; and consequently to urge Scripture, which bears full evidence to that antiquity, as a faithful relater of ancient facts; yet these advantages being chimerical, as soon as they are understood to be so, we shall see the contrary notion, of the low antiquity of Egypt, become the fashionable doctrine; and, what all good men will be sorry to find, the great name of NEWTON set against the BIBLE.

It is therefore, as I say, for the sake of Scripture, and from no foolish fondness for any private opinion, that I take upon me to examine the system of this incomparable person.

His whole argument for the low antiquity of Egypt may be summed up in this syllogism:

OSIRIS advanced Egypt from a state of barbarity to civil policy.
OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS were the same.
Therefore EGYPT was advanced from a state of barbarity to civil policy in the time of SESOSTRIS.

And to fix the time of Sesostris with precision, he endeavours to prove him to be the same with SESAC. But this latter identity not at all affecting the present question, I shall have no occasion to consider it.

Now the *minor* in this syllogism being the questionable term, he has employed his whole discourse in its support. All then I have to do, is to shew that OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS were not one, but two persons, living in very distant ages.

And that none of the favourers of this system may have any pretence to say, that the great Author's reasonings are not fairly drawn out and enforced, I shall transcribe them just as I find them collected, methodized, and presented under one view by his learned and ingenious Apologist:—"He [Sir Isaac Newton] has found it more easy to lower the pretensions of the Ancients than to conquer the pre-

judices of the Moderns. Many of his opinions, that are in truth well founded, pass for dreams, and in particular his arguments for settling the time of Sesostris, which the Greeks never knew, have been answered with scurrility.—I shall lay together here the evidences that have convinced me of the truth of his conclusion, because he has not any where collected all of them.

"1. That Osiris and Bacchus were the same, was generally agreed by the Greeks and Egyptians, and is therefore out of question; and that the great actions related of Sesostris are true of Sesac, and the difference between them is only nominal, is affirmed by Josephus.

"2. Osiris and Sesostris were both Egyptian kings who conquered Ethiopia; and yet there never was but one Egyptian king that was master of Ethiopia.

"3. Both were Egyptian kings, that with a prodigious army and fleet invaded and subdued all Asia northward as far as Tanais, and eastward as far as the Indian ocean.

"4. Both set up pillars in all their conquests, signifying what sort of resistance the inhabitants had made. Palestine, in particular, appears to have made little or none, to them.

"5. Both passed over the Hellespont into Europe, met with strong opposition in Thrace, and were there in great hazard of losing their army.

"6. Both had with them in their expeditions a great number of foster brothers, who had been all born on the same day, and bred up with them.

"7. Both built or exceedingly embellished Thebes in Upper Egypt.

"8. Both changed the face of all Egypt, and from an open country made it impracticable for cavalry, by cutting navigable canals from the Nile to all the cities.

"9. Both were in the utmost danger by the conspiracy of a brother.

"10. Both made triumphant entries in chariots, of which Osiris's is poetically represented to be drawn by tigers; Sesostris's historically said to be drawn by captive kings.

"11. Both reigned about twenty-eight or thirty years.

"12. Both had but one successor of their own blood.

"13. Bacchus or Osiris was two generations before the Trojan war: Sesostris was two reigns before it. Again, Sesac's invasion of Judæa in an. P. J. 3743, was about two hundred sixty years before the invasion of Egypt in his successor Sethon's time by Sennacherib; and from Sesostris to Sethon inclusively there are ten reigns, according to Herodotus, which, if twenty-six years be allowed to a reign, make likewise two hundred and sixty years.

"In so distant ages and countries it is not possible that any king,

with many names, can be more clearly demonstrated to be one and the same person, than all these circumstances and actions together do prove that Osiris and Bacchus, Sesostris and Sesac, are but so many appellations of the same man: which being established, it will evidently follow, that the Argonautic expedition, the destruction of Troy, the revolution in Peloponnesus made by the Heraclidæ, &c. were in or very near the times in which Sir Isaac has ranged them." *

I. Before I proceed to an examination of these reasonings, it will be proper to premise something concerning the nature of the system, and the quality of the evidence.

1. We are to observe then, that this system is so far from serving for a support or illustration of the ancient story of these two heroes, that it contradicts and subverts all that is clear and certain in Antiquity: and adds new confusion to all that was obscure. The annals of Egypt, as may be seen by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plutarch, and others, who all copied from those annals, were as express and unvariable for the real diversity, the distinct personality of OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS, as the history of England is for that of any two of its own country Monarchs. For they were not vague names, of uncertain or adjoining times; one was the most illustrious of their DEMI-GODS, and the other of their KINGS; both fixed in their proper æras; and those vastly distant from one another. So that, I make no question, it had appeared as great a paradox, to an old Egyptian, to hear it affirmed that Osiris and Sesostris were but one, as it would be now to an Englishman to be told that Bonduca and the Empress Matilda were the same. All Antiquity acquiesced in their diversity; nor did the most paradoxical writer, with which latter Greece was well stored, ever venture to contradict so well established a truth. And what wonder? The history of Egypt was not, like that of ancient Greece or Suevia, only to be picked up out of the traditional tales of Bards and Mythologists: nor yet, like that of early Britain, the invention of sedentary monks: It consisted of the written and authentic records of a learned and active Priesthood. In which, the only transgression, yet discovered, against truth, is that natural partiality common to all national historiographers, of extending back their annals to an unreasonable length of time. Let me add, that the distinct personality of these two men is so far from contradicting any other ancient history, that it entirely coincides with them. Nay, what is the surest mark of historic truth, there is, as perhaps we may take occasion to shew, very strong collateral evidence to evince the real diversity of these two ancient chiefs.—So far, as to the nature of the system,

* Mr. MANN'S dedication to his tract *of the true Years of the Birth and Death of* CHRIST.

2. The quality of the evidence is another legitimate prejudice against this *new chronology*. It is chiefly the fabulous history of Greece, as delivered by their Poets and Mythologists. This hath afforded a plausible support to Sir Isaac's hypothesis; by supplying him, in its genealogies of the Gods and Heroes, with a number of synchronisms to ascertain the identity in question. And yet, who has not heard of the desperate confusion in which the chronology of ancient Greece lies involved? Of all the prodigies of falshood in its mythologic story, nothing being so monstrous as its dismembered and ill-joined parts of Time. Notwithstanding this confusion, his proofs from their story, consisting only of scraps, picked up promiscuously from Mythologists, Poets, Scholiasts, &c. are argued from with so little hesitation, that a stranger would be apt to think the Fabulous ages were as well distinguished as those marked by the Olympiads. But the slender force of this evidence is still more weakened by this other circumstance, that almost all the passages brought from mythology to evince the *identity*, are contradicted (though the excellent person has not thought fit to take notice of it) by a vast number of other passages in the same mythology; nay even in the same authors; and entirely overthrown by writers of greater credit; the HISTORIANS of Greece and Egypt: which, however, are the other part of Sir Isaac's evidence; of weight indeed to be attentively heard. But this he will not do: but, from their having given to Osiris and Sesostris the like actions, concludes the Actors to be one and the same, against all that those Historians themselves can say to the contrary: Yet what they *might* and what they *could not* mistake in, was methinks easy enough to be distinguished. For as Fable unnaturally joins together later and former times; and ancient fable had increased that confusion, for reasons to be hereafter given: so History must needs abound with similar characters of men in public stations; and ancient history had greatly improved that likeness, through mistakes hereafter likewise to be accounted for. Indeed, were there no more remaining of Antiquity concerning Bacchus, Osiris, and Sesostris, than what we find in Sir Isaac's book, we might perhaps be induced to believe them the Same; but as things stand in History, this can never be supposed.

What I would infer therefore, from these observations, is this:— We have, in the distinct personality of Osiris and Sesostris, an historical circumstance, delivered in the most authentic and unvariable manner, and by annalists of the best authority. All succeeding ages agreed in their diversity; and it is supported by very strong collateral evidence. At length a modern writer, of great name, thinks fit to bring the whole in question. And how does he proceed? Not by accounting for the rise and progress of what he must needs esteem the most inveterate error that ever was; but by laying together a

number of circumstances, from ancient story, to prove the actions of Osiris and Sesostris to be greatly alike; and a number of circumstances from ancient fable, to prove that the Gods, whom he supposes to be the same with Osiris, were about the age of Sesostris. So that all the evidence brought by this illustrious writer amounting, at most, but to difficulties against the best established fact of history; if we can, consistently with the distinct personality and different ages of these two heroes, fairly account for the similar actions recorded of them; and for the low age, as delivered by the mythologists, of those Grecian Gods which are supposed to be the Egyptian Osiris; if, I say, this can be done, the reader is desired to observe, that all is done that can reasonably be required for the confutation of Sir Isaac Newton's hypothesis, and for reinstating the ancient history of their distinct personality in its former credit.

But I shall do more; 1. I shall shew from the religious constitutions of Greece and Egypt, that the incidental errors which the Ancients fell into, concerning these two heroes, (of which errors our author has taken the advantage, to run them into one) were such as hardly any circumspection could avoid.

2. And still further, that the identity of Osiris and Sesostris, in its necessary consequences, contradicts SCRIPTURE, and the NATURE OF THINGS.

II. I proceed then to a particular examination of this famous proof of the identity, as it is collected and digested by the learned Master of the Charter-house.

The first observation I shall make upon it is, that, by the same way of arguing, one might incorporate almost any two HEROES, one meets with, in early and remote history. For as our great English poet well observes,

> "HEROES ARE MUCH THE SAME, the point's agreed,
> From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;
> The whole strange purpose of their lives, to find,
> Or make an enemy of all mankind."

To shew the reader how easily this feat may be performed, I will take any two of our own Monarchs, that come first into my thoughts, —KING ARTHUR, for instance, and WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. And now let him only imagine, when arts and empire have learnt to travel further West, and have left Great Britain in the present condition of Egypt, some future Chronologer of America, labouring to prove these Heroes one and the same, only under two different names, by such kind of Arguments as this:

1. ARTHUR and WILLIAM were both great warriors.

2. Both were of spurious or uncertain birth.

3. Both were in the management of public affairs in their early youth.

4. Both came from France to recover Britain from the Saxons.

5. Both proved victorious in their expedition.

6. Both got the crown of Britain by election, and not by descent.

7. Both had other dominions, besides Britain, to which they succeeded by right hereditary.

8. Both went frequently on military expeditions into France.

9. Both warred there with various success.

10. Both had half-brothers, by the mother, who, being made very powerful, and proving guilty of manifold extortions and acts of injustice, were punished by them, in an exemplary manner.

11. Both had rebellious sons or nephews, whom they met in the field, fought with in person, and subdued.

12. Both reigned upwards of fifty years.

13. And both died in War.

When our Chronologer had been thus successful with his argument from similar circumstances, (as in the case of Osiris and Sesostris), it is odds but he would go on; and to settle a chronology which made for some other hypothesis he had in view, he would next attempt to prove, from *similitude of names*, as before from *similitude of actions*, that WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR and WILLIAM THE THIRD, another Conqueror, were but one and the same, (as in the case of Sesostris and Sesac).

Here the number of similar circumstances, in the lives of Arthur and William, are, evidently, more characteristic of ONE, than those in the history of Osiris and Sesostris. Yet we know that Arthur and William were really two different men of two very distant ages. This will shew the critics the true value of this kind of evidence; and should reasonably dispose them to much caution in building upon it.

II.

But it will be said, that the nature of the conformity between Osiris and Sesostris is, in some respects, very different from that between Arthur and William. I grant it is so; and, from those respects, shall now shew, how the mistaken identity of Osiris and Sesostris may be certainly detected. For I go on, and say, though from this instance it be seen, that a greater agreement might well happen in the lives of two ancient Heroes, than can be found in those of Osiris and Sesostris, while their distinct personality was acknowledged to be very certain and real; yet, in their case, it must be owned, that there are peculiar and specific circumstances of similitude, which could not arise from that general conformity between the actions of two men of the same quality and character; but must be allowed to have had their birth from some fancied identity. For several of the actions, given to both, agree only to the time of one: I

mean as Antiquity hath fixed their times. Thus, the vast conquests over Asia agree well with the time of Sesostris, but very ill with the time of Osiris: and, again, the invention of the most common arts of life agrees very well with the time of Osiris, but very ill with that of Sesostris. However, from this conformity in their story, Sir Isaac concludes Osiris and Sesostris to be the same. And so far we must needs confess, that it seems to have arisen from some kind of identity; a sameness of person, or a sameness of name. This great writer contends for the first; but as the first contradicts and subverts all Antiquity, if the ascribed conformity of actions can be well accounted for from their *identity of name*, and that identity be proved very probable from ancient story, the reader will conclude that the fabulous conformity had its rise from thence; and, consequently, that all Sir Isaac's arguments for their *identity of person* make directly against him. For if the conformity arose from *identity of name*, they were two persons. I shall endeavour to shew all this in as few words as I am able.

It was an old Egyptian custom, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, to call their later Heroes by the name of their earlier Gods. This historian having spoken of the CELESTIAL Gods, according to the Egyptians, adds, *They held, that besides these, there were other* EARTHLY *Gods, born mortal; who through their wisdom, and common benefits to mankind, had acquired immortality; that some of these had been kings of Egypt; and that part got* NEW NAMES, *being called after those of the celestial Gods; and part kept their own.** But this custom of calling the later Heroes after the names of their earlier Gods, was not peculiar to Egypt. Scripture informs us, that the Assyrians did the same. And the practice must needs have been general. For, as we have shewn, the original use of it was to support nascent hero-worship.† But there was another cause, more peculiar to early Egypt; and that was the doctrine of *transmigration*. For it being thought that the same soul passed successively into many human bodies; when they saw an eminent Character strongly resembling some ancient Hero, they were inclined to fancy it the old busy soul, which had taken up its residence in a new habitation: and therefore very equitably honoured the present Hero with the *name* of the past. This reason, Tacitus tells us, the Egyptians gave for the great number of HERCULES's—"*Quem* [*Herculem*] *indigenæ* [*Ægyptii*] *ortum apud se et antiquissimum perhibent, eosque qui postea* pari virtute *fuerint, in* cognomentum *ejus adscitos.*" ‡ This was so

* Ἄλλους δ' ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγείους γενέσθαι φασὶν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν δυνατοὺς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τετυχηκότας τῆς ἀθανασίας. ὧν ἐνίους καὶ βασιλεῖς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, μεθερμηνευομένων δ' αὐτῶν, τινὰς μὲν ὁμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὐρανίοις, τινὰς δ' ἰδίαν ἐσχηκέναι προσηγορίαν—Lib. i. p. 8, Steph. ed.

† See "Divine Legation," vol. i. book iii. sect. 6.

‡ *Annales*, lib. ii. cap. 60. "Omnes, qui fecerant fortiter, HERCULES vocabantur," says VARRO likewise (as quoted by Servius).

notorious that Sir Isaac could not help owning, it was their way to give one common name to several men. Nay even the least corporeal resemblance was sometimes sufficient to set this superstition on work, and produce the effect in question; as we find from the same Diodorus's account of the Grecian Bacchus. He tells us, that when Cadmus the Egyptian was come into Greece, and his daughter Semele had a spurious son dying in his infancy, whose person resembled the images of Osiris, the grandfather, after having consulted the Oracle (whose approbation was contained in the advice, *to observe the customs of his fathers)*, called him Bacchus, one of the names of Osiris; paid divine honours to the embalmed carcase; and proclaimed abroad, that OSIRIS had chosen to come once more amongst men under this infantine appearance.* From this custom of giving the names of celebrated personages of high antiquity to later men, who resembled them in qualities either of mind or body, it was, that they not only, out of honour to Sesostris, called him Osiris, but, out of contempt and hatred, gave MOSES the name of TYPHON, as appears from some later accounts of this Typhon, when they had now jumbled Moses and him into one; as they had done their Bacchus's, Hercules's, and Minos's; and as they were very near doing, by Osiris and Sesostris. The accounts, I mean, are those which we find in Plutarch, of Typhon's flying seven days, and begetting, after his escape, two sons, JERUSALEM and JUDÆUS.† And further that this Typhon was the son of Isaac, and of the race of Hercules.‡

Causes like these could not fail to make this custom very durable, amongst a people not at all given to change. And in fact, we find it continued even to the time of Cleopatra, who affected to be called the NEW ISIS,§ as her brother was called the NEW BACCHUS.‖ At length it became so general as to have no measure but the fancy of every particular. For Lucian, defending the excessive compliments he had given to one Panthea, whose form he had compared to the images of the Goddesses, justifies himself by examples; and amongst the rest, by that of Egypt; *I shall not insist* (says he) *upon the practice of the Egyptians, who, though they be the most religious of all people, yet employ the names of their Gods even to satiety and disgust.*¶

* Κάδμον ἐκ Θηβῶν ὄντα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, γεννῆσαι σὺν ἄλλοις τέκνοις καὶ Σεμέλην· ταύτην δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήποτε φθαρεῖσαν, ἔγκυον γενέσθαι, καὶ τεκεῖν ἑπτὰ μηνῶν διελθόντων βρέφος τὴν ὄψιν οἷόν περ οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τὸν Ὄσιριν γεγονέναι νομίζουσι· ζωογονεῖσθαι δ' οὐκ εἰωθέναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἴτε τῶν θεῶν μὴ βουλομένων, εἴτε τῆς φύσεως μὴ συγχωρούσης. Κάδμον δὲ αἰσθόμενον τὸ γεγονὸς, καὶ χρησμὸν ἔχοντα διατηρεῖν τὰ τῶν πατέρων νόμιμα χρυσώσασθαί τε τὸ βρέφος καὶ τὰς καθηκούσας αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι θυσίας, ὡς ἐπιφανείας τινὸς κατ' ἀνθρώπους Ὀσίριδος γεγενημένης.—Lib. i. p. 14. † Ἐπὶ ὄνου τῷ Τυφῶνι τὴν φυγὴν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας γενέσθαι, καὶ σωθέντα γεννῆσαι παῖδας Ἱεροσόλυμον καὶ Ἰουδαῖον.—*Isis et Osiris.* ‡ Ἰσαιακοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὁ Τυφῶν. § PLUTARCH. in *Anton.* ‖ DIODORUS SICULUS, lib. i. ¶ Ἐῶ γὰρ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, οἵπερ καὶ δεισιδαιμονέστατοί εἰσι πάντων, ὅμως τοῖς θείοις ὀνόμασιν εἰς κόρον ἐπιχρωμένους.—*Pro Imaginibus,* in fin.

To apply this practice to the case of the Heroes in question. Osiris was the great Lawgiver of the Egyptians; and the Founder of their Monarchy. Sesostris vastly extended and ennobled their Empire; and was, at the same time, author of many beneficial institutions. Now if ever an occasion greater than ordinary presented itself, of putting in practice the custom of honouring later Heroes with the name of the more early, it was here, where the resemblance was so remarkably strong. And if what Clemens Alexandrinus says be true, that Sesostris sprung from Osiris,* there was still a farther occasion of giving the later Hero the name of his first progenitor. However, that it was given him, is highly reasonable to suppose. And this supposition will clearly account for all that ingrafted likeness from which Sir Isaac hath inferred their *identity*.

For when now they had given to both, the same name; not distinguished, as were their Thoths or Hermes's,† (another famous instance of this general custom) by the addition of *first* and *second*, Posterity would frequently confound them with one another; and, in this confusion, inadvertently give the actions of Osiris to Sesostris, and of Sesostris to Osiris. But taking nothing from either, both their histories would soon become the same. And as, in this mutual transferring of one another's actions, several were given to both, entirely discordant to either's age, we are enabled to discover the true cause of this conformity; and thereby to prove, that that, which it is plainly seen might be, really was, the *cause*.

I. Thus Osiris (because Sesostris was so) is made a great conqueror, at a time when Egypt was but just emerging from a state of barbarism, into civil policy; and long before several of those nations, he was said to conquer, had a being. But this seems to be one of the latest corruptions in their history. Herodotus giving none of these conquests to Osiris, but to Sesostris only: whence I collect, it was the product of some age between him and Diodorus Siculus, who gives them to Osiris with all their circumstances, and supported by the evidence of pretended ancient monuments.‡ It appears too, to have been a Grecian addition, and at a time when it was the fashion to make their fables, systematical.§ For we are told,‖ (and the tale

* Τὸν οὖν Ὄσιριν, τὸν προπάτορα τὸν αὐτοῦ, διαδαλθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸς [Σέσωστρις] πολυτελῶς.—*Admon. adversus Gentes*, p. 31, edit. Colon. 1688, fol. † The histories of the first and second Hermes are as much confounded with one another as those of Osiris and Sesostris, and from the same cause; yet, I imagine, the distinction of *first* and *second* will hinder any one from supposing them to be the same. ‡ The columns at Nysa in Arabia. § Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εὐφυΐᾳ πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενοι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πλεῖστα ἐξιδιώσαντο, καὶ τοῖς προκοσμήμασι ποικίλως ἐξετραγῴδησαν, ταῖς τῶν μύθων ἡδοναῖς, θέλγειν ἐπινοοῦντες παντοίως ἐποίκιλλον.—PHILO BIB. apud EUSEB. *Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10. ‖ Τὸν δ' οὖν Ὄσιριν φασὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καταστήσαντα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν Ἴσιδι τῇ γυναικὶ παραδόντα, ταύτῃ μὲν παρακαταστῆσαι σύμβουλον τὸν Ἑρμῆν,—καὶ στρατηγὸν μὲν ἀπολιπεῖν ἁπάσης τῆς ὑφ' αὐτὸν χώρας Ἡρακλέα—ἐπιμελητὰς δὲ τάξαι τῶν μὲν πρὸς Φοινίκη κεκλιμένων μερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τόπων Βούσιριν.—εἶναι γὰρ τὸν Ὄσιριν

was apparently framed for no other end than to connect this God with the rest of the College) that, when Osiris made this expedition, he took Silenus with him as his Governor; that he appointed Isis, Queen-regent in his absence; and Hermes her Privy-counsellor; Hercules he made General of his army, and Neptune, admiral of his fleet. And, that nothing might be wanting to compleat the cortege, he took with him a company of dancers and singers; amongst which were nine lively girls more particularly eminent; with the king's brother, as master of the maids, at their head; and these truly were to pass for Apollo and the nine Muses. This quaint improvement on an Egyptian blunder, by some driveling Greek mythologist,* as rank as it is, is one of the chief circumstances on which our illustrious author hath thought fit to support his *Chronology*. And that which is the mere representation of an old rarce-shew of the *Court of king Osiris*, brought by some stroler out of Egypt into Greece, is made an authentic record to ascertain the true age of all their Heroes. I am fully supported in the conjecture, that the tale of Osiris's conquests was invented in some age between Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, by the testimony of two of the soberest and most accurate of the Greek writers, Strabo and Arrian; who expresly tell us, that the stories of Bacchus's and Hercules's exploits in the Indies were invented by the Macedonians to aggrandize the glory of Alexander.† The Egyptians had prepared the materials and made them fit for use, by confounding Osiris and Sesostris, under the common name of Bacchus.

2. On the other hand, Sesostris (because Osiris was so) is made the inventor of arts, and the civilizer of a rude and barbarous people, to whom he delivered the first rudiments of Policy and Religion, many ages after they had erected a flourishing and powerful Empire. An inconsistence so glaring, that the ancient critics seeing these things recorded of Sesostris, reasonably understood Osiris to be meant. This doubtless made Aristotle say‡ that Sesostris was many ages before Minos: yet Eusebius places Minos in the times of the *Judges*. And in the twelfth dynasty of Africanus, Sesostris is made to reign, according to the calculation of Scaliger,§ in the 1392d year of the Julian period; that very point of time on which the extravagant

φιλογέλωτα, καὶ χαίροντα μουσικῇ καὶ χοροῖς. διὸ καὶ περιάγεσθαι πλῆθος μουσουργῶν, ἐν οἷς παρθένους ἐννέα δυναμένας ᾄδειν, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πεπαιδευμένας, τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀνομαζομένας Μούσας, τούτων δ' ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα λέγουσιν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Μουσηγέτην αὐτὸν ὀνομάσθαι.—Lib. i. pp. 10, 11.

* The very learned Casaubon, speaking of the fables, which concern Bacchus with the Nymphs and Muses, says, *Est enim Græcanicæ vanitatis hoc quoque inventum, Bacchicas in majus semper attollentium.—De Satyrica Poesi*, p. 41. † ARRIAN, lib. v. cap. 3; STRABO, lib. ii. p. 771, and lib. xv. pp. 1006, 1007, Casaub. ed. Καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἡρακλέους δὲ καὶ Διονύσου, Μεγασθένης μὲν μετ' ὀλίγων πιστὰ ἡγεῖται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ πλείους, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης, ἄπιστα καὶ μυθώδη, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.—STRABO, lib. xv. ‡ Πολὺ γὰρ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω βασίλειαν ἡ Σεσώστριος.—*Polit.* lib. vii. cap. 10. § Vide MARSHAM *Can. Chron. Secul.* x. tit. *Nilus Rex.*

chronology of Egypt had thrown Osiris. But there is a passage in Ælian which proves still more expresly that the Ancients sometimes understood Osiris by Sesostris. *The Egyptians* (says this historian) *affirm that Mercury taught Sesostris his laws:* * and that Mercury the contemporary of Osiris was here meant, is seen by another passage of this historian, where the same thing is said of all the Egyptians in general. *The Egyptians boast that* MERCURY *taught them their laws.*†

But though mistake gave birth to this corruption in the Egyptian history, yet, without doubt, it was a national vanity which supported it. For we are told by Diodorus,‡ who made collections from their history, that the reason, assigned by the Egyptians for that famous military expedition, which they had transferred from Sesostris to Osiris, was the Hero's beneficent purpose of carrying the new inventions of corn and wine to all the savage inhabitants of the earth; whom it was his purpose to reduce from a state of Nature, to Political society. The intelligent reader sees plainly, that the design of this story was to do honour to Egypt, as the common benefactress of mankind. Though I will not deny, that the extravagance of the conceit, at the same time, shews how much they were at a loss for a reasonable cause of so early an expedition. The difficulty of all this did not escape the Sicilian. He frankly owns, there is a vast discordancy and confusion in the accounts of Isis and Osiris.§ What seems strange to me is, that this did not lead him to the cause here explained, when he had so well unraveled the like confusion in the parallel case of Hercules and Alcæus. Their story had been disordered, like this of Osiris and Sesostris, from Alcæus's taking the name of Hercules. But Diodorus, by the same kind of reasoning‖ I have here employed to ascertain the diversity of Osiris and Sesostris, shews that

* Φασὶν Αἰγύπτιοι Σέσωστριν παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκμουσωθῆναι.—*Variæ Historiæ*, lib. xii. cap. 4. † Αἰγύπτιοί φασι παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκμουσωθῆναι.—Lib. xiv. cap. 34. ‡ Τὸν δὲ Ὄσιριν λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ εὐεργετικὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλόδοξον, στρατόπεδον μέγα συστήσασθαι, διανοούμενον ἐπελθεῖν ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ διδάξαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τήν τε τῆς ἀμπέλου φυτείαν καὶ τὸν σπόρον τοῦ τε πυρίνου καὶ κριθίνου καρποῦ.—Lib. i. p. 10. § Καθόλου δὲ πολλή τις ἐστὶ διαφωνία περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν.—Lib. i. p. 15. ‖ Ὁμολογουμένου γὰρ ὄντος παρὰ πᾶσιν ὅτι τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς Ἡρακλῆς συνηγωνίσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς γίγαντας πόλεμον, φασὶ τῇ γῇ μηδαμῶς ἁρμόττειν γεγεννηκέναι τοὺς γίγαντας κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνές φασιν Ἡρακλέα γενέσθαι, γενεᾷ πρότερον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπ' ἐκείνης μὲν γὰρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἔτη καταριθμεῖσθαι πλείω τῶν μυρίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐλάττω τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων. ὁμοίως δὲ τό, τε ῥόπαλον καὶ τὴν λεοντῆν τῷ παλαιῷ πρέπειν Ἡρακλεῖ, διὰ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους μήπω τῶν ὅπλων εὑρημένων, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς μὲν ξύλοις ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀντιτασσομένους, ταῖς δὲ δοραῖς τῶν θηρίων σκεπαστηρίοις χρῆσθαι—συμφωνεῖν δὲ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων παραδεδομένην φήμην, ὅτι καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν θηρίων ἐποίησεν Ἡρακλῆς ὅπερ μηδαμῶς ἁρμόττειν τῷ γεγονότι σχεδὸν κατὰ τοὺς Τρωϊκοὺς χρόνους, ὅτε τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξημέρωτο γεωργίαις καὶ πόλεσι, καὶ πλήθει τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν χώραν πανταχοῦ. μᾶλλον οὖν πρέπειν τῷ γεγονότι κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους τὴν ἡμέρωσιν τῆς χώρας, κατισχυομένων ἔτι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν θηρίων καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἰς τὴν ὑπερκειμένην χώραν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἔρημον οὖσαν καὶ θηριώδη.—Lib. i. pp. 14, 15.

Alcæus and Hercules were different men; namely, from actions, given to Alcæus, which could not belong to his age. But these being of different nations, the one a Greek, the other an Egyptian; this circumstance afforded him an opening which he wanted in the case of Osiris and Sesostris, who were both Egyptians.

And here let me observe, that this ancient practice of calling later heroes by the name of earlier, whether of their own or of foreign countries, brought still greater confusion into some other of their histories; making the Ancients themselves imagine an *identity* where none was; as in Bacchus, Neptune, Hercules, Mars, Venus, Minos, &c. which popular mistakes Sir Isaac employs to support another imaginary identity that they never dreamt of.

From this state of Antiquity I would infer these two things. First, that, notwithstanding the conformity in the histories of Osiris and Sesostris, there is great reason to suppose the reality of their distinct personalities, because the same kind of similitude, arising from the same mistake, is found in the histories of many other ancient heroes confessedly distinct. Secondly, that there must have been, in Antiquity, some very convincing proofs of the real diversity of Osiris and Sesostris, to keep them, as it did, perpetually separate, notwithstanding the sameness in their histories; when the like kind of conformity had melted two or more Bacchus's, Hercules's, Minos's, into one.

On the whole then, I have shewn, that a *sameness of name* is sufficient to account for the original of the conformity in the history of Osiris and Sesostris; and, having done this, I have done all that is needful to ascertain their *diversity of person:* there being nothing to oppose to the full testimony of ancient history, which declares for their diversity, besides this conformity of actions.

But I have done more: I have shewn, that a *sameness of name* was, in fact, the only cause of that conformity; and, consequently, that their persons were really different. That it could be only a *sameness of name,* I think, appears evidently from the giving to each hero, actions unsuitable to his age; as great conquests to Osiris, and civil inventions to Sesostris. For I persuade myself, (though Sir Isaac be obliged, for the sake of his hypothesis, partly to support, and partly to palliate, this convincing circumstance) no one can, in good earnest, believe that Egypt was indeed emerging from a state of barbarism at the time in which he places Sesostris. 'Tis true, if men will yet suppose so, I have no better argument against it than the BIBLE: and how far the credit of that will go in this enlightened age is not very easy to guess. In a word, such unsuitable actions ascribed to each, nothing can account for, but a mistaken identity, arising from the *sameness of name;* for when this had advanced, or brought down, the real antiquity of either, the historian was to suit

their actions to the imaginary time. Besides, we know they are not at all scrupulous about property, when they find an atchievement in their way, capable of doing honour to a favourite Hero. There is, as might be expected, a pregnant instance of this, in the history of this very Sesostris; of whom it was recorded, that he divided the lands of Egypt amongst the People, reserving an annual rent to the Crown.* Now we are very certain that this was done, long before his time, under the ministry of the Patriarch Joseph. Here the theft lies open. While these Heroes were only made to pilfer from one another, there was some difficulty to get them convicted; as where two cheats are taught to convey their stolen goods into one another's hands, to evade a pursuit: but here an honest man steps in to make good his claim, and proves it beyond all exception.

But it is our business only to shew that the conformity, in the histories of Osiris and Sesostris, may be well accounted for, from a *sameness of name*. Otherwise, if the case required it, we should not want positive arguments, supported by the soundest part of Antiquity, to prove their difference of person. To mention one or two only by the way; it has been observed before,† that, in substituting *Hero*, to *Planet-worship*, the Egyptian rulers, in order to bring the people more easily into this later species of idolatry, called the *Hero* by the name of a *Celestial God*. So Diodorus says, *that Sol first reigned in Egypt; called so from the Luminary of that name in the heavens.* This was the easier brought about, because the first Civilizers, to gain the greater authority, pretended, as was very natural, to be the Offspring of the SUN, that universal God of all the uncivilized people upon the earth. For the same end likewise, namely to accustom the people, even while in the practice of Planet-worship, to the new adoration, they turned the compliment the other way; and called the Luminary by the name of the Hero; the same historian telling us, that *they called the Sun, Osiris, and the Moon, Isis.* Now the end of this mutual transferring of *names* being only to strengthen their *new* idolatry by giving it a support from the *old*, it must needs be invented on the first introduction of hero-worship. But hero-worship was as early as the first institution of civil policy. Therefore the using the name of Osiris to this purpose, is a demonstration that he was as early as sober Antiquity supposed. Again, Herodotus tells us, and of his own knowledge, that no Gods, besides Isis and Osiris, were worshipped by all the Egyptians in the same unvariable manner.‡

* Κατανείμαι δὲ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασι τοῦτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα [Σέσωστριν] κλῆρον ἴσον ἑκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἀποτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν.—HEROD. lib. ii. cap. 109. † See "Divine Legation," vol. ii. pp. 30—32. ‡ Θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἴσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριδος. τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται.—Lib. ii. cap. 42.

This I think a plain proof of their being the common benefactors of all Egypt, in the invention of corn, wine, and civil policy, as the Egyptian annals deliver; their other Hero-Gods, as particular and partial benefactors, being worshipped variously. But this fixes them in their high Antiquity. Again, the calf and ox are owned to be the peculiar symbols of Osiris: but the GOLDEN CALF I have proved to be an Egyptian symbol; therefore Osiris was, at least, as old as MOSES. And again, our great Author owns,* that the king who invented agriculture in Egypt, seems to have been worshipped by his subjects in the ox or calf for this benefaction. Now the ox or calf was the symbol of Osiris. But agriculture, we certainly know, was invented before the time of Joseph, which will bring us to seek for Osiris 700 years higher than Sesac, who is our author's ancient Osiris or Sesostris of Egypt.

To proceed: Such were the blunders in the history of Osiris and Sesostris,† of which Sir Isaac hath taken advantage, to prove them to be one and the same. And it is certain, as was said before, that, had not the sure records of Antiquity kept them separate, this jumbling of their actions into one another's life had long ago incorporated them; and left no room for Sir Isaac's discovery: for the ancients were fond of running many into one, as appears particularly in the case of Bacchus, whose history we come now to consider.

II. For Sir Isaac farther strengthens the evidence of their identity from Egyptian History, with the Grecian Mythology: in which BACCHUS is delivered to us as the same with Osiris: and Bacchus being but two generations earlier than the Trojan war, the very age of Sesostris, this, in his opinion, reduces all three to one.‡

This identity of Bacchus and Osiris, Diodorus Siculus has very accurately confuted.§ But to discover the general cause of this, and all other mistaken identities, we must trace down the religion of GREECE from its original.

It is a certain truth, agreed upon by ancient as well as modern writers, that CIVILIZED GREECE received its religion from EGYPT. But the way in which this commerce was carried on is not so well understood. It is generally supposed to have been done by adopting, and worshipping the very Egyptian Gods themselves. But this is a capital mistake. It was not till long after their first acquaintance with Egypt, and instruction in their religious Rites, that they adopted Egyptian Gods: which I shall now endeavour to shew.

In the barbarous ages of Greece their only Gods were those natural Divinities, the heavenly Luminaries.‖ But, on their first commerce with Egypt for the arts of policy, they found there a new species of

* See note ZZZ, at the end of this book. † See note AAAA, at the end of this book. ‡ Page 191. § Lib. i. p. 14. ‖ See "Divine Legation," vol. ii. p. 32.

idolatry, the worship of DEAD MEN; which civilized Egypt had invented; and which, as they improved in policy, had almost worked out their first natural Deities; the same with those of all other uncivilized nations.* This new species, the Greeks eagerly embraced: and beginning now to take the Egyptian nation for their model in religious as well as in civil matters, they brought home this mode of foreign worship, namely, DEAD MEN DEIFIED. Thus far is agreed on all hands. The material question is, whether their object were Egyptian hero-gods; or whether, in imitation of that worship, they made hero-gods of their own? The common opinion is that they took the Egyptian. I suppose, on the contrary, that they must needs make hero-gods of their own; and could not, at that time, receive the other. My reason is this:

The greater celestial bodies were Deities in common, as their influence sensibly extended over the whole habitable globe. But hero-worship introduced the new idea of *local tutelary Deities:* and this of necessity. For those Heroes were the distinguished benefactors of their own nation, at the expence, frequently, of their neighbours: and, for such benefits, they were deified. Now several causes concurred to make men teach and think, that the care and providence of their Heroes, now become Gods, was still, as in life, confined to their own dear Country: Such as the superior reverence which rulers knew the People would pay to a God, whose Peculiar they were supposed to be: for, when undistracted with other cares, he would be supposed at full liberty to attend to the minutest concerns of his own People: Such again, as the selfishness and pride of the worshippers, who would be for ingrossing a God to themselves; and raising honour to their country from this imaginary property. So that the opinion of *local tutelary Deities* became, at length, one of the most general and most undisputed doctrines of Paganism. It is delivered to us, for such, by Plato: yet, as the origin of hero-gods from humanity was to be kept out of sight, he carefully disguises the foundation of it. *The Gods* (says he) *formerly divided the whole earth amongst themselves by lot: not from any contention or quarrel about their rights; for it is absurd to suppose they did not know what was fit for every one's peculiar care; or knowing this, that they should endeavour by violence to possess themselves of one another's property: but all of them receiving in an amicable manner, what fell to their share,† in this just method of distribution, each resided on his own peculiar: which, having rendered proper for our habitation, they lead and support us as shepherds do*

* See "Divine Legation," vol. i. p. 212. † Τὰ φίλων λαγχάνοντες—Serranus translates it—"Deorum quisque prout hominum amore teneretur." I understand it—"hæc amicorum sortiti"—i. e. regions which belonged to gods who were in unity with one another.

*their flocks and herds in a pasture.—Every God therefore having his proper allotment, all his endeavours are employed to adorn and benefit his own.** This was so flattering a notion, that, in after-times, the Pagans carried it even into their Planet-worship: and each climate was supposed to be under the proper protection of its own Star or Constellation. So that the writer of *The wisdom of Solomon* seems to make this the distinguishing mark of Paganism; where praising the God of Israel for his ancient mercies to that people, he says, *Neither is there any God but thou, that carest for* ALL.†

Now, such a kind of *tutelary* God, the Egyptians would be so far from offering to others, that they would be careful to keep him to themselves. Hence the old practice of chaining down their Gods (for hero-gods were worshipped by statues in human form) when they imagined them disposed to ramble; or to take a liking to any of their neighbours. And as the Egyptians would be averse to lending, so the Greeks would be as little inclined to borrow; for they had now a race of Heroes of their own; those godlike men, who had reduced them from a savage to a civilized condition, and had given them this very appetite; the appetite to improve their policy by the assistance of Egyptian wisdom. As little too would their own Lawgivers, who brought that wisdom home to them, be disposed to offer them Egyptian Gods; as knowing how much stronger their reverence and adherence would be to Gods made out of their own parents and fellow-citizens. But if this were the case, (and, in the course of the inquiry, it will be proved from *fact*, as here from the *reason* of the thing) it may be asked, What then was that RELIGION which all agree the Greeks borrowed of the Egyptians? I answer, the TRADE itself of Hero-worship; or the custom of deifying their dead benefactors. But again, if this were so, and that the Bacchus, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, &c. first worshipped by the Greeks, were indeed Grecian Deities, it will be then asked, how came their resemblance to the Egyptian to be so great, as that later times should be generally deceived in thinking them the SAME? This is a reasonable question, and will deserve a particular discussion. There were several causes of this resemblance.

1. Nothing could be more simple than the RITUAL of the first *Planet-worship*, as may be easily collected from the nature of that idolatry. But *Hero-worship* necessarily introduced a great number of complex Ceremonies. For, the commemorating the peculiar benefits

* Θεοὶ γὰρ ἅπασαν γῆν πωτὲ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους διελάγχανον, οὐ κατ' ἔριν (οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὀρθὸν ἔχοι λόγον, θεοὺς ἀγνοεῖν τὰ πρέποντα ἑκάστοις αὐτῶν, οὐδ' αὖ γινώσκοντας τὸ μᾶλλον ἄλλοις προσῆκον, τοῦτο ἑτέρους αἰτοῖς δι' ἐρίδων ἐπιχειρεῖν κτᾶσθαι) δίκης δὲ κλήροις τὰ φίλων λαγχάνοντες κατῴκιζον τὰς χώρας· καὶ κατοικίσαντες, οἷον νομεῖς κτήματα καὶ πωίμνια καὶ θρέμματα ἑαυτῶν ἡμᾶς ἔτρεφον.—ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν κατ' ἄλλους τόπους κληρουχήσαντες θεῶν ἐκεῖνα ἐκόσμουν.—Vol. iii. p. 109, Ser. ed. † Οὔτε γὰρ θεός ἐστι πλὴν σοῦ, ᾧ μέλει περὶ πάντων, ἵνα δείξῃς ὅτι οὐκ ἀδίκως ἔκρινας.—Cap. xii. 13.

received from the Hero-god, in his state of humanity, would occasion many *specific* Rites; and the shadowing or concealing his original and especially the blemishes in his moral character would necessitate the use of *allegorical*. And what this last sort of Rites did not sufficiently cover, the notion propagated amongst his worshippers (on which was founded the rationale of their worship) was made to supply, viz. That the DEMONS or *Heroes* had, like *men*, their inordinate virtues, passions and appetites. Plutarch in his tract *Of the ceasing of the oracles* has a remarkable passage to this purpose. "There are in Demons, as in men, a disparity in their virtues; and, like as in the latter, a mixture of passion and imperfection. Of which, in some, we find only the faint and obscure traces yet remain, as the dregs of evanid matter; in others the vestiges are much stronger, and indeed, indelible: and of this, we have certain marks and tokens dispersed up and down, and preserved in the sacrifices, in the mysteries, and in the ancient mythologic tales."* In like manner, the general memory of the Hero's descent from mortals, gave rise to the consultation of ORACLES and adoration of STATUES in HUMAN FORM. Now, when Greece borrowed of Egypt the superstition of Hero-worship, they would of course borrow such of the Rites and practices as were peculiar to that superstition; and adapt them to their own Hero-gods, as best suited every one's character. For the truth of which we have the express testimony of Herodotus, who tells us, that *the Egyptians were the first authors of religious festivals, processions, and offerings; and that the Greeks learnt them of that people.*† But this resemblance, even without a studious application of Egyptian rites, must have arisen, from the very practice itself of Hero-worship; as appears from what we have observed of the nature of those ceremonies which Hero-worship necessarily introduced. To confirm this, we need only consider the case of those hero-worshippers of the north and west, the Gauls and Suevi; who did not, like the Greeks, borrow this mode of idolatry from Egypt; being indebted for it to nothing but the corruption of our common nature. Now the Gods of those Barbarians, and the Rites with which their Gods were adored, resembled the religion of Greece and Rome so exactly, that these polite nations thought the Gods of the Gauls and Suevi were the same with their own; only worshipped under different names.‡ This was indeed a gross mistake; but natural to fall into: So great a resemblance have Heroes of all times and places ever borne to one another; whether

* Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ Δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ, καὶ τοῦ παθητικοῦ καὶ ἀλόγου, τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀμαυρὸν ἔτι λείψανον, ὥσπερ περίττωμα· τοῖς δὲ πολὺ καὶ δυσκατάσβεστον ἔνεστιν, ὧν ἴχνη καὶ σύμβολα πολλαχοῦ θυσίαι καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυθολογίαι σώζουσι καὶ διαφυλάττουσιν ἐνδιεσπαρμένα. † Πανηγυρίας δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι· καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι.—Lib. ii. cap. 58. ‡ See note BBBB, at the end of this book.

they were lawgivers, warriors, navigators, merchants, or artists. Nor was their common rise from humanity, and their occupations in social life, the only cause of this resemblance. There was another; viz. their several departments after they were become Gods: some presiding over the elements, as earth, air, or water; others over the passions and pursuits of men, as love, war, trade, and the like. To this common resemblance it was that at length almost every nation pretended, (as we see by Diodorus) that the Gods came originally from them. Now if the Gods of these Barbarians, though different in name, were for this resemblance, mistaken for the Gods of another people, with whom they had no commerce; where was the wonder that the Grecian Gods, who had the same name with those of a people with whom Greece held a perpetual commerce, should for the like resemblance, be believed to be originally Egyptian?

2. For, secondly, when the Greeks borrowed Egyptian Rites to enrich the worship of their Gods, they borrowed Egyptian NAMES of honour to adorn their persons. Thus, for instance, the name of Bacchus, one of the appellations of Osiris, was given to the son of Semele. Herodotus tells us, that these *names* they did certainly borrow; and we see by his account, that this was all which, in his time, was pretended to be borrowed.* This observing historian, in his account of the Pelasgi, further confirms this truth, by a very curious piece of history. "In former times," (says he) "the Pelasgi in their religious worship used to sacrifice of every thing without distinction, to their Gods, as I was informed by the priests at Dodona. They gave neither *name* nor *surname* to any of their Gods: for they had heard of no such practice. But their titles were taken from what their worshippers conceived of their providence, directing and ordering all things fitly and harmoniously. But after a long course of time they heard of other Gods, and of their NAMES, which came from EGYPT, and in the last place of the name of BACCHUS. Some time after they consulted the Oracle of Dodona concerning these NAMES; for this Oracle is supposed to be the oldest of any in Greece; and, at the time I am speaking of, the only one. Of this Oracle therefore having asked advice, whether they should admit the NAMES, which came from the Barbarians, into their religion; they received for answer, that they should admit them. From that time † therefore they sacrificed with specific multifarious Rites, in which they honoured their Gods with these new *appellations*. And, from

* Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ ΟΥΝΟΜΑΤΑ τῶν Θεῶν ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὑρίσκω ἔον. δοκέω δ' ὧν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῖχθαι· ὅ, τι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδεῶνος, καὶ Διοσκούρων (ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται) καὶ Ἥρης, καὶ Ἱστίης, καὶ Θέμιος, καὶ Χαρίτων, καὶ Νηρηίδων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Θεῶν, Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰείκοτε τὰ οὐνοματά ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι.—Lib. ii. cap. 50. † See note CCCC, at the end of this book.

the Pelasgi, the Greeks afterwards took up the custom. But the original of each God, and whether they are all from eternity, and what are their several kinds of natures, to say the truth, they neither knew at that time, nor since. For HOMER and HESIOD—were those who made a Theogony for the Greeks; gave SURNAMES to the Gods; adjusted their various and specific Rites and Attributes; and designed and delineated their several forms and figures." *

From this remarkable passage we may deduce the following facts; which, besides the evidence to the matter in question, are very corroborative of our general explanation of Antiquity. 1. It appears from hence, that the Greeks borrowed the *names* of the Egyptian Gods,† to decorate their own; receiving them, as Herodotus here supposes, by the hands of the Pelasgians. 2. That they received *nothing but the names*. 3. That the humour of these ancient inhabitants of Greece was so far from disposing them to take Egyptian, or Stranger-Gods, that they would not so much as venture on their *names* till they had consulted the Oracle. 4. That the *Religion of names* came in with Hero-worship or local tutelary Deities (to which species of Gods *names* were an honorary attribution); and unknown to the worshippers of the *natural Divinities*, as the Pelasgians and all other uncivilized people. 5. That this *Religion of names* was a thing of much consequence in the Egyptian superstition, and even characteristic of it; which the reader is desired to observe as of use to explain some passages in the next section, concerning the propensity of the Israelites to that superstition. 6. That one cause of that ignorance, which, Herodotus here tells us, the Greeks ever laboured under, concerning the original, nature, and species of their Gods, and which, as now appears, we had not unjustly charged upon them, when we ventured to say the same in several parts of this work; one cause, I say, was, that those *names* which the Pelasgians had applied to their new Hero-Gods, the Greeks, their successors, took and transferred to theirs. 7. And lastly, (which supports the general argument we are now upon) the true sense of the concluding words,

* Ἔθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας· ἐπωνυμίην δ' οὐδ' οὔνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτέων· οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. Θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον· ἐπεί τε δὲ χρόνου πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσου δὲ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐπύθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστηριάζοντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήϊον τοῦτο νενόμιστο ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηστηρίων εἶναι· καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μοῦνον· ἐπεὶ ὧν ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκοντα, ἀνεῖλε τὸ μαντήϊον χρᾶσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυον, τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι, παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐγένετο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε δ' ἀεὶ ἦσαν πάντες ὁκοῖοί τέ τινες τὰ εἴδεα, οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὗ πρωὴν τε καὶ χθὲς, ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον—οὗτοι δέ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἕλλησι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες.—Lib. ii. cap. 52, 53.

† See note DDDD, at the end of this book.

which has hitherto been grosly mistaken, lies open to us—*For* (says Herodotus) *Homer and Hesiod—were those who made a Theogony for the Greeks; gave surnames to the Gods; adjusted their various and specific attributes, and rites of worship; and designed and delineated their several forms and figures.* What hath been commonly understood by these words is, that in Herodotus's opinion, the Greeks knew little or nothing of what we call their classical Gods, till Homer and Hesiod taught them how they were to be marshalled, and had assigned their several departments. A sense not only confuted by the poems of those two writers, who relate what they saw ESTABLISHED in their own times, but contradicted by what went just before, where the historian tells us that *Melampus* (whom Homer himself places three generations before the Trojan war) *first taught the Greeks the name, the rites, and the mysteries of Bacchus;** the God last received (if we may believe the same historian) after the *Religion of names* was come in fashion. And we have no reason to doubt his evidence, when we see the several parts of it so well coincide: for if Melampus first taught the Greeks the worship of Bacchus, this God must needs be the last received by them. But indeed, the whole context excludes the common interpretation, and directs us to one, very different. The Pelasgians (we are told) received the RELIGION OF NAMES from the Barbarians [i. e. the Egyptians]; by which, the Gods were divided into their several classes. This new doctrine, the Pelasgians conveyed down to the Greeks. *But* (says the historian) *the original of each God, and whether they are all from eternity, and what their several kinds and natures are, to say the truth, they neither knew at that time, nor since.* He then immediately subjoins the reason of their ignorance—FOR *Homer and Hesiod —were those who made a Theogony for the Greeks; gave* SURNAMES *to the Gods; adjusted their various and specific rites and attributes; and designed and delineated their several forms and figures:* and a convincing reason it is; for Homer's and Hesiod's being the popular and only authorised books of Theology amongst the Greeks, which assign the *names*, the *attributes*, and the *form* to each God, and their accounts being, at the same time, over-run with fables and fictions, it was impossible even for the Greeks themselves to develop the confusion, and emancipate themselves from that ignorance here complained of, namely, of the *true natures of their Gods:* which indeed, their Teachers seem to have known as little of as themselves. For Homer when he speaks of Jupiter, sometimes represents him as a God *from eternity*, at other times as only the head of the college

* Ἤδη ὧν δοκέει μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίης ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι ἀδαὴς, ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος, Ἕλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου, τὸ οὔνομα, καὶ τὴν θυσίην, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τῷ φαλλοῦ.—Cap. 49.

of their terrestrial Deities. This then was what Herodotus meant to say; who is not speaking of the INVENTIONS of Homer and Hesiod, but of their AUTHORITY. Whether they were the first who propagated or delivered these things, was not the matter in question. Had it been so, we know how Herodotus would have decided; who, in this very place, expressly tells us, who were the FIRST; namely, the Pelasgians; who delivered them to the Greeks; where Homer and Hesiod found them. However, on the common interpretation, gross as it is, Sir Isaac Newton builds one of his strongest arguments in favour of his *new Chronology*. To proceed:

3. The Greeks not only borrowed the NAMES, but likewise the SYMBOLS of the Egyptian Gods; and fitted them to their own. A very natural superstition, as appears by the practice of the Hebrews in the wilderness; who, in the absence of Moses, running back into Egyptian idolatry, would needs worship the God of their Fathers under an *Egyptian Symbol*; and with *Egyptian Rites* likewise, *and the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play*. Now had God, on this occasion, persisted in the severity of his justice, where he tells Moses, that he would indeed give them the land of Canaan, and drive out the inhabitants before them, because he had promised Abraham so to do, yet that he would not honour them, as a select People, with his peculiar protection: Had, I say, God thus cast them off, and the people departed with their new Leader, the GOLDEN CALF, into Canaan; and there made it the visible representative of the God of their Fathers, and worshiped it with Egyptian Rites; who can doubt but that the late posterity of this people, thus abandoned by God, and given up *to make and believe a lye*, would have supposed that their Forefathers had worshiped Osiris, and not Jehovah, under this *golden calf?* The case needs no application.

This then was the whole of what Greece borrowed from Egypt in matter of religion, when it FIRST learnt the *mode* of Hero-worship from that superstitious people. But

4. It must be owned, that soon after, they did indeed adopt STRANGER Gods. At first the occasion was rare, and the Worship particular and confined. Thus the Athenians labouring under a destructive famine, and relieved by Egypt with corn, did, in gratitude for that benefit, make Isis the patron-Goddess of their Mysteries.

Their Migrations were another cause of this adoption: for every region having a local tutelary Deity, the new Colony thought themselves obliged to worship the God of that place in which they came to settle. But, of this, more in another place.

However, in process of time, the Greeks naturalized all the greater Gods of Egypt. For we are to observe that, as superstition grew in bulk, the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY, arising from the very

essence of Paganism, at length overspread all their National Religions, so as to bring things round again. We observed, that those most early Idol-gods, the *Celestial luminaries*, were common to all nations, and that *Hero-worship* brought in the idea of local tutelary Deities: now, the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY at length broke down this inclosure, and turned all their Gods again upon the Common,

"The grazed ox, and all her bleating Gods." *

But to be a little more particular concerning these various revolutions in the genius of Paganism. The first idolatry was *Planetary:* and so long, their Gods were in common. But *Hero-worship*, by bringing in local tutelary Deities, made their Gods peculiar. As the times grew polished, and the absurdity of MORTAL GODS became better understood, the Managers of this superstition were obliged to hide their origin from Earth, and to pretend they had ever been Celestial. This soon wore out their peculiarity, and brought in again the notion of their general providence: which, by means of an increasing superstition, ended in an universal INTERCOMMUNITY. To explain all these particulars, as they deserve, would require a volume. And not much less perhaps might be collected from what hath been occasionally said of them, in the course of this work. Only one attendant circumstance in these revolutions, it may not be improper to take notice of, as it greatly contributed to fix the later Greeks in their mistake concerning the origin of their Hero-Gods. It was this: The learned Egyptians, as we have observed, at length contrived to hide the deformity of their idolatry by pretending that the whole had a reference to the ONLY GOD. Thus their various *Brute-worship*, they said, was severally relative to the various attributes of the DIVINITY. The same kind of refinement they brought into their *Hero-worship;* and each of their greater Gods they made significative, some way or other, of the FIRST CAUSE. But to perfect this part of their symbolical Theology, it was necessary to make large additions to the Legends of those Gods. And thus the several parts of ISIS's history became relative to the divine Nature. But ISIS being now possessed of all the attributes, which happened to be severally divided amongst the various Grecian Goddesses, the Greeks began to think that these were all originally derived from her. This was the established doctrine in the time of Apuleius: who makes ISIS address herself to him in these words: *En assum—rerum natura parens—cujus numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo, totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges* Pessinunticam *nominant* Deûm matrem; *hinc Autochthones Attici Cecropiam* Minervam; *illinc fluctuantes Cyprii patriam* Venerem; *Cretes Sagittiferi Dictynnam* Dianam; *Siculi tri-*

* MILTON.

lingues Stygiam Proserpinam; *Eleusinii vetustam Deam* Cererem; Junonem *alii, alii* Bellonam, *alii* Hecaten, Rhamnusiam *alii—Ægyptii ceremoniis me prorsus propriis percolentes appellant vero nomine* ISIDEM.*

OSIRIS too, becoming equally symbolical, made his fortune in the same manner, as appears by this ancient epigram:

Ogygia me Bacchum *vocat,*
OSIRIN *Ægyptus putat,*
Mysi Phanacen *nominant,*
Dionyson *Indi existimant,*
Romana Sacra Liberum,
Arabica gens Adoneum,
Lucaniacus Pantheum.†

Thus have I explained the several causes which occasioned the later Greeks to think their own Gods were originally Egyptian; for understanding that the *Rites*, the *Names*, and the very *Symbols* of their Gods were borrowed from thence, they concluded the same of the Gods themselves. And with good appearance of reason, as they found too that the ages immediately preceding theirs, had certainly adopted Egyptian Gods; which Gods had all the attributes of the Grecian. Now when this opinion was once generally embraced, they would, of course, invent a Legend for the Gods, conformable to the Egyptian history of them. And thus we see the reason why they made their BACCHUS but two generations earlier than the Trojan war, of which age he was; and yet made him OSIRIS, the conqueror of India, which he was not.‡ But their more intelligent historians perceived the absurdity; and so, reasonably satisfied themselves in supposing a *double Bacchus:* but being, as Herodotus observes, *very ignorant of the true origin of their Religion*, it was a mere gratuitous solution: which made it easy for Sir Isaac to evade it; by only supposing, in his turn, that it was their wrong notion of the high antiquity of Egypt which made them split one *Bacchus* into two. And yet in another instance, he frankly enough allows of this ancient practice of the *communication of names.*§ But he gives the fact reversed: for they were the earlier Greeks who worshipped two *Bacchus's*. And it was late, as we find by *Diodorus*, ere they incorporated them into one.‖ Now had the cause of their *duality* been what the great writer supposes, the fact had been just contrary; and earlier times had worshiped *one* Bacchus, and the later, *two*. The truth of the case then is this: when they first worshiped Hero-Gods, they had but one

* *Metam.* lib. xi. p. 378. † AUSONIUS, ep. XXX. ‡ See note EEEE, at the end of this book. § "The Phenicians, upon their first coming into Greece, gave the name of Jao-pater, Jupiter, to every king."—"Chron. of Ancient Kingdoms amended," p. 150. ‖ Διμήτορα δ' αὐτὸν προσαγορευθῆναι λέγουσι, διὰ τὸ πατρὸς μὲν ἑνὸς ὑπάρξαι τοὺς δύο Διονύσους, μητέρων δὲ δυεῖν· κεκληρονομηκέναι δὲ τὸν νεώτερον τὰς τοῦ προγενεστέρου πράξεις. διόπερ τοὺς ΜΕΤΑΓΕΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΥΣ ἀνθρώπους, ΑΓΝΟΟΥΝΤΑΣ μὲν ταλῃθὲς, πλανηθέντας δὲ διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν, ἕνα γεγονέναι νομίσαι Διόνυσον. —Lib. iv. p. 148.

Bacchus and one *Hercules*, &c. and these were Grecian: when they afterwards borrowed the Egyptian Gods, they had two of each. And this is not said at random; for Herodotus * and Diodorus † expresly tell us, that two *Bacchus's* and two *Hercules's* were worshiped by different Rites, and as Gods of different original, the one Grecian, the other Egyptian. And at length, for the causes explained under the next head, the *two* of each were again reduced to *one*. For we shall now see, that design as well as mistake contributed to confound the Grecian Bacchus with the Egyptian.

III. For our illustrious Author makes another use of the Grecian mythology, to support his system. He examines the genealogies of their Gods and Heroes; and finds them to coincide exactly with the time of SESOSTRIS: ‡ A farther evidence of the truth of his hypothesis.

There are but few cases in which one would seriously admit the testimony of a Mythologist. Least of all, in settling of dates. The most learned of the moderns complain greatly of them for confounding all time in their pretended relations of fact. The excellent bishop STILLINGFLEET thus expresseth himself: *We see those* [Thucydides and Plutarch, whose confession he had quoted] *who were best able to judge of the Greek Antiquities, can find no sure footing to stand on in them; and what basis can we find for our faith, where they could find so little for their knowledge? And those who have been more daring and venturous than these persons mentioned, what a labyrinth have they run themselves into? How many confusions and contradictions have they involved themselves in? sometimes writing the passages of other countries for those of Greece, and at other times so confounding times, persons, and places, that one might think they had only a design upon the understandings of their readers, to make them play at blind-man's buff in searching for the kings of Greece.*§ And the candid and accurate bishop CUMBERLAND speaks so much to our purpose, that I shall add his words to the foregoing: *Their mythic writers confound and lose all the times of their Gods; which advantage divers Christians make use of against them: and this was a good argument* ad hominem, *as it is called, but is not sufficient to prove, that*

* Καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιέειν, οἳ δίξὰ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι ἔκτηνται· καὶ τῷ μὲν, ὡς ΑΘΑΝΑΤΩι Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην, δύουσι· τῷ δ ἑτέρῳ, ὡς Ἡρῳῖ, ἐναγίζουσι.—HEROD. lib ii. cap. 44. † Μυθολογοῦσι δέ τινες καὶ ἕτερον Διόνυσον γεγονέναι πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις πρωτεροῦντα τούτου. φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι, τὸν ὑπό τινων Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον. οὗ τήν τε γένεσιν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τιμὰς ΝΥΚΤΕΡΙΝΑΣ καὶ ΚΡΥΦΙΑΣ παρεισάγουσι, διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν.—DIODORUS, lib. iv. p. 148. These *nightly* and *secret* Rites shew them to be Egyptian. As for what is said of the other Bacchus's being the son of Proserpine, this was only a fancy of the Greeks, on observing the *mysteries* of Bacchus and those of Ceres or Isis to have a great resemblance: but this was only occasioned by their being both Egyptian Rites. ‡ Page 191, et seq. of "the Chron. of Ancient Kingdoms amended." § *Orig. Sacr.* p. 41, eighth edit.

idolatry, and the heathen Gods, are of SO LATE AN ORIGINAL, *as some, both Heathen and Christians, have affirmed them to be.** Now though, in answer to what Sir Isaac Newton brings from such writers, it were enough to say, with those who have considered their character before me, that they are so perplexed, contradictory, and infinitely fabulous, that nothing certain can be gathered from their accounts, for the regulation of ancient time; yet that they may never appear again amongst witnesses of credit, or be heard in matters of fact, I shall endeavour to shew, from what sources those accounts arose, from which the low date of the Egyptian Gods is inferred: whence it will appear that they are a heap of fictions, invented and contrived, as usual, only for the support of greater.

1. The *first* source was the address of the EGYPTIAN PRIESTS, to screen their *Hero-worship* from the inquisition of the curious. We have observed, from a famous fable, invented by these men,† to record the danger which this superstition incurred, and from their art in evading that danger, that the original of their *Hero-Gods* was a subject maliciously pursued by the Free enquirers of those times. For the discredit attending this superstition was, that these GODS had been MEN; and the proof of their humanity was taken from their late existence. Now what did these Masters in their trade do, to evade this evidence? We have seen before what they did to obscure the enquiry. Why, by an equal effort of their skill, they invented a set of fables (one of which has been examined above) concerning these Gods; which brought their births even *lower down* than to the times of their established worship. What they gained by this was considerable: They threw a general confusion over the whole history of these Gods: and in a short time made men as indisposed to give credit to the *old* stories of them (from whence the dangerous truth of their HUMANITY might be collected) as these *new* fables, which it was impossible they should believe, for the reason just now assigned. Hence, the first source of the *low dates* of these Hero-Gods.

2. The *second*, was the extravagant vanity of the Greeks in pretending, at length, to be original even to the Egyptians themselves. For we are to observe, that there were three distinguished periods in the Religion of civilized Greece; two of which we have described already. The first was, when the Greeks borrowed Egyptian Rites and Ceremonies to adorn their own Hero-gods: the second, when they adopted the very Egyptian Gods: and the third, when, on the contrary, they pretended that the Egyptians had adopted Theirs. On their first acquaintance with Egypt, they were modest, and fairly

* *Sanchoniatho*, pp. 132, 133. † The fable I mean is that of Typhon's persecution of the Gods and their flight into Egypt; which the Greeks borrowed and fitted up with their own names of the Gods.

allowed its superior Antiquity. But as they advanced in arts and empire, they grew intoxicated with their good fortune; and would now contend with Egypt (become by this time as much fallen and depressed in both) for the honour of priority; and soon after (as was no wonder when they had ventured so far), with all the rest of mankind.* And then it was, that having, before this time, thoroughly confounded the Grecian and Egyptian Bacchus with design (a confusion first occasioned by mistake) they invented many fables to countenance their absurd pretensions. Hence their idle tale of Apis, the son or grandson of Phoroneus, becoming OSIRIS; without any other reason in the world than that the son of Phoroneus chanced to have the same name with the *symbol* of Osiris. Hence, again, the fable of Io, the daughter of Inachus, becoming ISIS; for scarce so good a reason; only an approaching similitude of names. Yet these two wretched fables, Sir Isaac Newton (surprising as it is) hath drawn in for the main supports of his hypothesis.† But as much credit as his countenance hath given to them, he who can suppose Io to be stolen out of Greece, carried into Egypt, and there made a Goddess, may as well believe an European ship to be now busied in bringing hither an Indian savage to be made a queen.

But another story of the same stamp, carries its confutation along with it, as Herodotus rightly observed.‡ For, to bring Hercules, as they had done Isis and Osiris, out of Greece into Egypt, in a manner suitable to his character, they pretended that, when he had landed on that inhospitable shore, and was led by the Natives, crowned with garlands, to be offered up at the altar of Jupiter, he broke loose from his leaders, and slaughtered all who were assembled for the Sacrifice; and in this rough manner, I suppose, taught them to abolish those inhuman rites, and to worship their chastiser as a God: which would seem to have been the first bringing in of club-law into Religion. But, as Herodotus observes, the inventor of this fable hath laid his story so ill together, that he hath only betrayed his own ignorance of Egyptian Manners. For, from the most early time, the inhabitants of the Nile were so far from offering up human victims, that they held it unlawful to sacrifice above three or four species of animals. But the Egyptians owed them a good turn for this slander of *human sacrifices;* and indeed paid them with usury. For Herodotus tells us, the Priests informed him, that when Menelaus went to Egypt to enquire after Helen, and lay wind-bound in their ports, he cut up two children of the natives, to divine by their entrails.§

* Λανθάνουσι δ' αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατορθώματα, ἀφ' ὧν μὴ ὅτι γε φιλοσοφία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἦρξε, Βαρβάροις προσάπτοντες.—DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Proœm.* segm. 3. † Page 192, of his "Chronology." ‡ Λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες εὐήθης δὲ αὐτέων καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθός ἐστι, τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσι· ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον, &c.—Lib. ii. cap. 45. § Λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἐντομά σφεα ἐποίησε.—HEROD. lib. ii. cap. 119.

This humour of priority was so rooted in the Greeks, that Diodorus seems to insinuate, they always disputed it with the Egyptians.*—And so far indeed is true, that it was one of their most early vanities: † and though afterwards, on their more intimate acquaintance with Egypt, it was in some degree corrected, yet it burst out again, and lasted, as we see, even to the time of Diogenes Laertius. But this is the pleasant part of the story; The Egyptians were not content to complain, as well they might, that the Greeks had stolen away their Gods and Heroes; but they would needs make reprisals on them. Thus, as Diodorus tells us, when they charged the Greeks with taking away their Isis, to aggravate the theft they pretended that Athens itself was originally but an Egyptian Colony.‡ This was a home stroke: but the Greeks as handsomely returned it; by affirming that one of the Egyptian pyramids was built by Rhodope, a Grecian whore.§ This setting up one false claim to oppose another, was in the very spirit of ancient Paganism.‖ So again, the Egyptians maintaining that civilized Greece was indebted for the mode of Hero-worship to them; did, in order to support a just claim, which wanted none of these arts, pretend to Antiquity most extravagantly *high*. The Greeks, not to be behind-hand with them, and to support a false claim which did want these sort of arts, having pretended that the Egyptians borrowed all from them, brought down the age of these disputed Gods as much too *low*. Unluckily, the great Author, who saw the unreasonable Antiquity of the one system, did not advert to the unreasonable Novelty of the other.

But we are not to think the Greeks firm and steady in this natural consequence of their unjust pretensions. Nothing is so inconstant as falshood. When, therefore, on the issue, it was seen that all the Records of former times contradicted this novelty; and, consequently, that their darling claim itself was likely to be in danger, they shifted their support, and then contended, in imitation of the Egyptians, for as extravagant an Antiquity.¶

IV. Hitherto Sir Isaac Newton was drawn in by Antiquity; which had sunk with him, and foundered in the treacherous soil of Mythology. But the greatest part of his reasoning, from these Genealogies, stands upon an error of his own. The age preceding the destruction

* Περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ βίου ἡγουν γένους ἀρχαιότητος οὐ μόνον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν Ἕλληνες ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἑαυτοὺς αὐτόχθονας λέγοντες.—P. 6. † See "Divine Legation," book iv. sect. iii. p. 149, et seq. ‡ Καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δέ φασιν ἀποίκους εἶναι Σαϊτῶν τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου.—DIOD. SICUL. p. 17. § See note FFFF, at the end of this book. ‖ In the former part of this work where we have shewn, that the Converts from Gentilism unhappily practised it even after they had professed a Religion which condemns all the oblique arts of falshood, and unjust retaliation. ¶ Πάντων δὴ πρῶτον μνησθῶμεν, ὅτι τὸ κεφάλαιον ἦν ἐννάκις ἑκτὴ χίλια, ἀφ' οὗ γεγονὼς ἐμηνύθη πόλεμος τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλείας στήλας ἔξω κατοικοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς πᾶσιν· ὃν δεῖ νῦν διαπεραίνειν· τῶν μὲν οὖν ἤδε ἡ πόλις ἄρχουσα καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον διαπολεμήσασα ἐλέγετο.—PLATO, vol. iii. p. 108. E.

of Troy is full of the loves and intrigues of the greater Divinities: who supplied that expedition from their own loins with Demi-Gods once removed. Sir Isaac, who supposed, as indeed he well might from physical observation, that the Gods left off getting children when they died, concludes, from the mythologic account of their Offspring, that they must needs have lived but two or three generations before the war of Troy. But our great Philosopher took this thing a deal too seriously. The truth is, he concerned himself no farther with the fabulous history of ancient times than just served the purpose of his system. Otherwise, he might have found, on the most cursory survey, that one of the essential attributes of a Pagan God was the getting of Bastards: and that, for one he fairly had in life, his worshippers fathered an hundred upon him after his decease. This amorous commerce between Heaven and Earth never ceased till near the latest times of Paganism; as we learn from the primitive Apologists; who, referring to their perpetual intrigues in mythologic story, rally the idolaters, of their time, with great vivacity, on the decrepid old age and sudden debility of their Gods.

It being then notorious that, in the later ages of Paganism, Earth swarmed as thick with the progeny of Heaven, as in the early times of that religion, Heaven swarmed with the progeny of Earth, Sir Isaac's calculation, from the time of the sons and grandsons of the Gods, what must needs be their own, is altogether fallacious. But as, in this inquiry, we have still attempted to account for the fables of Antiquity, in order to detect their various impostures, and prevent their future mischief, we shall now consider the original of those in question.

1. The first cause of this doubly-spurious Offspring, was the contrivance of wives to hide their adultery; of virgins to excuse their incontinence; and of parents to cover the dishonour of their House.* The God bore the blame, or rather the Mortal reaped the glory; and Passion, as is usual, was advanced into Piety. Great men too, employed it, (for then Great men had some regard for their Race and Name) to conceal the ignominy of a low-born commerce. In a word, both sexes soon learnt the sweets of a holy intrigue; where a pretended converse with a God or Goddess preserved the reputation of the weaker, and procured power and authority to the stronger sex. Sometimes the pretended amour was mutually concerted between the real parties: as that of Anchises and a Country wench; who, in regard to his honour, was to pass for a Venus. So Homer: †

* See note GGGG, at the end of this book.

† Δαρδανίων αὖτ' ἦρχεν, ἐὺς παῖς Ἀγχίσαο,
Αἰνείας· τὸν δ' Ἀγχίσῃ τέκε δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη,
Ἴδης ἐν κνημοῖσι, θεὰ βροτῷ εὐνηθεῖσα.—Ιλ. β. verse 819.

Yet this is one of the instances Sir Isaac brings to prove the low age of the Goddess Venus. See p. 191, of his "Chronology."

"Divine Æneas brings the Dardan race,
Anchises' son by Venus' stol'n embrace;
Born in the shades of Ida's secret grove,
A mortal mixing with the Queen of Love."—Mr. POPE.

And, in a much later age, the Wife of Philip of Macedon and her Court-gallant. Sometimes again, one of the parties was deceived by the mask of divinity which the other had impiously assumed, as seems to have been the case of Astiochè: *

"Two valiant brothers rule th' undaunted throng,
Ialmen and Ascalaphus the strong:
Sons of Astiochè the heavenly fair,
Whose virgin charms subdu'd the God of war:
In Actor's court, as she retir'd to rest,
The strength of Mars the blushing maid comprest."—Mr. POPE.

And of the priestess Rhea,

———*Quem Rhea Sacerdos*
FURTIVUM *partu sub luminis edidit auras,*
Mista Deo Mulier.†

And of Alcmene the mother of Hercules. It was certainly the case of the virtuous Paulina, in the reign of Tiberius: who, being made to believe that the God Anubis was fallen in love with her, went to the appointed assignation with a mind equally balanced by conjugal chastity and superstition. The story is very curious, and told by Josephus in all its circumstances.‡ In short, if we may believe Ovid, who was exquisitely skilled in the mythologic story, this was one of the most common covers of lust and concupiscence. The pretended nurse of Semele is made to caution her mistress against the addresses of Jupiter, in the following manner:

———*Opto*
Jupiter ut sit, ait; Metuo tamen omnia. MULTI
NOMINE DIVORUM THALAMOS INIERE PUDICOS.§

2. Another cause was the ambition of the pretenders themselves to heavenly birth, in order to support their authority amongst their barbarous subjects or followers. Thus we are told, that the two Amazon queens, Marthesia and Lampeto, gave out that they were the daughters of Mars, *ne successibus deesset auctoritas* (says the historian) *genitas se* MARTE *prædicabant.*‖ And thus Romulus and Remus pretended to the same relation: But this matter is explained more at large in the discourse on the ancient Lawgivers.¶

3. A third cause was the flattery of sycophants and corrupt Courtiers. To this practice Clepolemus alludes, in his address to Sarpedon:

* Τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀσκάλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμενος υἷες Ἄρηος,
Οὓς τέκεν Ἀστυόχη, δόμῳ Ἄκτορος Ἀζείδαο,
Παρθένος ΑΙΔΟΙΗ, ὑπερῴϊον εἰσαναβᾶσα,
Ἄρηϊ κρατερῷ· ὁ δέ οἱ παρελέξατο ΛΑΘΡΗ.—Ιλ. β. verse 512.

† *Æneis*, lib. vii. verse 659. See DIONYS. HALICARN. *Antiq. Rom.* lib. i. p. 62.
‡ *Antiq. Jud.* lib. xviii. cap. 3. See, for this general practice, HEROD. lib. i. cap. 181.
§ *Metam.* lib. iii. fab. 3. ‖ JUSTIN. *Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 4. ¶ "Divine Legation," lib. ii. sect. 2.

"Know thy vain self, *nor let their flatt'ry move*,
Who style thee son of cloud-compelling JOVE.
How far unlike those chiefs of race divine!
How vast the diff'rence of their deeds and thine!" *—Mr. POPE.

4. A fourth cause was a mere figure of speech common in the eastern phraseology: which, to express the qualities of the subject, called a prudent and powerful monarch † the son of Jupiter; a violent and inhuman ravager,‡ or an expert and able seaman, the son of Neptune; § a sharper, a banker, or a large trader, the son of Mercury; a cultivator of the fine arts, the son of Apollo; a great warrior, the son of Mars; a beautiful woman, the daughter of Venus; and a good physician, the offspring of Æsculapius. Thus Homer,

"In thirty sail the sparkling waves divide,
Which Podalirius and Machaon guide.
To these his skill their *Parent-God* imparts,
Divine professors of the healing arts." ‖—Mr. POPE.

And that the poet meant no more than that they were excellent in their profession, appears from his giving to all the Egyptians the same original, where, speaking of their superior eminence in the art of physic, he says,

"These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life,
Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife;
Who sway'd the sceptre, where prolific Nile
With various simples clothes the fat'ned soil—
From *Pæon sprung*, their patron God imparts
To all the Pharian race his healing arts." ¶—Mr. FENTON.

5. The last cause I shall mention were the dotages of judicial Astrology. But whether giving to each of their Gods a Star over which to preside was the *cause* or *effect* of this folly, may be disputed; because, I believe, it was sometimes one, and sometimes the other.

* Ψευδόμενοι δέ σε φασὶ Διὸς γόνον αἰγιόχοιο
Εἶναι, ἐπεὶ πολλὸν κείνων ἐπιδεύεαι ἀνδρῶν
Οἳ Διὸς ἐξεγένοντο ἐπὶ πρωτέρων ἀνθρώπων.—Ιλ. ε. verse 635.

† The words of Callimachus, in his Hymn to Jupiter, are so apposite to our purpose, that the learned reader will not think them quoted impertinently:
Αὐτίκα χαλκῆας μὲν ὀδείομεν Ἡφαιστοῖο,
Τευχηστὰς δ' Ἀρῆος· ἐπακτῆρας δὲ χιτώνης
Ἀρτέμιδος· Φοίβου δὲ, λύρης εὖ εἰδότας οἴμους.
Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· ἐπεὶ Διὸς οὐδὲν ἀνάκτων
Θειότερον.—Verse 76, et seq.

‡ "Præstantissimos virtute, prudentia, viribus, *Jovis filios*, poetæ appellaverunt, ut Æacum, et Minoa, et Sarpedona: Ferocissimos et immanes et alienos ab omni humanitate tanquam e mari genitos, *Neptuni filios* dixerunt, Cyclopa, et Cercyona, et Scyrona, et Læstrygonas."—A. GELLIUS, lib. xv. cap. 21. § Thus in the Argonautic expedition *Typhis* the pilot, and his mate *Ergynus*, were called the sons of Neptune. And when these died in the voyage, they were succeeded by *Ancæus* and *Euphemus*; and both of these, we are told, were the sons of Neptune, likewise. I chose to give the reader this instance, because, from this figure of speech, thus qualifying men any way distinguished in the Argonautic times, Sir Isaac Newton infers the low age of the Grecian Deities.

‖ Τῶν αὖθ' ἡγείσθην Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε,
Ἰητῆρ' ἀγαθὼ, Ποδαλείριος ἠδὲ Μαχάων·
Τοῖς δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο.—Ιλ. β. verse 731.

¶ Ἰητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων· ἦ γὰρ Παιήονός εἰσι γενέθλης.—Οδ. δ. verse 231.

Yet it gave frequent occasion to call an extraordinary person the son of that God or Goddess under whose planet he was born.

Thus have I endeavoured to discover and lay open the true causes of all that confusion which goes under the name of the *History of the heroic ages*. Those false facts, therefore, and the mistaken conclusion drawn from them by Sir Isaac Newton to support the identity of Osiris and Sesostris, being detected, general tradition, which vouches for their real diversity, is reinstated in its credit: whose testimony likewise, as I have gone along, I have not neglected occasionally to support by divers corroborating circumstances.

I might indeed have taken a very different route through this *Land of Fables*, to the confutation of his hypothesis; by opposing adventure to adventure, and genealogy to genealogy; and have formed upon them, as others have done before me, a system of chronology directly opposite to our illustrious Author's. But this, instead of relieving the reader, would only have put him in mind of the old man's complaint; *Incertior sum multo quam dudum*. I have therefore attempted a way of greater certainty, in an explanation of the greater principles and practices of ancient Superstition; of which, their mythologic history was the fruits: And by this it appears that all these pretended Facts, on which Sir Isaac Newton supports his hypothesis of the identity of OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS, are mere Fables, invented to confound all times and æras, and therefore most unhappily chosen for one of the means of regulating and reforming the ancient Chronology.

III.

But although I could have given no reasonable account of these mistaken facts, from which Sir Isaac Newton infers the identity, I was still able to prove the falshood of that supposed identity, by the consequences that follow from it: not only by those which our great Author would not, but by those which he would, venture to admit. Both of which directly contradict SCRIPTURE and the NATURE OF THINGS. So that, as before I proved the error of his conclusion from the falshood of his premisses; I now begin at the other end, and shall prove the falshood of his premisses from the error of his conclusion.

I. I have, in the third and fourth sections of this book, shewn at large, from sacred Scripture, illustrated and confirmed by profane Antiquity, that Egypt was a polite and powerful Empire at the egression of the Israelites. This is alone sufficient to overthrow Sir Isaac Newton's whole system. But to make the truth still more evident, it may be proper to take a particular, though short, view of the necessary consequences which follow from the supposed identity of Osiris and Sesostris. These may be divided into two parts;

such as our great author hath ventured to own; and such as, for their apparent falshood, he was obliged to pass over in silence.

To begin with the latter. Those very histories on which Sir Isaac builds his identity, tell us that Osiris and his wife and sister Isis were the professed patron and patroness of nascent arts, the very instruments of husbandry being invented in their time; that he first taught the culture of the vine;* and abolished the bad habit, his savage Subjects had of eating one another:† and that she taught them to sow corn;‡ and gave them their first system of laws.§—But if Osiris were Sesostris, all these fine discoveries were made but two generations before the Trojan war, and full five hundred years after the egression of the Israelites from Egypt: And then what are we to think of the Bible? But the gross absurdity of these things hindered our Author from receiving them into the consequences of his new system: yet these standing on the same authority with the consequences, he hath thought fit to receive, he was obliged to pass them over in silence. But though he be silent, we should not. On the contrary, we must insist that he hath transgressed the plainest rules of fair reasoning, which required him, either to receive the consequences he hath rejected, or to reject those which he hath received; or lastly, to shew, that they stand upon a different authority. But he will do nothing of this; he picks and chuses as he likes best, and, what is not for his purpose, he leaves without notice. Diodorus says, that Osiris abolished the custom of human sacrifices; that he built the city of Thebes; that he regulated the worship of the Gods; and conquered many nations. These things Sir Isaac, who takes Osiris for Sesostris, readily admits. The same Historian says, that this Osiris first cultivated the vine; restrained his Subjects from eating one another; and found out the arts of life; that his wife Isis invented agriculture, and gave the first law to the Egyptians; but all this, Sir Isaac tacitly rejects. Yet if one part of the Sicilian's account be of better authority than the rest, it is that, which says, *Isis invented agriculture:* for he expressly tells us, that so it was found written on a large column, in hieroglyphic characters, half consumed by time, then standing in the city of Nysa in Arabia:‖

* Εὑρετὴν δ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι φασὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου περὶ τὴν Νύσαν, καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ ταύτης καρποῦ προσεπινοήσαντα, πρῶτον οἴνῳ χρήσασθαι καὶ διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τήν τε φυτείαν τῆς ἀμπέλου, καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τοῦ οἴνου, καὶ τὴν συγκομιδὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τήρησιν.—Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 10. † Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παῦσαι τῆς ἀλληλοφαγίας τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος.—Idem, p. 9. ‡ Εὑρούσης μὲν Ἴσιδος τόν τε τοῦ πυροῦ καὶ τῆς κριθῆς καρπὸν, (φυόμενον μὲν ὡς ἔτυχε κατὰ τὴν χώραν μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης βοτάνης, ἀγνοούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων) τοῦ δὲ Ὀσίριδος ἐπινοησαμένου τὴν τούτων κατεργασίαν τῶν καρπῶν.—Idem, ibid. § Θεῖναι δέ φασι καὶ νόμους τὴν Ἶσιν, καθ' οὓς ἀλλήλοις διδόναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τῆς ἀθέσμου βίας καὶ ὕβρεως παύσασθαι, διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τιμωρίας φόβον.—Idem, ibid. ‖ Ἐγὼ Ἶσις εἰμὶ ἡ βασίλισσα πάσης χώρας—Ἐγώ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσίριδος βασιλέως. Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ πρώτη καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις εὑροῦσα.—Idem, p. 16.

and, without his telling, we are well assured, that her *mysteries* had very early brought the knowledge of the fact to all the neighbouring nations.

II. Amongst the consequences which the great Author hath thought fit to admit; some are these, That *instruments of war; horses for military service; animal food; the exact distribution of property; alphabetic letters;* and *the well peopling of Egypt;* were all the product of the Sesostrian age.

1. Vulcan, he says, who lived even to the times of the Trojan war, invented Armour, and was, on that account, deified by the Egyptians. His words are these. *He* [Vulcan] *reigned there* [in Cyprus and Byblus] *till a very great age, living to the times of the Trojan war, and becoming exceeding rich*—And for assisting the Egyptians with armour, it is probable, that he was deified by his friends the Egyptians, by the name of Baal-Canaan or Vulcan: for Vulcan was celebrated principally by the Egyptians, and was a king, according to Homer, and reigned in Lemnos; and Cinyras was an inventor of arts, and found out copper in Cyprus, and the smith's hammer, and anvil, and tongs and laver; and employed workmen in making armour, and other things of brass and iron, and was the only king celebrated in history for working in metals, and was king of Lemnos, and the husband of Venus; all which are the characters of Vulcan: and the Egyptians about the time of the death of Cinyras, viz. in the reign of their king Amenophis, built a very sumptuous temple at Memphis to Vulcan.*† Here we have a Hero, living till the time of the Trojan war, not only the inventor of arms, but likewise of the very tools employed in making them. That this was our Author's meaning, is plain from what he tells us of the Egyptians fighting with clubs in the time of Sesostris; ‡ which certainly was for want of better weapons: and still plainer, from what he tells of Vulcan's being made a God; which, certainly, was for a NEW INVENTION. If I should now shew, by a formal enumeration of particulars, how all here said, contradicts the BIBLE, the reader would think me disposed to trifle with him. Instead of this, I shall but just observe, how ill it agrees with HOMER: who seems, indeed, to make Vulcan the Patron-God of the Armourers, but, at the same time, makes both him, and the invention, the product of a much earlier age. From the poem of the Trojan war it appears that military weapons had been then of tried use; and Vulcan, and his wife Venus, Deities of long standing. Nor can it be objected that the poet hath here given us the picture of his own times. He was a stricter observer of decorum: as may be seen amongst other instances, from a celebrated one taken notice of by the critics, that though, in his days, Cavalry were common, yet he brings

* Page 223. † Pp. 224, 225. ‡ Page 215.

none to the siege of Troy, because those times had not yet learnt their use. Nor was he less knowing than exact; for he was possessed of the Songs and Poems of his ancestors; in which he found all the particulars of that famous expedition.* Now, if military weapons, at the time of the Trojan war, had been long in use amongst the Greeks, it is hardly possible they should have been just invented in Egypt.

2. Our author makes Sesostris's conquest of Libya the occasion of furnishing Egypt with Horses. *After the conquest of Libya* (says he) *by which Egypt was furnished with horses, and furnished Solomon and his friends, he prepared a fleet,* &c.† The illustrious Writer is here speaking of the original of those civil advantages, for which ancient Egypt was so much celebrated. He had before, and afterwards, told us his thoughts of their *astronomy, navigation, letters, names,* and *weapons of war.* We cannot therefore but understand what he here says, of the *Libyan horses,* to mean, that the conquest of that country was the first occasion of Egypt's abounding in Horse. But this directly contradicts holy Scripture, which assures us that they abounded in Horse long before. Their pursuit of the Israelites is thus described,—*And Pharaoh made ready his chariot, and took his people with him. And he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them.—The Egyptians pursued after them (all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh and his horsemen and his army.)—And the Egyptians pursued after them to the midst of the sea, even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots and his horsemen.*‡ Sir Isaac§ seems to have been aware of this evidence against him, and endeavours to turn it on the side of his hypothesis. *In the days of* MOSES (says he) *all the chariots of Egypt, with which Pharaoh pursued* Israel, WERE BUT SIX HUNDRED. *Exod.* xiv. 7. This is a strange mistake. The *six hundred,* mentioned in the place quoted, are expresly said to be the *chosen chariots,* that is, the king's guard; for over and above these, *all the chariots of Egypt,* an indefinite number, were in the pursuit. Besides, the number of horses is not to be estimated from the chariots, because there was an army of *horsemen* likewise in this expedition.

However, by Sir Isaac's own confession it appears, that Egypt abounded with Horse much earlier than the time he here assigns. For the vast number of Philistim Horse brought into the field, in the second year of the reign of Saul, in an army consisting of thirty thousand chariots and six thousand horsemen, came all, in our author's opinion, from Egypt. *The Canaanites* (says he) *had their Horses from Egypt; and—from the great army of the Philistims against Saul, and*

* See note HHHH, at the end of this book. † Page 215. ‡ Exod. xiv. 6, 7, 9, 23. § Page 167.

*the great number of their Horses, I seem to gather that the shepherds had newly relinquished Egypt, and joined them.**—Now if they had such plenty of horse in the time of Saul, how was it that they were first furnished from Libya in the time of Sesac?

But another circumstance in sacred History will shew us, that Egypt, which supplied Canaan, abounded in Horse still much earlier. In the law of Moses, we find this prohibition, personally directed to their future King: *he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to* EGYPT, TO THE END THAT HE SHOULD MULTIPLY HORSES: *forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way.*† Now the reason, here given, being to prevent all commerce with Egypt, we must conclude, if it appear that Egypt, at this time, supplied other nations with horses, that the law extended to their Judges as well as Kings. But they did supply other nations. For we find the confederate Canaanites (who, by Sir Isaac's confession, had their horses from Egypt) warring against Joshua, *they and all their hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea-shore in multitude, with Horses and chariots very many.*‡ The law therefore did certainly respect the Judges. And the reasoning is confirmed by fact. For Joshua, when he had defeated these confederate hosts, *houghed their Horses and burnt their chariots with fire,*§ according to the commandment of the Lord: observing it in the same rigorous manner in which it was obeyed by their Kings, to whom the law was personally addressed: For thus Ahab destroyed the horses and chariots of Benhadad.‖ So that I now conclude the other way from this Law, that a general traffic with Egypt for Horses was very common in the times of Moses and Joshua. Consequently Egypt was not furnished with Horses from Libya in the time of Sir Isaac Newton's Sesostris.

But it may give strength to this argument, as well as light to the sacred Text, to inquire more particularly into the reasons of this PROHIBITION; which we shall find so weighty and various as to appear worthy of its Author, and accommodated only to a Law of divine original.

1. The first reason (which was expresly delivered with the Law) is, properly, RELIGIOUS. He [the King], says the Law, *shall not multiply Horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply Horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way;* i. e. He should not establish a body of Cavalry, because this could not be effected without sending into Egypt, with which people the Lord had

* Page 167. † Deut. xvii. 16. ‡ Joshua xi. 4. § Verse 9.
‖ 1 Kings xx. 21.

forbidden any communication, as, of all foreign commerce, that was the most dangerous to true Religion.*

When Solomon had violated this Law, and multiplied Horses to such excess that, we are told, he *had forty thousand stalls of Horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand Horsemen,*† it was soon attended with those fatal consequences which the Law had foretold. For this wisest of Kings having likewise, in violation of another Law of Moses, married Pharaoh's daughter,‡ (the early fruits of this commerce) and then, by a repetition of the same crime, but a transgression of another law, had espoused more *strange women;* § they first of all, in defiance of a fourth Law, persuaded him to build them idol Temples for their use; and afterwards, against a fifth Law, still more fundamental, brought him to erect other Temples for his own.‖ Now the original of all this mischief was the forbidden traffic with Egypt for Horses: For thither, we are told, the agents of Solomon were sent to mount his Cavalry. *And Solomon gathered chariots and horsemen: and he had a thousand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, which he placed in the chariot-cities, and with the king at Jerusalem—And he had Horses brought out of Egypt, and linen-yarn: the king's merchants received the linen-yarn at a price. And they fetcht up and brought forth out of Egypt a chariot for six hundred shekels of silver, and an Horse for an hundred and fifty.*¶ Nay, this great King even turned factor for the neighbouring monarchs. *And so brought they out Horses for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria by their means.*** This opprobrious commerce was kept up by his Successors; and attended with the same pernicious consequences. Isaiah, with his usual majesty, denounces the mischiefs of this traffic; and foretels that one of the good effects of leaving it, would be the forsaking their idolatries. *Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on* HORSES *and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in* HORSEMEN, *because they are very strong: but they look not unto the holy one of Israel, neither seek the Lord.—For thus hath the Lord spoken unto me: Like as the lion, and the young lion, roaring on his prey, when a multitude of shepherds is called forth against him, he will not be afraid of their voice, nor abate himself for the noise of them: so shall the Lord of Hosts come down to fight for mount Zion, and for the hill thereof—Turn ye unto him from whom the children of Israel have deeply revolted. For in that day every man shall cast away his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which your own hands have made unto you for a sin.*††

* See the next section. † 1 Kings iv. 26. ‡ 1 Kings iii. 1. § 1 Kings xi. 1. ‖ Verses 7, 8. ¶ 2 Chron. i. 16, 17. ** Verse 17.
†† Isaiah xxxi. 1, 4, 6, 7.

2. The second reason against *multiplying Horses* I take to have been properly POLITICAL. The Israelites, separated by GOD for his peculiar People, under his government as King, must needs have been designed for the proprietors of one certain country. Accordingly the land of Canaan, the possession of the *seven nations*, was marked out for their proper inheritance. Within these limits they were to be confined; it being foreign to the nature of their Institution to make conquests, or to extend their dominion. But the expulsion of the *seven nations* being, as we shall see presently, to be effected by the extraordinary assistance of their KING, JEHOVAH, their successes must, of course, be full and rapid. But nothing is so impatient of bounds as a multitude flesht with easy victories: the projects of such a people are always going on from conquest to conquest; as appears from the Mahometan Arabs, under the same circumstances, led out to conquest by a *false* Prophet, as the Israelites by a *true*. Now to defeat this so natural a disposition, in a nation not designed for Empire, a Law is given against MULTIPLYING HORSES; than which nothing can be conceived more effectual. The Country that confined them, was rocky and mountainous, and therefore unfit for the breed and sustentation of horse. Telemachus is commended for giving this reason for refusing the horses of Menelaus:

Haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulixei;
Non est aptus equis Ithacæ locus, ut neque planis
*Porrectus spatiis, nec multæ prodigus herbæ.**

Besides, when they had once gotten possession of these mountains, they had little need of horse to preserve their conquest; as all skilled in military matters very well understand.† The Israelites therefore, had they been either wise or pious, would soon have found that their true strength, as well political as religious, lay in Infantry: As that of Egypt, for a contrary reason, was in their Cavalry. Hence that people, who well understood their advantages, so industriously propagated the breed of Horses, as the surest defence of their territories. There is a remarkable passage, in the history of these times, to support what I here advance. When Benhadad, the gentile king of Syria, whose forces consisted of chariots and horsemen, had warred with ill success against the king of Israel, the Ministers, in a council of war, delivered their advice to him in these terms: *Their Gods are Gods of the* HILLS, *therefore they were stronger than we: but let us fight against them in the* PLAIN, *and surely we shall be stronger than they.—And he hearkened unto their voice, and did so.*‡ From this passage I collect, 1. That the army of Israel, consisting all of Infantry, had chosen the situation of the hills; and this with proper

* HORATIUS. † See note IIII, at the end of this book. ‡ 1 Kings xx. 23, et seq.

military skill. 2. That their constant success in such a disposition of their forces occasioned this advice of the Ministers of Benhadad. These men, possessed with the general notion of local tutelary Deities, finding the arms of Israel always successful on the hills, took it for the more eminent manifestation of the power of their Gods. *Their Gods*, say they, *are Gods of the hills*. Their superstition dictated the first part of their advice; and their skill in war, the second, —*let us fight against them in the plain*. The operations of the war had been hitherto most absurd: they had attacked an army of Infantry with one of Cavalry, on hills and in defiles.

But this want of Horse (which kind of military force neither the product of their country could well support, nor the defence of it need) would effectually prevent any attempt of extending their dominions either into the Lesser Asia, Mesopotamia, or Egypt. All which neighbouring countries being stretched out into large and extended plains, could not be safely invaded without a numerous Cavalry. In this view, therefore, the wisdom of the Law can never be sufficiently admired.

3. But the third reason of the prohibition was evidently to afford a lasting MANIFESTATION OF THAT EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE by which the Israelites were conducted, in taking possession of the land of Canaan. I have shewn that, when once settled, they might very well defend the possession without the help of Cavalry: But to conquer it without Cavalry, and from a warlike people abounding in Horse, was more than a raw unpractised Infantry could ever have performed alone. No more need be said to convince military men of the extreme difference of the two cases. To others it may be proper to observe,

1. That in the invasion of a country, the invaded may chuse their ground; and as it is their interest to avoid coming to a decisive action, so, being amidst their own native stores and provisions, they have it in their power to decline it. On the contrary, the invader must attack his enemies wherever he finds them posted. For, by reason of the scantiness and uncertainty of supplies in an enemy's country, he has not, for the most part, time to draw them, by military stratagems, from their advantages. We find this verified in the history of Benhadad, mentioned above. He had invaded Israel; but this people disposing of their Infantry with soldier-like address, he was forced to fight them on the *hills*, where only they were to be met with. After many unsuccessful engagements, his Ministers proposed a new plan of operation; to attack the enemy in the *plains*. And truly the advice was good: but how to put it in execution was the question; for they being the assailants, the Israelites were masters of their ground. So that, after all, there was no other way of bringing

them into the plains but by beating them from the hills. And there they must have stuck, till famine and desertion had ended the quarrel. In this exigence, their blasphemy against the God of Israel enabled them to put their counsels, against him, in execution. They fancied, according to the superstition of that time, and so gave out, that *he was God of the hills, but not of the valleys.* His omnipotence being thus disputed, He placed his people in the plains; and sent his Prophet to predict the coming vengeance on his enemies. *And there came a man of* GOD, *and spake unto the king of Israel, and said, Thus saith the Lord, Because the Syrians have said, the Lord is God of the hills, but he is not God of the valleys; therefore will I deliver all this great multitude into thine hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.**

2. Secondly, we may observe, that the possessors of mountainous regions may so dispose their Fortresses, with which they cover their country, as to make an invader's Cavalry absolutely useless; and consequently to have no occasion for any of their own. But the invaders of such a place where Cavalry is in use, and consequently the defences disposed in a contrary manner, so as best to favour the operations of Horse, the invaders, I say, go to certain destruction without a body of Horse to support their Infantry. This then being the very situation of affairs when the Israelites invaded Canaan, and conquered it, (for till then they had not begun to transgress the Law against Cavalry) I conclude that they must have been MIRACULOUSLY assisted. The Arabians, in a like expedition, thought it so extraordinary a thing to conquer without Horse, that Mahomet made it a law, when this happened, for the spoils not to be divided according to the stated rule, but for all to go to the Prophet himself, as a *deodand* or a gift from God alone.† Yet Mahomet never pretended to make his conquests without Horse, but used them on every occasion of need.

To return, we see then how little reason Sir Isaac Newton had for saying that Sesostris's conquest of Libya was the occasion of Egypt's being furnished with horse, so as to supply the neighbouring countries. But the instance was particularly ill chosen: for Sesostris, whom he makes the author of this benefit to Egypt, did, by his filling the country with canals, defeat the chief use and service of Cavalry; with which, till this time, Egypt had abounded; but which from henceforth we hear no more of.‡

* 1 Kings xx. 28. † *Et id, quod concessit in prædam Deus legato suo ex illis: Non impulistis super illud ullos equos, neque camelos* [i. e. non acquisistis illud ope equorum aut camelorum]; *sed Deus prævalere facit legatos suos, super quem vult: nam Deus est super omnem rem potens.*—Surat. 59, *Alcor.* verse 6. ‡ Νοσφίσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ—τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐούσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, πάσας οὗτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὄρυσσον· ἐπολέόν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τοπρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἱππασίμην, καὶ ἀμαξευομένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεᾶ τούτων· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος ἐοῦσα πεδιὰς πᾶσα, ἄνιππος καὶ ἀναμάξευτος γέγονε.—HERODOTI *Historia*, lib. ii. cap. 108.

3. Again, in consequence of the same system, our great author seems to think that animal food was not customary amongst the Egyptians till about this time. *The Egyptians* (says he) *originally lived on the fruits of the earth, and fared hardly, and abstained from animals, and* THEREFORE *abominated shepherds: Menes* [the third from Sesostris] *taught them to adorn their beds and tables with rich furniture and carpets, and brought in amongst them a sumptuous, delicious, and voluptuous way of life.** Now, whoever brought in the *eating of flesh*, and a *voluptuous life*, did it (as we are assured from Scripture) before the time of Joseph. I have proved, in my account of their Physicians as delivered in the Bible, that they were then a luxurious people.† From the dream of Pharaoh's baker, compared with Joseph's interpretation,‡ it appears, they eat animal food; and, from the story of Joseph's entertainment of his brethren, it appears, that their enmity to shepherds was not occasioned by these Hebrews' eating animal food, which, Sir Isaac says, the Egyptians abstained from. *And he said to the ruler of his house, Bring these men home, and* SLAY, *and make ready: for these men shall dine with me at noon. And the man did as Joseph bade: and the man brought the men into Joseph's house—and they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves, because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination to the Egyptians.—And he took and sent messes unto them from before him.*§ Here, we see the common provision for their entertainment was animal food. And no one can doubt whether Joseph conformed to the Egyptian diet. He sat single out of state, with regard to the Egyptians; the Egyptians sat apart, with regard to the Shepherds; and Both were supplied from the Governor's table, which was furnished from the Steward's slaughter-house. The truth of this is farther seen from the murmuring of the Israelites in the wilderness, when they said, *Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the* FLESH-POTS, *and when we did eat bread to the full.*‖ Now we can scarce suppose the Egyptians would permit their slaves, whom they kept in so hard oppression, to riot in *flesh-pots*, while, as Sir Isaac supposes, *they themselves fared hardly and abstained from Animals.*

4. Again, he supposes, that the exact division of the land of Egypt

* Page 241. † See p. 157, and following, of this volume. ‡ "And the chief baker said unto Joseph, I also was in my dream, and behold I had three white baskets on my head, and in the uppermost basket there was of all manner of BAKE-MEATS for Pharaoh, and the birds did eat them out of the basket.—And Joseph answered and said—The three baskets are three days. Yet within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and shall hang thee on a tree; and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee."—Gen. xl. 16, et seq. § Gen. xliii. 16, 17, 32, 34. ‖ Exod. xvi. 3.

into Property was first made in the time of Sesostris. *Sesostris* (says he) *upon his returning home, divided Egypt by measure amongst the Egyptians; and this gave a beginning to surveying and geometry.** And in another place, he brings down the original of geometry still lower; even as late as Mæris, the fifth from Sesostris. *Mæris* (says he)—*for preserving the division of Egypt into equal shares amongst the soldiers—wrote a book of surveying, which gave a beginning to geometry.*† Let the reader now consider, whether it be possible to reconcile this with the following account of Joseph's administration. *And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold* EVERY MAN HIS FIELD, *because the famine prevailed over them: so the land became Pharaoh's. And as for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt, even to the other end thereof. Only the land of the Priests bought he not; for the Priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; therefore they sold not their lands. Then Joseph said unto the people, Behold I have bought you this day, and your land for Pharaoh: lo here is the seed for you, and ye shall sow the land. And it shall come to pass, in the increase, that you shall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your own households, and for food for your little ones. And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part; except the land of the Priests only, which became not Pharaoh's.*‡ Here we have the description of a country very exactly set out and settled in private property. It would afford room for variety of reflexions: I shall confine myself to the following. If private property had not been, at this time, established with the utmost order and exactness; what occasion had Joseph to recur to that troublesome expedient of transplanting the People, reciprocally, from one end of Egypt to the other? His purpose in it is evident: it was to secure Pharaoh in his new property, by defeating the ill effects of that fondness which people naturally have to an old paternal inheritance. But what fondness have men for one spot, rather than another, of lands lying in common, or but newly appropriated? Were the Egyptians at this time, as Sir Isaac Newton seems to suppose, in the state of the unsettled Nomades, they would have gone from one end of Egypt to the other, without Joseph's sending; and without the least regret for any thing they had left behind.

But without weakening the great man's conjecture by Scripture-history, How does it appear from the simple fact of Sesostris's dividing the large champion country into square fields, by cross-cut canals, that this *was a dividing Egypt by measure, and giving a begin-*

* Page 218. † Page 248. ‡ Gen xlvii. 20, et seq.

ning to surveying and geometry? If we examine the cause and the effects of that improvement, we shall find that neither one nor the other part of his conclusion can be deduced from it. The *cause* of making these canals was evidently to drain the swampy marshes of that vast extended level; and to render the whole labourable.* But a work of this kind is never projected till a people begin to want room. And they never want room till private property hath been well established; and the necessaries of life, by the advancement of civil arts, are become greatly increased. As to the *effects;* Ground, once divided by such boundaries, was in no danger of a change of land-marks; and consequently had small occasion for future surveys. So that had not the Egyptians found out geometry before this new division, 'tis probable they had never found it out at all. The most likely cause, therefore, to be assigned for this invention, was the necessity of frequent surveys, while the annual overflowings of the Nile were always obliterating such land-marks as were not, like those cross-cut canals, wrought deep into the soil. But these put a total end to that inconvenience. Indeed, Herodotus seems to give it as his opinion, that geometry had its rise from this improvement of Sesostris.† But we are to remember what hath been said of the incredible Antiquity which the ancient Greek writers, and particularly Aristotle,‡ assigned to this Hero: the natural consequence of the Egyptians' having confounded the ages and actions, though never the persons, of Osiris and Sesostris.

5. The next inference this illustrious Writer makes from his system is, that *letters were unknown in Egypt* till the time of David. *When the Edomites* (says he) *fled from David with their young king Hadad into Egypt, it is probable that they carried thither also the use of letters: for letters were then in use amongst the posterity of Abraham—and there is no instance of letters, for writing down sounds, being in use before the days of David in any other nation besides the posterity of Abraham. The Egyptians ascribed this invention to Thoth the secretary of Osiris; and therefore letters began to be in use in Egypt in the days of Thoth, that is, a little after the flight of the Edomites from David, or about the time that Cadmus brought them into Europe.*§ It appears from the two stone-tables of the Law, and from the engravings on Aaron's breast-plate, that letters were in common use amongst the Israelites at the time of their egression from Egypt. Now supposing alphabetic writing to be amongst the peculiar advantages of the chosen people, was it not more likely that the Egyptians should learn it of them during their long abode in that

* See note KKKK, at the end of this book. † Δοκέοι δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίη εὑρεθεῖσα, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν.—HERODOTUS, lib. ii. cap. 109. ‡ See pp. 256—258. § Page 209.

country, than from the fugitive *Edomites*, if they had indeed *carried thither* (which however is a mere conjecture) *the use of letters?* But when we consider that alphabetic writing was introduced amongst the chosen people some time between the age of Jacob and that of Moses, it seems most probable that they learnt it of the Egyptians. But, for a full confutation of this fancy, and of the arguments that support it, I am content to refer the reader to what I have occasionally observed, though to other purposes, in my discourse of the Egyptian hieroglyphics.*

6. Lastly, he observes, that *Egypt was so thinly peopled before the birth of Moses, that Pharaoh said of the Israelites,* "Behold the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we:" *and that to prevent their multiplying, and growing too strong, he caused their male children to be drowned.*† Yet this country, *so thinly peopled at the birth of Moses,* was, we find from Scripture, so vastly populous, by the time Moses was sent upon his mission, that it could keep in slavery six hundred thousand men besides children;‡ at a time, when they were most powerfully instigated to recover their liberty; which yet, after all, they were unable to effect but by the frequent desolation of the hand of GOD upon their insolent and cruel masters. And is this to be reconciled with Sir Isaac's notion of their preceding thinness? But he likewise supports himself on Scripture. Egypt was so thinly peopled—*that Pharaoh said—Behold the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we.* Strange interpretation! The Scripture relation of the matter is in these words: *And Pharaoh said unto his people, Behold the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them: lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land. Therefore they did set over them Taskmasters, to afflict them with their burdens.—But the more they afflicted them, the more they grew and multiplied.*§ By the whole turn of this relation it appears, that the *more and mightier* signify only *more prolific and healthy.* And that was in truth the case. The Egyptians of this time, as we have shewn,‖ were very luxurious: While the manners of the Israelites concurred with their condition to render them hardy and fruitful, by an abstemious and laborious course of life. On this account the king expresses his fear. But of what? certainly not that they should subdue their masters; but that they should *escape out of bondage:* which, even to the very moment of their egression, was the sole object of the Egyptian's fear.—*Lest* (says he) *they multiply; and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies,*

* See p. 172, et seq. † Page 186. ‡ Exod. xii. 37. § Exod. i. 9, et seq. ‖ See p. 157, et seq.

and fight against us, and SO GET THEM UP OUT OF THE LAND. This was a reasonable apprehension: for Egypt was in every age subject to the incursions of that fierce and barbarous people the Arabians, on that very side which the Israelites inhabited: who, possessing their own District, unmixed with Egyptians, had the keys of the country in their hands, to admit or exclude an invader at their pleasure. A circumstance which would make the smallest province formidable to the most powerful kingdom. To prevent then so probable a danger, their taskmasters are ordered to increase their oppressions; and they groan under them without power to resist, till set free by the all-powerful hand of GOD.

Thus we see how Sir Isaac Newton's system stands with regard to SACRED ANTIQUITY. What is still worse, it is not only repugnant to the Bible, but even to ITSELF.

III. We have observed, that, by the casual confounding of the proper actions of Osiris and Sesostris with one another, each came to be, at the same time, the INVENTOR, and the PERFECTER, of the arts of life. This, which might have led our Author, the most penetrating of all writers, to the discovery of the ancient error in their history, served only to confirm him in his own; as placing the invention of civil arts low enough for the support of his general Chronology. However, it is very certain, that the making their *invention* and *perfection* the product of the same age is directly contrary to the very NATURE OF THINGS. Which if any one doubt, let him examine the general history of mankind; where he will see that the advances, from an emerging barbarity, through civil policy, to refined arts and polished manners, when not given them, ready fitted to their hands, by neighbouring nations forward to impart them, have been ever the slow and gradual progress of many and successive ages. Yet these, our illustrious Author (in consequence of the supposed identity of his two Heroes) makes to spring up, to flourish, and to come to their perfection, all within the compass of one single reign. Or rather, which is still more intolerable, he makes this extraordinary age of Sesostris to be distinguished from all others by an inseparable mixture of savage and polished manners. Which is so unnatural, so incredible, so impossible a circumstance, that, were there only this to oppose against his system, it would be a sufficient demonstration of its falshood.

To shew then, that Sir Isaac Newton, by fairly and honestly taking in these consequences of his system, hath indeed subjected it to this disgrace, I shall give two instances. The one taken from his account of the *state of War*, the other of the *state of Architecture*, during this period.

1. Our Author having made the Egyptian Hercules to be Sesostris,

is forced to own that the war in Libya was carried on with clubs. *After these things, he* [Hercules or Sesostris] *invaded Libya, and fought the Africans with clubs, and thence is painted with a club in his hand.* Here, the great Writer hath given us the very picture of the Iroquosian or Huron Savages warring with a neighbouring tribe. And without doubt intended it for such a representation; as appears, first, from his immediately adding these words of Hyginus: *Afri et Ægyptii* PRIMUM *fustibus dimicaverunt, postea Belus Neptuni filius gladio belligeratus est, unde* bellum *dictum est.* p. 215. For we are to observe that the title of the chapter, in which these words are found, is, *quis quid invenerit:* * and secondly, from his supposing Vulcan (whom he makes to live at this time) the inventor of military weapons. Yet this, according to the great Author, was after Sesostris's conquest of the Troglodytes and Ethiopians: it was after his Father's building a fleet on the Red sea, with which he coasted Arabia Felix; went into the Persian Gulph, and penetrated even into India: [pp. 214, 215.] and but a little before Sesostris's great expedition for the conquest of the habitable world. At which time we see him set out with the most splendid retinue of a Court, and the most dreadful apparatus of War; we find him defeat great armies; subdue mighty kingdoms (amongst the rest Judæa, where all kind of military arms offensive and defensive had been in use for many ages); people large cities; and leave behind him many stately monuments of his power and magnificence.

2. Thus again, Sir Isaac tells us, that Tosorthrus or Æsculapius, an Egyptian of the time of Sesostris, discovered the art of building with square stones.† Yet his contemporary, Sesostris, he tells us, *divided Egypt into* 36 *nomes or counties, and dug a canal from the Nile, to the head city of every nome; and with the earth dug out of it, he caused the ground of the city to be raised higher, and built a temple in every city for the worship of the nome; &c.* p. 218. And soon after, Amenophis, the third from him, *built Memphis; and ordered the worship of the Gods of Egypt; and built a palace at Abydus, and the Memnonia at This and Susa, and the magnificent temple of Vulcan in Memphis.*‡

Now, in this odd mixture of barbarity and politeness, strength and impotence, riches and poverty, there is such an inconsistency in the character of ages, as shews it to be the mere invention of professed fabulists, whose known talent it is to

> "Make former times shake hands with latter,
> And that which was before come after;"

though composed of tales so ill concerted, and contradictory, as shews,

* Fab. cclxxiv. † *The building with square stones* (says he) *being found out by* Tosorthrus, *the* Æsculapius of Egypt. Page 247. ‡ See note LLLL, at the end of this book.

they wrote upon no consistent plan, but each as his own temporary views and occasions required.

When I entered on a confutation of Sir Isaac Newton's *Egyptian Chronology* (for with that only I have here to do), I was willing for the greater satisfaction of the reader to set his arguments for the *identity of Osiris and Sesostris*, on which that Chronology was founded, in the strongest and clearest light. On this account I took them as I found them collected, ranged in order, and set together in one view, with the greatest advantage of representation, by the very worthy and learned Master of the Charter-house, in a professed apology for our great Philosopher. But this liberty the learned writer hath been pleased to criticise in the Latin edition* of the tracts to which that apology was prefixed—"I am not ignorant" (says he†) "that the author of *The Divine Legation* supposing it, some how or other, to concern Moses's divine mission, to prove that Osiris was not the same with Sesostris, hath lately turned all that is here said into ridicule, by a comparison made between the fabulous ARTHUR and WILLIAM the Norman; who, he says, may be made one by as good reasons (though they have scarce any thing alike or in common with one another) as those which we have brought to confound Osiris with Sesostris: and on this point he draws out a disputation through seventy pages and upwards; in which, however, he neither denies nor confutes, but only laughs at what we have here said of Sesostris. It is true indeed that some other of Newton's assertions he does oppose; such as those concerning the late invention of arts, arms, and instruments by some certain king; and in this part of the argument he gets the better. For that these things were found out by the Egyptians long before the age of Sesostris, holy Writ commands us to believe: but whether found out by any of their kings, is not so certain. However, these were matters we never touched upon, as relating nothing to our purpose; nor do they yet induce us to recede from that conclusion of the famous Newton, that Sesac was Sesostris, Osiris, and Bacchus. But the cause being now brought before the

* *De veris Annis D. N. Jesus Christi natali et emortuali Dissertationes duæ Chronologicæ.* † "Non nescimus nuperrime accidisse, ut Vir ingenio et eruditione præstans, quum ratus sit ad *divinam legationem Mosis demonstrandum* aliquo modo pertinere, ut probetur Osiris non esse idem cum Sesostri, omnia huc allata in lusum jocumque verterit, instituta comparatione Arthuri illius fabulosi cum Wilhelmo Normanno, quos æquè bonis rationibus in unum hominem conflari posse ait (quamvis nihil fere habeant inter se commune aut simile) ac nos Osirin cum Sesostri confundimus. Et de hac re disputationem in 70 paginas et ultra producit. In qua tamen hæc nostra de Sesostri neque negat, neque refellit, sed irridet. Alia vero quædam Newtoni dicta de sero inventis ab aliquo rege artibus, armis, instrumentis oppugnat, et ea quidem parte causæ vincit. Nam ut ista longe ante Sesostris ætatem apud Ægyptios reperta sint, Scriptura sacra jubet credere; ab ullo unquam regum inventa esse haud ita certum. Sed ea prius non attigimus, ut quæ nihil ad propositum nostrum attinent, neque nunc nos movent, ut pedem retrahamus ab ista Cl. Newtoni conclusione Sesacum, Sesostrim, Osirin et Bacchum fuisse. Lite jam contestata judicent eruditi."—*In Dedic.* pp. xii. xiii.

Public, let the learned determine of it." Thus far this candid and ingenuous writer.

He says, *the author of The Divine Legation supposes that it some how or other concerns Moses's divine mission to prove Osiris not the same with Sesostris;* which seems to imply that this learned person doth not see HOW it concerns it. And yet afterwards he owns, *that Scripture* (meaning the writings of Moses) *will not allow us to believe with Sir Isaac, that the invention of arts, arms, and instruments, was so late as the time of Sesostris.* Now it follows (as I have shewn) by certain consequence, that if Osiris and Sesostris were one and the same, then the invention of arts was as late as the time of Sesostris. But this contradicting Scripture or the writings of Moses, as the learned person himself confesseth, the reader sees plainly, HOW *it concerns Moses's mission to prove Osiris not the same with Sesostris.*

The learned writer, speaking of the comparison I had made between Arthur and William the Norman, says, *they have scarce any thing alike or in common with one another.* I had brought together thirteen circumstances (the very number which the learned writer thinks sufficient to establish the identity of Osiris and Sesostris) in which they perfectly agree. I am persuaded he does not suspect me of falsifying their history. He must mean therefore, that *thirteen* in my comparison, prove nothing, which, in his, prove every thing.

He goes on,—*in a disputation of seventy pages and upwards, the author of The Divine Legation neither denies nor confutes, but only laughs at what we have said of Sesostris.* What is it the learned writer *hath said of Sesostris?* Is it not this? That between his history and that of Osiris there are many strokes of resemblance: From whence he infers (with Sir Isaac) that these two Heroes were one and the same. Now if he means, I have neither *denied* nor *confuted* this resemblance, he says true. I had no such design. It is too well marked by Antiquity to be denied. Neither, let me add, did I *laugh at* it. What I *laughed* at (if my bringing a similar case is to be so called) was his inference from this resemblance, that therefore Osiris and Sesostris were one and the same. But then too I did more than *laugh:* I both *denied* and *confuted* it. First I *denied* it, by shewing that this resemblance might really be, though Osiris and Sesostris were two different men, as appeared by an equal resemblance in the actions of two different men, the British Arthur and William the Norman. But as the general history of ancient Egypt would not suffer us to believe all that the Greek writers have said of this resemblance, I then explained the causes which occasioned their mistaken accounts of the two persons, from whence so perfect a resemblance had arisen. Secondly, I *confuted* what the learned person had said of Sesostris, by shewing, from the concurrent testimony of Antiquity,

and from several internal arguments deducible from that testimony, that Osiris and Sesostris were in fact two different persons, living in two very distant ages.

The learned writer proceeds,—*It is true indeed that some other of Newton's assertions he does oppose; such as those concerning the late invention of arts, arms, and instruments; and in this part of the argument he gets the better.* But if I have the better here, it is past dispute I overthrow the whole hypothesis of the *identity of Osiris and Sesostris.* For, as to the resemblance, which Antiquity hath given them, that, considered singly when the pretended late invention of arts hath been proved a mistake, will indeed deserve only to be *laughed at.* But were it, as Sir Isaac Newton endeavoured to prove, that the invention of arts was no earlier than the time of Sesostris or Sesac, there is then indeed an end of the ancient Osiris of Egypt; and the Hero, so much boasted of by that people, can be no other than the Sesostris of this author. For the very foundation of the existence of the ancient Osiris was his civilizing Egypt, and teaching them the Arts of life: But if this were done by Sesostris, or in his reign, then is HE the true Osiris of Egypt. As, on the contrary, were the invention of arts as early as SCRIPTURE-HISTORY represents it, then is Egypt to be believed, when she tells us that Osiris, their Inventor of arts, was many ages earlier than Sesostris their Conqueror: And consequently, all Sir Isaac Newton's *identity* separates and falls to pieces. In a word, take it which way you will, If Osiris were the same as Sesostris, then must the invention of Arts (for all Antiquity have concurred in giving that invention to Osiris) be as late as the age of Sesostris, the Sesac of Newton: but this, SCRIPTURE-HISTORY will not suffer us to believe. If, on the other hand, Osiris and Sesostris were not the same, then was the invention of Arts (and for the same reason) much earlier than the age of Sesostris; as indeed all mankind thought before the construction of this new Chronology. These were the considerations which induced that Great man, who so well understood the nature and force of evidence, to employ all the sagacity of his wonderful talents in proving the invention of Arts to be about the age of his Sesostris or Sesac. And is it possible he should have a follower who cannot see that he hath done this? or the necessity he had of doing it? It will be said, perhaps, "that Sir Isaac has, indeed, argued much for the low invention of Arts: but had neither inforced it under the name of an argument, nor stated it in the form here represented." The objection would ill become a follower of Newton, who knows that his Master's method, as well in these his critical as in his physical inquiries, was to form the principal members of his demonstration with an unornamented brevity, and leave the supplial of the small connecting parts to his

reader's sagacity. Besides, in so obvious, so capital, so necessary an argument for this *identity*, it had been a ridiculous distrust of common sense, after he had spent so much pains in endeavouring to prove the *low invention of Arts*, to have ended his reasoning in this formal way: "And now, Reader, take notice that this is a conclusive, and perhaps the only conclusive argument for the *identity* of Osiris and Sesostris." Lastly, let me observe, that the very reason which induced Sir Isaac to be so large in the establishment of his point, *the low invention of Arts*, induced me to be as large in the subversion of it. And now some satisfactory account, I hope, is given of the *seventy long pages*.

What follows is still more unaccountable—*However these were matters* (says the learned writer, speaking of the invention of Arts) *we never touched upon, as relating nothing to our purpose.* Here I cannot but lament the learned writer's ill fortune. There was but this very circumstance in the book he would defend, which is *essential to his purpose*, and this he hath given up as *nothing to his purpose*; and more unlucky still, on a review of the argument, he hath treated it as an error in his author, who took so much pains about it; but yet as an error that doth not at all affect the point in question. For,

He concludes thus—*Nor do they yet induce me to recede from that conclusion of the famous Newton, that Sesac was Sesostris, Osiris and Bacchus.*—Sesac, as I said before, I have no concern with. And as to Bacchus, it is agreed that this was only one of the names of Osiris. The thing I undertook to prove was, that Osiris and Sesostris were not the same person: but in doing this, I did not mean to say that Osiris was not one of the names of Sesostris. This is a very different thing: and the rather to be taken notice of, because I suspect a quibble in the words of the learned writer, which would confound the difference. Nor is my suspicion unreasonable. For I have met with some of his most learned followers, who have ventured to say, that Sir Isaac meant no more than that Sesostris was AN Osiris. But if he meant no more, I would allow him to mean any thing; and never to have his meaning disputed. I, for my part, and so I suppose every body else, understood him to mean, "That the old Osiris, famous, amongst the Egyptians, for Legislation and the invention of the Arts of life, was the very same man with Sesostris, whom these Egyptians make to be a different man, of a later age, and famous for the Conquest of the habitable world." This was the proposition I undertook to confute. Wherein I endeavoured to shew, "that there was a real Osiris, such as the Egyptians represented him, much earlier than their real Sesostris." And now (to use this writer's words) *the cause being brought before the public, let the learned determine of it.* As to

the other point, that Sesostris went by the name of the earlier Hero, this I not only allow, but contend for, as it lays open to us one of the principal causes of that confusion in their stories, which hath produced a similitude of actions, whereon Sir Isaac Newton layeth the foundation of their IDENTITY.

But if Sir Isaac Newton and his learned Advocate have paid too little deference to Antiquity, there are, who, in a contrary extreme, would pay a great deal too much. The learned Dr. Pococke, in his book of travels, introduceth his discourse *On the mythology of the ancient Egyptians* in this extraordinary manner: "As the mythology, or fabulous religion of the ancient Egyptians, may be looked on, in a great measure, as the foundation of the heathen Religion in most other parts; so it may not be improper to give some account of the origin of it, as it is delivered by the most ancient authors, which may give some light both to the description of Egypt, and also to the history of that country. We may suppose, that the Ancients were the best judges of the nature of their Religion; and consequently, that all interpretations of their Mythology, by MEN OF FRUITFUL INVENTIONS, that have no sort of foundation in their writings, are forced, and such as might never be intended by them. On the contrary, it is necessary to retrench several things the Ancients themselves seem to have invented, and grafted on true history; and, in order to account for many things, the Genealogies and Alliances they mention must in several respects be false or erroneous, and seem to have been invented to accommodate the honours of the same Deities to different persons, they were obliged to deify, who lived at different times; and so they were obliged to give them new names, invent genealogies, and some different attributes."*

He says, *We may suppose that the ancients were the best judges of the nature of their religion, and of their mythology.* But the *Ancients*, here spoken of, were not Egyptians, but Greeks; and the *Mythology* here spoken of was not Greek, but Egyptian: Therefore these *Ancients* might well be mistaken about the *nature of a Religion* which they borrowed from strangers; the principles of which, they tell us, were always kept secreted from them. But this is not all; they in fact were mistaken; and by no means *good judges of the nature of their Religion*, if we may believe one of the most authentic of these Ancients, HERODOTUS himself, where discoursing of the Greeks he expresly says,—"But the origin of each God, and whether they are all from eternity, and what is their several kinds or natures, to speak the truth, they neither knew at that time nor since."†

The learned Traveller goes on—*and* CONSEQUENTLY *that all interpretations of their Mythology by men of* FRUITFUL INVENTIONS, *that*

* Pp. 221, 222. † See above.

have no sort of foundation in their writings, are forced, and such as might never be intended by them. This is indeed a TRUTH, but it is no CONSEQUENCE, and therefore not to the purpose. For, whether the *Ancients* were, or were not, *the best judges;* whether the *Moderns* have, or have not, *fruitful inventions,* yet if their *interpretations have no sort of foundation in ancient writings,* it is a great chance but they *are forced;* and as great, that the Ancients never intended what the Moderns ascribe to them. However, he gets nothing by this hypothetical proposition, unless it be the discredit of begging the question.

But the most extraordinary is his making it an additional reason for leaving the Moderns and sticking to the Ancients, that *the Ancients seem to have invented and grafted on true history; and, in order* (he says) *to account for many things, the genealogies and alliances they mention must in several respects be false or erroneous, and seem to have been invented, &c.* Now, if the Ancients were thus mistaken, the Moderns sure may be excused in endeavouring to set them right: To common sense therefore, this would seem to shew the *use* of their interpretations. But this use is better understood from our Author's own success; who, in this chapter concerning the *Egyptian mythology,* has attempted to give us some knowledge of Antiquity, without them. And here we find, the ancient account, to which he so closely adheres, is not only fabulous by his own confession, but contradictory by his own representation; a confused collection of errors and absurdities: that very condition of Antiquity which forced the *Moderns* to have recourse to *interpretations;* and occasioned that variety whereon our author grounds his charge against them. A charge however, in which his *Ancients* themselves will be involved; for they likewise had their *interpretations;* and were (if their variety would give it them) as *fruitful* at least, in their *inventions.* For instance, How discordant were they in their opinions concerning the origin of ANIMAL WORSHIP? Was our Author ignorant that so odd a superstition wanted explanation? By no means. Yet for fear of incurring the censure of a *fruitful invention,* instead of taking the fair solution of a modern Critic, or even any rational interpretation of the ancient Mythologists, whom yet he professes to follow, he contents himself with that wretched fable "of Typhon's dividing the body of Osiris into twenty-six parts, and distributing them to his accomplices; which being afterwards found by Isis, and delivered by her to distinct bodies of priests to be buried with great secrecy, she enjoined them to pay divine honours to him, and to consecrate some particular animal to his memory." *From this account* (says our author very gravely) *we may see the reason why so many sacred animals were worshipped in Egypt.** Again, the Greek account,

* Page 226.

in Diodorus, of Osiris's expedition, has been shewn to be a heap of impossible absurdities; yet our author believes it all; and would have believed as much more rather than have run the hazard of any *modern invention.*

AND now, we presume, the MINOR of Sir Isaac Newton's general argument, that *Osiris and Sesostris were the same,* is intirely overthrown. For, 1. It hath been proved, that the premisses, he employs in its support, do not infer it. 2. That the consequence of his conclusion from it contradicts sacred Scripture; and 3. That it disagrees with the very nature of things.

So that our first proposition, *That the Egyptian learning celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian superstition there condemned, were the very Learning and Superstition represented by the Greek writers, as the honour and opprobrium of that people,* stands clear of all objection. What that *Learning* and *Superstition* were, we have shewn very largely, though occasionally, in the course of this inquiry; whereby it appears, that their *Learning* in general was consummate skill in CIVIL POLICY AND THE ARTS OF LEGISLATION; and their *Superstition,* the WORSHIP OF DEAD MEN DEIFIED.

SECTION VI.

I COME, at length, to my second proposition: which if, by this time, the Reader should have forgotten, he may be easily excused. It is this, *That the Jewish people were extremely fond of Egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian superstitions: and that many of the laws given to them by the ministry of Moses, were instituted, partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in opposition to those superstitions.*

The first part of this proposition—*the people's fondness for, and frequent lapse into, Egyptian superstitions,*—needs not many words to evince. The thing, as we shall see hereafter, being so natural in itself; and, as we shall now see, so fully recorded in holy Scripture.

The time was now come for the deliverance of the chosen People from their Egyptian bondage: For now VICE and IDOLATRY were arrived at their height; the former (as St. Paul tells us) by means of the latter; for *as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient; being filled with all unrighteousness, &c.** The two most populous regions at that time in the world were CANAAN and EGYPT: The first distinguished from all other by its *violence and unnatural crimes;* the latter by its *superstitions and idolatries.* It concerned God's moral government that a speedy check should be put to both; the inhabitants of these two places being now ripe for divine ven-

* Rom. i. 28.

geance. And as the instruments he employed to punish their present enormities were designed for a barrier against future, the Israelites went out of Egypt with a *high hand*, which desolated their haughty tyrants; and were led into the possession of the land of Canaan, whose inhabitants they were utterly to exterminate. The dispensation of this Providence appears admirable, both in the time and in the modes of the punishment. VICE and IDOLATRY had now (as I said) filled up their measure. EGYPT, the capital of false Religion, being likewise the nursery of arts and sciences, was preserved from total destruction for the sake of civil life and polished manners, which were to derive their source from thence: But the CANAANITES were to be utterly exterminated, to vindicate the honour of humanity, and to put a stop to a spreading contagion which changed the reasonable Nature into brutal.

Now it was that GOD, remembering his Covenant with Abraham, was pleased to appoint his People, then groaning under their bondage, a Leader and Deliverer. But so great was their degeneracy, and so sensible was MOSES of its effects, in their ignorance of, or alienation from the true GOD, that he would willingly have declined the office: And when absolutely commanded to undertake it, he desired however that GOD would let him know by what NAME he would be called, when the people should ask the *name* of the GOD of their fathers.—*And Moses said unto* GOD, *Behold when I come unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, The* GOD *of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say unto me,* WHAT IS HIS NAME? *what shall I say unto them?* * Here we see a people not only lost to all knowledge of the UNITY (for the asking for a *name* necessarily implied their opinion of a plurality), but likewise possessed with the very spirit of Egyptian idolatry. *The religion of* NAMES, as we have shewn,† was a matter of great consequence in Egypt. It was one of their essential superstitions: it was one of their native inventions: and the first of them which they communicated to the Greeks. Thus when Hagar, the handmaid of Sarai, who was an Egyptian woman, saw the angel of God in the wilderness, the text tells us,‡ *She called the name of the Lord that spake unto her,* ELROI, *the God of vision, or the visible God:* that is, according to the established custom of Egypt, she gave him a name of *honour:* not merely a name of *distinction;* for such, all nations had (who worshipped local tutelary deities) before their communication with Egypt.§ But, after that, (as appears from the place of Herodotus quoted above, concerning the Pelasgi,) they decorated their Gods with distinguished Titles, indicative of their specific office and attributes. A NAME was

* Exod. iii. 13. † Page 253, et seq. ‡ Gen. xvi. 13. § See note MMMM, at the end of this book.

so peculiar an adjunct to a local tutelary Deity, that we see by a passage quoted by Lactantius from the spurious books of Trismegist (which however abounded with Egyptian notions and superstitions), that the one supreme God had no *name* or title of distinction.* Zachariah evidently alluding to these notions, when he prophesies of the worship of the supreme God, unmixed with idolatry, says, *In that day shall there be one Lord, and* HIS NAME ONE;† that is, only bearing the simple title of LORD: and, as in the words of Lactantius below, *ac ne quis* NOMEN *ejus requireret,* ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΝ *esse dixit; eo quod nominis* PROPRIETATE *non egeat, ob ipsam scilicet* UNITATEM. Out of indulgence therefore to this weakness, GOD was pleased to give himself a NAME. *And God said unto Moses,* I AM THAT I AM: *And he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel,* I AM *hath sent me unto you.*‡ Where we may observe (according to the constant method of divine Wisdom, when it condescends to the prejudices of men) how, in the very instance of indulgence to their superstition, he gives a corrective of it.—The *Religion of names* arose from an idolatrous polytheism; and the NAME here given, implying *eternity* and *self-existence,* directly opposeth that superstition.

This compliance with the *Religion of names* was a new indulgence to the prejudices of this people, as is evident from the following words: *And* GOD *spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am the Lord: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the* NAME OF GOD ALMIGHTY, *but by my* NAME JEHOVAH *was I not known to them.*§ That is, as the GOD of Abraham, I before condescended to have *a Name of distinction:* but now, in compliance to another prejudice, I condescend to have *a Name of honour.* This seems to be the true interpretation of this very difficult text, about which the commentators are so much embarrassed. For the word *Jehovah,* whose name is here said to be unknown to the Patriarchs, frequently occurring in the book of Genesis, had furnished Unbelievers with a pretext that the same person could not be author of the two books of Genesis and Exodus. But Ignorance and Scepticism, which set Infidelity on work, generally bring it to shame. They mistook the true sense of the text. The assertion is not, that the WORD *Jehovah* was not used in the patriarchal language; but that the NAME *Jehovah,* as a title of honour, (whereby a new *idea* was affixed to an old *word)* was unknown to them. Thus,

* "Hic scripsit libros—in quibus majestatem summi ac singularis dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, DEUM et PATREM. Ac ne quis NOMEN ejus requireret ANΩNYMON esse dixit; eo quod nominis proprietate non egeat, ob ipsam scilicet unitatem, Ipsius hæc verba sunt, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς εἷς· ὁ δὲ εἷς ὀνόματος οὐ προσδέεται· ἔστι γαρ ὃν ἀνώνυμος. Deo igitur nomen non est, quia solus est: nec opus est proprio vocabulo, nisi cum discrimen exigit multitudo, ut unamquamque personam sua nota et appellatione designes."—*Div. Inst.* lib. i. cap. 6. † Zach. xiv. 9.
‡ Exod. iii. 14. § Exod. vi. 3.

in a parallel instance, we say rightly, that the King's SUPREMACY was unknown to the English Constitution till the time of Henry VIII. though the word was in use, and even applied to the chief Magistrate, (indeed in a different and more simple sense) long before.

The common solution of this difficulty is as ridiculous as it is false. You shall have it in the words of a very ingenious writer.—"The word JEHOVAH signifies the being unchangeable in his resolutions, and consequently the being infinitely faithful in performing his promises. In this sense the word is employed in the passage of Exodus now under examination. So that when God says, *by my name Jehovah was I not known to them*, this signifies—as one faithful to fullfil my promise, was I not known to them." "i. e. I had not then fullfilled the promise which I had made to them, of bringing their posterity out of Egypt, and giving them the land of Canaan."* By which interpretation, the Almighty is made to tell the Israelites that he was not known to their forefathers as the God who had redeemed their posterity from Egypt, before they had any posterity to redeem. A marvellous revelation, and, without doubt, much wanted. To return.

MOSES however appears still unwilling to accept this Commission; and presumes to tell GOD, plainly, *Behold they will not believe me, nor hearken to my voice: for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee.*† But could this be said or thought by a People, who, groaning in the bitterest servitude, had a message from GOD, of a long promised deliverance, at the very time that, according to the prediction, the promise was to be fulfilled, if they had kept him and his dispensations in memory? When this objection is removed, Moses hath yet another; and that is, his inability for the office of an ORATOR. This too is answered. And when he is now driven from all his subterfuges, he with much passion declines the whole employment, and cries out, *O my* GOD, *send I pray thee by the hand of him whom thou wilt send.*‡ This justly provokes GOD's displeasure: and thereon, he finally complies. From all this backwardness, (and the cause of it could be no other than what is here assigned; for MOSES, as appears by the former part of his history,§ was forward and zealous enough to promote the welfare of his brethren) we must needs conclude that he thought the recovery of this People

* "Il signifie *l'etre immuable dans ses resolutions*, et par consequent *l'etre infiniment fidelle dans ses promesses*, et c'est dans cette acception que ce nom est employé dans le passage de l'Exode, que nous examinons. Qu'ainsi quand Dieu dit, *Je ne leur ai point esté connu en mon nom de Jehovah*, cela signifie, *Je ne me suis point fait connoitre, comme fidelle à remplir mes promesses*, c'est à dire, JE N'AI PAS ENCORE REMPLI LA PROMESSE, *qui je leur avois faite, de retirer de l'Egypte leur posterité, et de lui donner la terre de Chanaan.*"—M. ASTRUC, *Conjectures sur le Livre de la Genese*, p. 305. He says very truly, that, in this solution, he had no other part to perform, *que suivre la foule des Commentateurs tant Chretiens que Juifs*, p. 301. † Exod. iv. 1.
‡ Verse 13. § Exod. ii. 12.

from EGYPTIAN SUPERSTITIONS to be altogether desperate. And, humanly speaking, he did not judge amiss; as may be seen from a succinct account of their behaviour during the whole time GOD was working this amazing Deliverance.

For now Moses and Aaron discharge their message; and having confirmed it by signs and wonders, the *People believed:* but it was such a belief, as men have of a new and unexpected matter, well attested.—*They bow the head* too, *and worship;* * but it appears to be a thing they had not been lately accustomed to. And how little true sense they had of GOD's promises and visitation is seen from their murmuring and desponding † when things did not immediately succeed to their wishes; though Moses, as from God, had told them before-hand, that Pharaoh would prove cruel and *hard-hearted;* and would defer their liberty to the very last distress.‡ And at length, when that time came, and GOD had ordered them to purify themselves from all the *idolatries* of EGYPT, so prodigiously attached were they to these follies, that they disobeyed his command even at the very eve of their deliverance.§ A thing altogether incredible, but that we have GOD's own word for it, by the prophet Ezekiel: *In the day* (says he) *that I lifted up mine hand unto them to bring them forth of the land of Egypt, into a land that I had spied for them flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands: Then said I unto them, Cast ye away every man the abominations of his eyes, and defile not yourselves with the idols of Egypt: I am the Lord your* GOD. *But they rebelled against me, and would not hearken unto me: they did not every man cast away the abominations of their eyes, neither did they forsake the idols of Egypt: Then I said, I will pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the midst of the land of Egypt. But I wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted before the heathen, amongst whom they were, in whose sight I made myself known unto them, in bringing them forth out of the land of Egypt. Wherefore I caused them to go forth out of the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness.*‖

From all this it appears, that their *Cry, by reason of their bondage, which came up unto* GOD, was not for such a deliverance as was promised to their forefathers, to be *brought up out of Egypt;* but for such a one as might enable them to live at ease, amongst their *flesh-pots*, in it.

But now they are delivered: and, by a series of miracles performed in their behalf, got quite clear of the power of Pharaoh. Yet on every little distress, *Let us return to Egypt*, was still the cry. Thus, immediately after their deliverance at the Red-Sea, on so com-

* Exod. iv. 31. † Exod. v. 21. ‡ Exod. iii. 19—21. § See note NNNN, at the end of this book. ‖ Ezek. xx. 6, et seq.

mon an accident, as meeting with *bitter waters* in their rout, they were presently at their *What shall we drink?* * And no sooner had a miracle removed this distress, and they gotten into the barren wilderness, but they were, again, at their *What shall we eat?* † Not that indeed they feared to die either of hunger or of thirst; for they found the hand of GOD was still ready to supply their wants; all but their capital want, to return again into EGYPT; and these pretences were only a less indecent cover to their designs: which yet, on occasion, they were not ashamed to throw off, as where they say to Moses, when frightened by the pursuit of the Egyptians at the Red-Sea, *Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, Let us alone that we may serve the Egyptians.*‡ And again, *Would to* GOD, *we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh-pots and did eat bread to the full.*§ That is, in plain terms, "Would we had died with our brethren the Egyptians." For they here allude to the *destruction* of the *first-born*, when the destroying angel (which was more than they deserved) passed over the habitations of Israel.

But they have now both flesh and bread, when they cry out the second time for water: and even while, again, at their *Why hast thou brought us up out of Egypt,*‖ a rock, less impenetrable than their hearts, is made to pour out a stream so large that *the water run down like rivers:* ¶ yet all the effect it seemed to have upon them was only to put them more in mind of *the way of Egypt, and the* WATERS *of Sihor.***

Nay even after their receiving the LAW, on their free and solemn acceptance of *Jehovah* for their GOD and KING, and their being consecrated anew, as it were, for his peculiar People, Moses only happening to stay a little longer in the Mount than they expected, They fairly took the occasion of projecting a scheme, and, to say the truth, no bad one, of returning back into Egypt. They went to Aaron, and pretending they never hoped to see Moses again, desired another Leader. But they would have one in the mode of Egypt; an Image, or visible representative of GOD, *to go before them.*†† Aaron complies, and makes them a GOLDEN CALF, in conformity to the superstition of Egypt; whose great God Osiris was worshiped under that representation;‡‡ and, for greater holiness too, out of the jewels of the Egyptians. In this so horrid an impiety to the GOD of their fathers, their secret drift,§§ if we may believe St. Stephen, was this;

* Exod. xv. 24. † Exod. xvi. 2. ‡ Exod. xiv. 12. § Exod. xvi. 3. ‖ Exod. xvii. 3. ¶ Psalm lxxviii. 16. ** Jer. ii. 18. †† Exod. xxxii. 1. ‡‡ Ὁ ΜΟΣΧΟΣ *οὗτος, ὁ* ΑΠΙΣ *καλεόμενος.*—HERODOTUS, lib. iii. cap. 28. §§ "To whom our fathers would not obey, but thrust him from them, and in their hearts turned back again into Egypt, saying unto Aaron, Make us Gods to go before us," &c. (Acts vii. 39, 40.)

they wanted to get back into Egypt; and while the CALF, so much adored in that country, went before them, they could return with an atonement and reconciliation in their hands. And doubtless their worthy Mediator, being made all of sacred, Egyptian metal, would have been consecrated in one of their temples, under the title of OSIRIS REDVCTOR. But Moses's sudden appearance broke all their measures: and the ringleaders of the design were punished as they deserved.

At length, after numberless follies and perversities, they are brought, through GOD's patience and long-suffering, to the end of all their travels, to the promised place of rest, which is just opening to receive them; When, on the report of the cowardly explorers of the Land, they relapse again into their old delirium, *Wherefore hath the Lord brought us unto this land, to fall by the sword, that our wives and our children should be a prey? were it not better for us to return into Egypt? And they said one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt.** This so provoked the Almighty, that he condemned that Generation to be worn away in the Wilderness. How they spent their time there, the prophet Amos will inform us, *Have ye offered unto me* (says GOD) *any sacrifices and offerings in the Wilderness, forty years, O house of Israel?* †

In a word, this unwillingness to leave Egypt, and this impatience to return thither, are convincing proofs of their fondness for its customs and superstitions. When I consider this, I seem more inclined than the generality even of sober Critics to excuse the false accounts of the Pagan writers concerning the Exodus; who concur in representing the Jews as expelled or forcibly driven out of Egypt; For so indeed they were. The mistake was only about their driver. The Pagans supposed him to be the King of Egypt; when indeed it was the GOD of Israel himself, by the ministry of Moses.

Let us view them next, in possession of the PROMISED LAND. A land *flowing with milk and honey, the glory of all lands.* One would expect now their longing after Egypt should have entirely ceased. And so without doubt it would, had it arose only from the *flesh-pots;* but it had a deeper root; it was the spiritual luxury of Egypt, their *superstitions,* with which the Israelites were so debauched. And therefore no wonder they should still continue slaves to their appetite. Thus the prophet Ezekiel, *Neither* LEFT *she her whoredoms brought from Egypt.*‡ So that after all GOD's mercies conferred upon them in putting them in possession of the land of Canaan, Joshua is, at last, forced to leave them with this fruitless admonition: *Now therefore fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and in truth; and* PUT AWAY *the Gods which your fathers served on the other side of the*

* Num. xiv. 3, 4. † Amos v. 25. ‡ Ezek. xxiii. 8.

flood and in EGYPT.* It is true, we are told that *the people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great works of the Lord that he did for Israel.*† But, out of sight out of mind. It is then added—*And there arose another generation after them, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel—And they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other Gods, of the Gods of the people that were round about them.*‡ And in this state they continued throughout the whole administration of their JUDGES; except, when, from time to time, they were awakened into repentance by the severity of GOD'S judgments; which yet were no sooner passed, than they fell back again into their old lethargy, a forgetfulness of his mercies.

Nor did their fondness for Egypt at all abate when they came under the iron rod of their KINGS; the Magistrate they had so rebelliously demanded; and who, as they pretended, was to set all things right. On the contrary, this folly grew still more inflamed; and instead of one CALF they would have TWO. Which Ezekiel hints at, where he says, *Yet she* MULTIPLIED *her whoredoms in calling to remembrance the days of her youth wherein she had played the harlot in Egypt.*§ And so favourite a superstition were the CALVES of Dan and Beth-el, that they still kept their ground against all those general Reformations which divers of their better sort of Kings had made, to purge the land of Israel from idolatries. It is true, their extreme fondness for Egyptian superstition was not the only cause of this inveterate adherence to their CALVES. There were two others:

They flattered themselves that this specific idolatry was not altogether so gross an affront to the GOD of their fathers as many of the rest. Other of their idolatries consisted in worshiping Strange Gods in conjunction with the GOD of Israel; this of the CALVES, only in worshiping the GOD of Israel in an idolatrous manner: as appears from the history of their erection. *And Jeroboam* ‖ *said in his heart, Now shall the kingdom return to the house of David: if this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam King of Judah, and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam king of Judah. Whereupon the King took counsel, and made two* CALVES *of gold, and said unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem, Behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And he set the one in Beth-el, and the other put*

* Joshua xxiv. 14. † Judges ii. 7. ‡ Verses 10, 12. § Ezek. xxiii. 19. ‖ It is to be observed of this Jeroboam, that he had sojourned in Egypt, as a refugee, during the latter part of the reign of Solomon. (1 Kings xi. 40.)

*he in Dan.**—*It is too much for you* (says he) *to go up to Jerusalem.* Who were the men disposed *to go up?* None surely but the worshippers of the GOD of Israel. Consequently the CALVES, here offered to save them a journey, must needs be given as the representatives of that God. And if these were so, then certainly the CALF *in Horeb:* since, at their several consecrations, the very same proclamation was made of all three: *Behold thy* GODS, *O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.*

The other cause of the perpetual adherence of the Kingdom of Israel to their GOLDEN CALVES was their being erected for a prevention of re-union with the Kingdom of Judah. *If this people* (says the politic contriver) *go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam king of Judah.* The succeeding kings, therefore, we may be sure, were as careful in preserving them, as He was in putting them up. So that, good or bad, the character common to them all was, that *he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin;* namely, in worshiping the Calves in Dan and Beth-el. And those of them who appeared most zealous for the Law of GOD, and utterly exterminated the idolatry of Baal, yet connived at least, at this political worship of the CALVES.—*Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel. Howbeit from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat who made Israel to sin, Jehu departed not, to wit, the golden* CALVES *that were in Beth-el, and that were in Dan.*†

But the Israelites had now contracted all the fashionable habits of Egypt. We are assured that it had been long peculiar to the Egyptian superstition for every city of that empire to have its own tutelary God, besides those which were worshipped in common: But now Jeremiah tells us the people of Judah bore a part with them in this extravagance: *Where are thy Gods that thou hast made thee? Let them arise, if they can save thee in the time of thy trouble:* FOR ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF THY CITIES, ARE THY GODS, O JUDAH.‡

And by the time that the sins of this wretched People were ripe for the punishment of their approaching Captivity, they had polluted themselves with all kind of *Egyptian abominations:* as appears from the famous VISIONS of EZEKIEL, where their three capital idolatries are so graphically described. The Prophet represents himself as brought, in a vision, to Jerusalem: and, at *the door of the inner gate that looked towards the north,* he saw *the seat of the* IMAGE OF JEALOUSY *which provoketh to jealousy.*§ Here, by the noblest stretch of an inspired imagination, he calls this *seat* of their idolatries,

* 1 Kings xii. 26, et seq. † 2 Kings x. 28, et seq. ‡ Jer. ii. 28.
§ Ezek. viii. 3.

the *seat of the image of Jealousy*, whom he personifies, and the more to catch the attention of this corrupt people, converts into an *Idol*, THE IMAGE OF JEALOUSY *which provoketh to jealousy;* as if he had said, God, in his wrath, hath given you one idol more, to avenge himself of all the rest. After this sublime prelude, the prophet proceeds to the various scenery of the inspired Vision.

I. The first of their capital idolatries is described in this manner: *And he brought me to the door of the court, and when I looked, behold a* HOLE IN THE WALL. *Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall; and when I had digged in the wall, behold a* DOOR. *And he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here. So I went in and saw, and behold* EVERY FORM OF CREEPING THINGS, AND ABOMINABLE BEASTS, *and all the idols of the house of Israel,* POURTRAYED UPON THE WALL ROUND ABOUT. *And there stood before them seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel, and in the midst of them stood Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan, with every man his censer in his hand, and a thick cloud of incense went up. Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do* IN THE DARK, *every man in the* CHAMBERS OF HIS IMAGERY? *

1. The first inference I draw from these words is, That the Superstition here described was EGYPTIAN. This appears from its object's being the Gods peculiar to Egypt, *every form of creeping things and abominable beasts;* which, in another place, the same prophet calls, with great propriety and elegance, the *abominations of the eyes* of the Israelites.†

2. The second inference is, That they contain a very lively and circumstantial description of the so celebrated MYSTERIES OF ISIS AND OSIRIS. For 1. The rites are represented as performed in a secret subterraneous place. *And when I looked, behold a* HOLE *in the wall; Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall; and when I had digged in the wall, behold a* DOOR. *And he said unto me, Go in—Hast thou seen what the Ancients of the house of Israel do in the* DARK? This secret place was, as the Prophet tells us, in the Temple. And such kind of places, for this use, the Egyptians had in their Temples, as we learn from a similitude of Plutarch's: *Like the disposition* (says he) *and ordonance of their Temples; which, in one place, enlarge and extend themselves into long wings, and fair and open isles; in another, sink into dark and secret subterranean Vestries, like the Adyta of the Thebans;* ‡ which Tacitus describes in

* Ezek. viii. 6, et seq. † Ezek. xx. 7, 8. This shews *brute-worship* in *Egypt* to have been vastly extensive at the *Exodus;* the time the prophet is here speaking of.
‡ Ὡς—αἵ τε τῶν Ναῶν διαθέσεις, ᾗ μὲν ἀνειμένων εἰς πτερὰ καὶ δρόμους ὑπαιθρίους καὶ καθαροὺς, ᾗ δὲ κρυπτὰ καὶ σκότια κατὰ γῆς ἐχόντων στολιστήρια Θηβαίοις ἐοικότα καὶ σηκοῖς.—Περὶ Ἴσιδ. καὶ Ὀσίρ. p. 639, Steph. ed.

these words—"atque alibi angustiæ, et profunda altitudo, nullis inquirentium spaciis penetrabilis." * 2. These rites are celebrated by the SANHEDRIM, or the elders of *Israel: And there stood before them seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel.* Now it hath been shewn in the Account of the MYSTERIES, that none but princes, rulers, and the wisest of the people, were admitted to their more secret celebrations. 3. The paintings and imagery, on the walls of this subterraneous apartment, answer exactly to the descriptions the ancients have given us of the mystic cells of the Egyptians. † *Behold every form of creeping things and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel pourtrayed upon the wall round about.* So Ammianus Marcellinus—"Sunt et syringes subterranei quidam et flexuosi secessus, quos, ut fertur, periti rituum vetustorum—penitus operosis digestos fodinis, per loca diversa struxerunt: *et excisis parietibus volucrum ferarumque genera multa sculpserunt, quas hieroglyphicas literas appellarunt.*" ‡ There is a famous antique monument, once a consecrated utensil in the rites of Isis and Osiris, and now well known to the curious by the name of the ISIAC or BEMBINE TABLE; on which (as appears by the order of the several compartiments) is pourtrayed all the imagery that adorned the walls of the *Mystic Cell.* Now if one were to describe the engravings on that table, one could not find juster or more emphatic terms than those which the Prophet here employs.

3. The third inference I would draw from this vision is, that the Egyptian superstition was that to which the Israelites were more particularly addicted. And thus much I gather from the following words, *Behold every form of creeping things and abominable beasts, and* ALL THE IDOLS OF THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL, *pourtrayed upon the wall round about.* I have shewn this to be a description of an Egyptian mystic cell: which certainly was adorned only with Egyptian Gods: and yet those Gods are here called, by way of distinction, *all the idols of the house of Israel:* which seems plainly to infer this People's more particular addiction to them. But the words, *house of Israel,* being used in a vision describing the idolatries of the *house of Judah,* I take it for granted, that in this indefinite number of *All the idols of the house of Israel,* were eminently included those two prime idols of the *house of Israel,* the calves of Dan and Beth-el. And the rather, for that I find the original Calves held a distinguished station in the paintings of the Mystic Cell; as the reader may see by casting his eye upon the Bembine Table. And this, by the way, will lead us

* *Annales,* lib. xi. cap. 62. † Thus described by a learned Antiquary: "Adyta Ægyptiorum, in quibus sacerdotes sacra operari, ritusque et cæremonias suas exercere solebant, *subterranea loca erant,* singulari quodam artificio ita constructa, ut nihil non mysterio-i in iis occurreret. *Muri ex omni parte pleni tum hieroglyphicis picturis, tum sculpturis.*"—KIRCHER. ‡ Lib. xxii. cap. 15.

From the Bembine Table. PLATE. 10.

Part of the North Side of the Rameſsaan Obelisc. from Kircher. PLATE. 4

to the reason of Jeroboam's erecting two Calves. For they were, we see, worshiped in pairs by the Egyptians, as representing Isis and Osiris. And what is remarkable, the Calves were *male* and *female*, as appears from 2 Kings, c. x. ver. 29. compared with Hosea, c. x. ver. 5. where in one place the masculine, and in the other the feminine term is employed. But though the Egyptian Gods are thus, by way of eminence, called the *idols of the house of Israel*, yet other idols they had besides Egyptian; and of those good store, as we shall now see.

For this prophetic vision is employed in describing the three master-superstitions of this unhappy people, the EGYPTIAN, the PHENICIAN, and the PERSIAN.

II. The Egyptian we have seen. The PHENICIAN follows in these words: *He said also unto me, Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations that they do. Then he brought me to the gate of the Lord's house which was towards the* NORTH, *and behold there sat* WOMEN WEEPING FOR TAMMUZ.*

III. The PERSIAN superstition is next described in this manner: *Then he said unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations than these. And he brought me into the inner court of the Lord's house, and behold at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men with their backs towards the temple of the Lord, and* THEIR FACES TOWARDS THE EAST, AND THEY WORSHIPED THE SUN TOWARDS THE EAST.†

1. It is to be observed, that when the Prophet is bid to turn from the Egyptian to the Phenician rites, he is then said to look towards the *north*; which was the situation of Phenicia with regard to Jerusalem: consequently, he before stood *southward*, the situation of Egypt, with regard to the same place. And when, from thence, he is bid to turn into the inner court of the Lord's house, to see the Persian rites, this was *east*, the situation of Persia. With such exactness is the representation of the whole Vision conducted.

2. Again, as the mysterious rites of Egypt are said, agreeably to their usage, to be held in secret, by their ELDERS AND RULERS only: so the Phenician rites, for the same reason, are shewn as they were celebrated by the PEOPLE, in open day. And the Persian worship of the sun, which was performed by the Magi, is here said to be observed by the PRIESTS alone, *five and twenty men with their faces towards the east*.

These three capital Superstitions, the Prophet, again, distinctly objects to them, in a following chapter. *Thou hast also committed fornication with the* EGYPTIANS *thy neighbours, great of flesh;* ‡ *and*

* Ezek. viii. 13, et seq. † Verse 15, et seq. ‡ See note OOQO, at the end of this book.

hast increased thy whoredoms to provoke me to anger. Thou hast played the whore also with the ASSYRIANS, *because thou wast unsatiable: yea thou hast played the harlot with them, and yet couldst not be satisfied. Thou hast moreover multiplied thy fornication in the land of* CANAAN *unto Chaldea, and yet thou wast not satisfied herewith.**

And when that miserable Remnant, who, on the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, had escaped the fate of their enslaved countrymen, were promised safety and security, if they would stay in Judea; they said, *No, but we will go into the land of* EGYPT, *where we shall see no war, nor hear the sound of the trumpet, nor have hunger of bread, and there will we dwell.*†

Thus we see what a surprizing fondness this infatuated people had for Egypt, and how entirely they were seized and possessed with its superstitions. Which the more I consider, the more I am confirmed in the truth of Scripture-history (so opposite to Sir Isaac Newton's Egyptian Chronology), that Egypt was, at the egression of the Israelites, a great and powerful empire. For nothing so much attaches a people to any particular Constitution, or mode of Government, as the high opinion of its power, wealth, and felicity; these being ever supposed the joint product of its RELIGION and CIVIL POLICY.

II. Having thus proved the first part of the Proposition, *That the* Jewish *people were extremely fond of Egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian superstitions,* I come now to the second; *That many of the Laws given to them by the ministry of* Moses *were instituted partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in opposition to those and to the like superstitions.* But to set what I have to say in support of this second part of the Proposition in a fair light, it may be proper just to state and explain the ENDS of the Ritual Law. Its first and principal, was to guard the chosen people from the contagion of IDOLATRY: a second, and very important end, was to prepare them for the reception of the MESSIAH. The first required that the Ritual Law should be OBJECTIVE to the Pagan superstitions; and the second, that it should be TYPICAL of their great Deliverer. Now the coincidencies of these two ends, not being sufficiently adverted to, hath been the principal occasion of that obstinate aversion to the truth here advanced, *That much of the Ritual was given,* PARTLY *in compliance to the People's prejudices, and* PARTLY *in opposition to Egyptian superstitions:* These men thinking the falshood of the Proposition sufficiently proved in shewing the Ritual to be *typical;* as if the one end excluded the other: whereas we see they were very consistent; and hereafter shall see, that their con-

* Ezek. xvi. 26, et seq. † Jer. xlii. 14.

currency affords one of the noblest proofs of the divinity of its original.

And now, to go on with our subject: The intelligent reader cannot but perceive, that the giving a RITUAL in opposition to Egyptian superstition, was a necessary consequence of the People's propensity towards it. For a people so prejudiced, and who were to be dealt with as free and accountable Agents, could not possibly be kept separate from other nations, and pure from foreign idolatries, any otherwise than by giving them laws IN OPPOSITION to those superstitions. But such being the corrupt state of man's Will as ever to revolt against what directly opposeth its prejudices, wise Governors, when under the necessity of giving such laws, have, in order to break and evade the force of human perversity, always intermixed them with others which eluded the perversity, by flattering the prejudice; where the indulgence could not be so abused as to occasion the evil which the *laws of opposition* were designed to prevent.* And in this manner it was that our inspired Lawgiver acted with his people, if we will believe JESUS himself, where, speaking of a certain positive institution, he says, *Moses for the* HARDNESS OF YOUR HEARTS *wrote you this precept.*† Plainly intimating their manners to be such, that, had not Moses indulged them in some things, they would have revolted against all.‡ It follows therefore, that Moses's giving Laws to the Israelites, *in compliance* to these their prejudices, was a natural and necessary consequence of Laws given *in opposition* to them. Thus far from the nature of the thing.

Matter of fact confirms this reasoning. We find in the Law a surprizing relation and resemblance between Jewish and Egyptian rites, in circumstances both *opposite* and *similar*. But the learned SPENCER hath fully exhausted this subject, in his excellent work, *De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus et earum rationibus;* and thereby done great service to divine revelation: For the RITUAL LAW, when thus explained, is seen to be an Institution of the most beautiful and sublime contrivance. Which, without its CAUSES, (no where to be found but in the road of this theory) must lie for ever open to the scorn and contempt of Libertines and Unbelievers. This noble work is no other than a paraphrase and comment on the third part of a famous treatise called *More Nevochim*, of the Rabbi MOSES MAIMONIDES: of whom only to say (as is his common Encomium) that *he was the first of the Rabbins who left off trifling*, is a poor and invidious commendation. Thither I refer the impartial reader; relying on his justice to believe that I mean to charge myself with no

* See this reasoning inforced, and explained more at large in the proof of the next proposition. † Mark x. 5; Matt. xix. 8. ‡ This is still farther seen from God's being pleased to be considered by them as a *local tutelary Deity:* which, when we come to that point, we shall shew was the prevailing superstition of those times.

more of Spencer's opinions than what directly tend to the proof of this part of my Proposition, by shewing, That there is a great and surprizing relation and resemblance between the Jewish and Egyptian rites, in circumstances both *opposite* and *similar*.

I ask nothing unreasonable of the reader, when I desire him to admit of this as proved; since the learned HERMAN WITSIUS in a book professedly written to confute the hypothesis of Maimonides and Spencer, confesses the fact in the fullest and amplest manner.*

What is it then (a stranger to Controversy would be apt to inquire) which this learned man addresses himself, in a large quarto volume, to confute? It is the plain and natural consequence of this resemblance, namely, That *the Jewish Ritual was given partly in compliance to the People's prejudices, and partly in opposition to Egyptian superstitions;* the Proposition we undertake to prove. Witsius thinks, or is rather willing to think, that the Egyptian Ritual was invented in imitation of the Jewish. For the reader sees, that both sides are agreed in this, *That either the Jews borrowed from the Egyptians, or the Egyptians from the Jews;* so strong is the resemblance which forces this confession from them.

Now, the only plausible support of Witsius's party being a thing taken for granted, viz. that the rites and customs of the Egyptians, as delivered by the Greeks, were of much later original than these writers assign to them; and my discourse on the ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT, in the preceding section, proving it to be entirely groundless; the latter part of the proposition, *viz. That many of the laws given to the Jews, by the ministry of Moses, were instituted partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in opposition to Egyptian superstitions,* is sufficiently proved.

But to let nothing that hath the appearance of an argument remain unanswered, I shall, in as few words as may be, examine this opinion, That *the Egyptians borrowed from the Israelites;* regarding both Nations in that very light in which holy Scripture hath placed them. The periods then in which this must needs be supposed to have happened, are one or other of these. 1. The time of Abraham's residence in Egypt. 2.—of Joseph's government. 3.—of the slavery

* *Ita autem commodissime me processurum existimo, si* primo *longa exemplorum inductione ex doctissimorum virorum mente, et eorum plerumque verbis, demonstravero,* MAGNAM ATQUE MIRANDAM PLANE CONVENIENTIAM IN RELIGIONIS NEGOTIO VETERES INTER ÆGYPTIOS ATQUE HEBRÆOS ESSE. *Quæ cum* fortuita *esse non possit, necesse est ut vel* Ægyptii *sua ab* Hebræis, *vel ex adverso* Hebræi *sua ab* Ægyptiis *habeant.* And again: *Porro, si, levato antiquitatis obscurioris velo, gentium omnium ritus oculis vigilantibus intueamur,* Ægyptios *et* Hebræos, PRÆ OMNIBUS ALIIS *moribus* SIMILLIMOS *fuisse comperiemus. Neque hoc* Kircherum *fefellit, cujus hæc sunt verba:* Hebræi tantum habent ad ritus, sacrificia, cærimonias, sacras disciplinas Ægyptiorum affinitatem, ut vel *Ægyptios hebraizantes,* vel *Hebræos ægyptizantes* fuisse, plane mihi persuadeam.—*Sed quid verbis opus est? in rem præsentem veniamus,* [Ægyptiaca, p. 4.] And so he goes on to transcribe, from Spencer and Marsham, all the eminent particulars of that resemblance.

of his, and his brethren's descendants: or, 4. Any indefinite time after their egression from Egypt.

Now not to insist on the utter improbability of a potent nation's borrowing its religious Rites from a private Family, or from a People they held in slavery; I answer, that of these four periods, the three first are beside the question. For the *characteristic* resemblance insisted on, is that which we find between the Egyptian ritual, and what is properly called MOSAICAL. And let it not be said, that we are unable to distinguish the Rites which were purely LEGAL from such as were PATRIARCHAL:* for Moses, to add the greater force and efficacy to the whole of his Institution, hath been careful to record each specific Rite which was properly Patriarchal.

Thus, though Moses enjoined CIRCUMCISION, he hath been careful to record the patriarchal institution of it with all its circumstances—*Moses gave unto you circumcision (not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers)* says JESUS.† So again, where he institutes the Jewish sabbath of rest, he records the patriarchal observance of it, in these words:—*In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, &c. and rested the seventh day, wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day and hallowed it.*‡

The last period then only remains to be considered, namely, from the Egression. Now at that time and from thence-forward, we say, the Egyptians would not borrow of the Israelites, for these two plain and convincing reasons. 1. They held the Israelites in the greatest contempt, and abhorrence, as SHEPHERDS, SLAVES, and ENEMIES, men who had brought a total devastation on their Country: and had embraced a Religion whose Ritual daily treated the Gods of Ægypt with the utmost ignominy and despite.§ But people never borrow their religious Rites from those towards whom they stand in such inveterate distance. 2. It was part of the Religion of the old Egyptians to borrow from none:‖ most certainly, not from the Jews. This is the account we have, of their natural disposition, from those Ancients who have treated of their manners. While, on the other hand, we are assured from infallible authority that the Israelites, of the time of Moses, were in the very extreme of a contrary humour, and were for BORROWING all they could lay their hands on. This is so notorious, that I was surprised to find the learned Witsius attempt

* See note PPPP, at the end of this book. † John vii. 22. And see note QQQQ, at the end of this book. ‡ Exod. xx. 11. And see note RRRR, at the end of this book. § See SPENCER, *De Legibus Heb. Rit.* vol. i. p. 296.

‖ *Ægyptii detestari videntur quicquid οἱ γονεῖς οὐ παρέδειξαν, parentes non commonstrarunt.*—WITSII *Ægyptiaca*, p. 6. Πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι, ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτέωνται.—HERODOT. lib. ii. cap. 78. Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι· τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' ΑΛΛΩΝ ΜΗΔΑΜΑ ΜΗΔΑΜΩΝ ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι οὕτω τοῦτο φυλάσσουσι.—Cap. 91.

to prove, that the *Egyptians were greatly inclined to borrowing:* * but much more surprised with his arguments; which are these. 1. Clemens Alex. says, that it was the custom of the Barbarians, and particularly the Egyptians, to honour their legislators and benefactors as Gods. 2. Diodorus Siculus confirms this account, where he says, that the Egyptians were the most grateful of all mankind to their benefactors. And 3. The same historian tells us, that when Egypt was become a province to Persia, the Egyptians deified Darius, while yet alive; which honour they never had done to any other king.† —This is the whole of his evidence to prove the Egyptian genius so greatly inclined to foreign Rites. Nor should I have exposed the nakedness of this learned and honest man, either in this place or in any other, but for the use which hath been made of his authority; of which more hereafter. But Witsius, and those in his way of thinking, when they talk of the Egyptians' borrowing Hebrew rites, seem to have entertained a wrong idea of that highly policied People. It was not in ancient Egypt, as in ancient Greece, where every private man, who had travelled for it, found himself at liberty to set up what *lying vanity* he pleased. For in that wary Monarchy, Religion was in the hand of the magistrate, and under the inspection of the Public: so that no *private* novelties could be introduced, had the people been as much disposed, as they were indeed averse, to innovations; and that any *public* ones would be made, by rites borrowed from the Hebrews, is, as we have shewn above, highly improbable.

Hitherto I have endeavoured to discredit this proposition, *(that the Egyptians borrowed of the Israelites)* from the nature of the thing. I shall now shew the falshood of it, from the infallible testimony of GOD himself: who upbraiding the Israelites with their borrowing idolatrous Rites of all their neighbours, expresses himself in this manner, by the prophet Ezekiel: *The contrary is in thee from other*

* His words are these: *Magna quidem laterum contentione reclamat Doctissimus* Spencerus, *prorsusque incredibile esse contendit, considerato gentis utriusque genio, ut ab* Hebræis *Ægyptii in suam tam multa religionem adsciverint. At quod ipsi incredibile videtur, id mihi, post alios eruditione atque judicio clarissimos, perquam probabile est:* IPSO ÆGYPTIORUM ID SUADENTE GENIO. *In eo quippe præstantissimi Auctores consentiunt, solitos fuisse Ægyptios maximâ eos existimatione prosequi, quos sapientia atque virtute excellentiores cernerent, et a quibus se ingentibus beneficiis affectos esse meminerant: adeo quidem ut ejusmodi mortales, non defunctos solum, sed et superstites, pro Diis haberent.*—Lib. iii. cap. 12, p. 262.

† "Clemens Alexandrinus clarum esse dicit, *Barbaros eximie semper honorasse suos legumlatores et præceptores Deos ipsos appellantes.*—Inter Barbaros autem maxime id præstiterunt Ægyptii. *Quin etiam genus Ægyptium diligentissime illos in Deos retulit.* Assentitur Diodorus; *Ægyptios denique supra cæteros Mortales quicquid bene de ipsis meretur grata mente prosequi affirmant.*—Neque popularibus modo suis atque indigenis—sed Peregrinis—Facit huc Darii Persarum regis exemplum, quod Diodori iterum verbis exponam. *Tandem Darius legibus Ægyptiorum animum appulisse dicitur—Nam cum Sacerdotibus Ægypti familiaritatem iniit, &c.—Propterea tantum honoris consecutus est, ut superstes adhuc Divi appellationem quod nulli regum aliorum contigit, promeruerit.*"—Lib. iii. cap. 12, p. 263.

Women, WHEREAS NONE FOLLOWETH THEE TO COMMIT WHOREDOMS: *and in that thou givest a reward, and no reward is given to thee, therefore thou art contrary.** The intelligent reader perceives that the plain meaning of the metaphor is this, *Ye Jews are contrary to all other nations: you are fond of borrowing their Rites, while none of them care to borrow yours.* But this remarkable fact, had it not been so expresly delivered, might easily have been collected from the whole course of sacred history. The reason will be accounted for hereafter. At present I shall only need to observe, that by the words, *Whereas none followeth thee to commit whoredoms,* is not meant, that no particular Gentile ever embraced the Jewish religion; but, that no Gentile people took in any of its Rites into their own national Worship. That this is the true sense of the passage, appears from hence, 1. The idolatry of the COMMUNITY of Israel is here spoken of: and this, as will be shewn in the next book, did not consist in renouncing the Religion of Moses, but in polluting it with idolatrous mixtures. 2. The embracing the Jewish religion, and renouncing idolatry, could not, in figurative propriety, be called *committing whoredom,* though polluting the Jewish Rites, by taking them into their own superstitions, gives elegance to the figure thus applied.

The Reader, perhaps, may wonder how men can stand out against such kind of evidence. It is not, I will assure him, from the abundance of argument on the other side; or from their not seeing the force on this; but from a pious, and therefore very excusable, apprehension of danger to the Divinity of the Law, if it should be once granted that any of the Ceremonial part was given *in compliance to the people's prejudices.* Of which imaginary danger lord Bolingbroke hath availed himself, to calumniate the Law, for a COMPLIANCE too evident to be denied.

The apprehension therefore of this consequence being that which makes Believers so unwilling to own, and Deists, against the very genius of their infidelity, so ready to embrace an evident truth; I seem to come in opportunely to set both parties right: while I shew, in support of my THIRD PROPOSITION, that the consequence is groundless; and that the fears and hopes, built upon this supposed *compliance,* are vain and fantastic: which, I venture to predict, will ever be the issue of such fears and hopes as arise only from the Religionist's honest adherence to *common sense* and to the *word of God.*

II.

Our THIRD PROPOSITION is, That *Moses's Egyptian learning, and the Laws he instituted in compliance to the People's prejudices, and in*

* Ezek. xvi. 34.

opposition to Egyptian superstitions, are no reasonable objection to the divinity of his mission.

The first part of the Proposition concerns Moses's *Egyptian wisdom.* Let us previously consider what that was. Moses (says the holy martyr Stephen) WAS LEARNED IN ALL THE WISDOM OF THE EGYPTIANS, *and mighty in words and deeds.** Now where the WISDOM of a Nation is spoken of, that which is characteristic of the Nation must needs be meant: where the *wisdom* of a particular man, that which is peculiar to his quality and profession. St. Stephen, in this place, speaks of both. In both, therefore, he must needs mean CIVIL or POLITICAL wisdom; because, for that (as we have shewn) the Egyptian nation was principally distinguished: and in that consisted the eminence of character of one who had a royal adoption, was bred up at court, and became at length the Leader and Lawgiver of a numerous People. More than this,—St. Stephen is here speaking of him under this public character, and therefore he must be necessarily understood to mean, that *Moses was consummate in the science of Legislation.* The words indeed are, ALL *the learning of the Egyptians.* But every good logician knows, that where the thing spoken of refers to some particular use (as here, Moses's LEARNING, to his CONDUCTING the Israelites out of Egypt) the particle ALL does not mean *all of every kind,* but *all the parts of one kind.* In this restrained sense, it is frequently used in the sacred Writings. Thus in the Gospel of St. John, JESUS says, *When he, the spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into* ALL *truth.*† But further, the concluding part of the character,—*and mighty in* WORDS *and* DEEDS, will not easily suffer the foregoing part to admit of any other interpretation; ἦν δὲ δυνατὸς ἐν ΛΟΓΟΙΣ καὶ ἐν ΕΡΓΟΙΣ. This was the precise character of the ANCIENT CHIEF: who leading a free and willing People, needed the arts of peace, such as PERSUASION and LAWMAKING, the ΛΟΓΟΙ; and the arts of war, such as CONDUCT and COURAGE, the ΕΡΓΑ in the text. Hence it is, that Jesus, who was *The prophet like unto Moses,* the Legislator of the *new* covenant as the other was of the *old,* and the Conductor of our spiritual warfare, is characterised in the same words, δυνατὸς ἐν ΕΡΓΩι καὶ ΛΟΓΩι ἐναντίον τοῦ ΘΕΟΥ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ.‡—*A prophet, mighty in* DEED *and* WORD, *before* GOD *and all the* PEOPLE. This *wisdom,* therefore, in which Moses was said to be versed, we conclude, was the τὸ πραγματικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας; in contradistinction to the τὸ θεωρητικόν. Hence may be seen the impertinence of those long inquiries, which, on occasion of these words, men have run into, concerning the state of the speculative and mechanic arts of Egypt, at this period.

* Acts vii. 22. † John xvi. 13. ‡ Luke xxiv. 19.

This being the WISDOM, for which Moses is here celebrated, the Deist hastily concluded, *that therefore the establishment of the Jewish Policy was the sole contrivance of Moses himself;* He did not reflect, that a fundamental truth (which he will not venture to dispute any more than the Believer) stands very much in the way of his conclusion; namely, *That* GOD, *in the moral government of the world, never does that in an extraordinary way which can be equally well effected in an ordinary.*

In the separation of the Israelites, a civil Policy and a national Religion were to be established, and incorporated with one another, by God himself. For that end, he appointed an under-agent, or instrument: who, in this work of Legislation, was either to understand the government of a People, and so, be capable of comprehending the general plan delivered to him by GOD, for the erection of this extraordinary Policy: or else he was not to understand the government of a People, and so, God himself, in the execution of his plan, was, at every step, to interfere, and direct the ignorance and inability of his Agent. Now, as this perpetual interposition might be spared by the choice of an able Leader, we conclude, on the maxim laid down, that GOD would certainly employ such an one in the execution of his purpose.

There was yet another, and that no slight expediency, in such a Leader. The Israelites were a stubborn People, now first forming into Civil government; greatly licentious; and the more so, for their just coming out of a state of slavery. Had Moses therefore been so unequal to his designation, as to need GOD'S direction at every turn to set him right, he would soon have lost the authority requisite for keeping an unruly multitude in awe; and have sunk into such contempt amongst them, as must have retarded their designed establishment.

But it will be said, "if there wanted so able a Chief at the first setting up of a THEOCRACY, there would still be the same want, though not in an equal degree, during the whole continuance of that divine form of government." It is likely there would, because I find, GOD did make a proper provision for it; first in the erection of the SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHETS: and afterwards, in the establishment of the GREAT SANHEDRIM, which succeeded them. But sacred history mentioning these *Schools of the prophets*, and the assembly of the *Seventy elders*, only occasionally, the accounts we have of both are very short and imperfect. Which is the reason why interpreters, who have not well weighed the causes of that occasional mention, have suffered themselves to be greatly misled by the Rabbins.

I. The most particular account we have of the *Schools of the prophets* is in the first book of Samuel, and on this occasion: David, in his

escape from the rage of Saul, fled to his protector, Samuel, who then presided over a *School of the prophets*, at Naioth in Ramah.* When this was told to Saul, he sent messengers in pursuit of him.† And, on the ill success of their errand, went afterwards himself.‡ But as it was the intent of the historian, in this mention of the *Schools of the Prophets*, only to acquaint us with the effect they had on Saul and his messengers, when the spirit of GOD came upon them, we have only a partial view of these Collegiate bodies, that is, a view of them while at their DEVOTIONS only, and not at their STUDIES. For Saul and his messengers coming when the Society was *prophesying*,§ or at divine worship, the spirit of GOD fell upon them, and they *prophesied* also. And thus the *Chal. Par.* understands *prophesying*, as did the apostolic writers, who use the word in the same sense, of adoring God, and singing praises unto him. For we may well suppose these Societies began and ended all their daily studies with this holy exercise.

But from hence, writers of contrary parties have fallen into the same strange and absurd opinion; while they imagined that, because these *Schools* were indeed nurseries of the Prophets, that therefore they were places of instruction for I don't know what kind of ART OF PROPHECY. Spinoza borrowed this senseless fancy from the Rabbins, and hath delivered it down to his followers; ‖ from whence they conclude that PROPHECY was amongst the mechanic arts of the Hebrews. But an inquirer of either common sense or common honesty would have seen it was a College for the study of the Jewish Law only; and, as such, naturally and properly, a seminary of *Prophets*. For those who were most knowing as well as zealous in the Law, were surely the most fit to convey GOD's commands to his People.

This account of the nature of the *Schools of the prophets* helps to shew us how it became a proverb in Israel, IS SAUL ALSO AMONGST THE PROPHETS? ¶ which, I apprehend, has been commonly mistaken. The proverb was used to express a thing unlooked for and unlikely. But surely the *spirit of God* falling occasionally on their supreme Magistrate, at a time when it was so plentifully bestowed on private men, could be no such unexpected matter to the people; who knew too, that even Idolaters and Gentiles had partaken of it, while concerned in matters which related to their Occonomy. But more than this, They could not be ignorant that the *spirit of God* had usually made its abode with Saul; as appears from the following words of the sacred historian, *But the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him.*** From all

* 1 Sam. xix. 18. † Verse 21. ‡ Verse 23. § Verse 20. ‖ See note SSSS, at the end of this book. ¶ 1 Sam. xix. 24. ** 1 Sam. xvi. 14. —And see note TTTT, at the end of this book.

this I conclude that the people's surprise, which occasioned this proverb, was not because they heard the *spirit of God* had fallen upon him: but a very different reason, which I shall now endeavour to explain.

SAUL, with many great qualities, both of a public man and a private, and in no respect an unable Chief, was yet so poorly prejudiced in favour of the human Policies of the neighbouring Nations, as to become impiously cold and negligent in the support and advancement of the LAW OF GOD; though raised to regal power from a low and obscure condition, for this very purpose. He was, in a word, a mere Politician, without the least zeal or love for the divine constitution of his Country. This was his great, and no wonder it should prove his unpardonable crime. For his folly had reduced things to that extremity that either He must fall, or the Law. Now, this Pagan turn of mind was no secret to the People. When, therefore, they were told that he had sent frequent messengers to the supreme School of the prophets, where zeal for the Law was so eminently professed; and had afterwards gone himself thither, and entered with divine raptures and extasy into their devotions; they received this extraordinary news with all the wonder and amazement it deserved. And, in the height of their surprise, they cried out, *Is Saul also amongst the prophets?* i. e. Is Saul, who throughout his whole reign, hath so much slighted and contemned the Law, and would conduct all his actions by the mere rules of human Policy, is he at length become studious of and zealous for the *Law of God?* And the *miracle*, of such a change in a Politician, brought it into a proverb before the mistake was found out.

This matter will receive farther light from what we are told, in the same story, concerning DAVID; a man of so opposite a character, with regard to his sentiments of the Law, that it appears to have been for this difference only that he was decreed by GOD to succeed the other, in his kingdom. Now David, the story tells us, sojourned for some time in this School.—*So David fled and escaped, and came to Samuel at Ramah, and told him all that Saul had done to him, and* HE AND SAMUEL WENT AND DWELT IN NAIOTH.* And here it was, as we may reasonably conclude, that he so greatly cultivated and improved his natural disposition of love and zeal for the Law, as to merit that most glorious of all titles, THE MAN AFTER GOD'S OWN HEART; for, till now, his way of life had been very distant from accomplishments of this nature; his childhood and youth were spent in the country; and his early manhood in camps and courts.† But it is of importance to the cause of truth to know, that this CHARACTER was not given him for his PRIVATE morals, but his PUBLIC; his

* 1 Sam. xix. 18. † See note UUUU, at the end of this book.

zeal for the advancement of the glory of the THEOCRACY. This is seen from the first mention of him under this appellation, by Samuel, who tells Saul—*But now thy kingdom shall not continue.—The Lord hath sought him* A MAN AFTER HIS OWN HEART, *and the Lord hath commanded him to be Captain over his people.** And again, God himself says, *I have chosen Jerusalem that my name might be there, and have chosen* DAVID *to be over my people Israel.*† Here David's vicegerency, we see, is represented to be as necessary to the support of the Oeconomy, as God's peculiar residence in Jerusalem. Conformably to these ideas it was, that Hosea, prophesying of the restoration of the Jews, makes the God of Israel and his Vicegerent inseparable parts of the Oeconomy.—*Afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the* LORD *their* GOD *and* DAVID *their* KING; ‡ i. e. they shall have the same zeal for the dispensation which king David had; and on account of which they shall honour his memory. Now if we would but seek for the reason of this preeminence, in David's *public*, not in his *private* character, we should see it afforded no occasion of scandal.§ His zeal for the Law was constantly the same: as is manifest by this distinguishing circumstance, that he never fell into Idolatry. But the phrase itself, of *a man after God's own heart*, is best explained in the case of Samuel. ELI the prophet was rejected, and SAMUEL put in his place just in the same manner that DAVID superseded SAUL. On this occasion, when God's purpose was denounced to Eli, we find it expressed in the same manner, *And I will raise me up a faithful priest,* THAT SHALL DO ACCORDING TO THAT WHICH IS IN MINE HEART.‖ What was then *in God's heart* (to speak in the language of humanity) the context tells us, *The establishment of his Dispensation.* Thus, we see, *the man after God's own heart*, is the man who seconds God's views in the support of the Theocracy. No other virtue was here in question. Though in an indefinite way of speaking, where the subject is only the general relation of man to God, no one can, indeed, be called a *man after God's own heart*, but he who uses his best endeavours to imitate God's purity as far as miserable humanity will allow, in the uniform practice of every virtue.

By this time, therefore, I presume, the serious Reader will be disposed to take for just what it is worth, that refined observation of the noble author of the Characteristics, where he says, "It is not possible, by the *muse's art*, to make that royal Hero appear amiable in human eyes, who found such favour in the eye of Heaven. Such are mere human hearts, that they can hardly find the least sympathy with that ONLY ONE which had the character of being after the

* 1 Sam. xiii. 14. † 2 Chron. vi. 6. ‡ Hosea iii. 5. § See note XXXX, at the end of this book. ‖ 1 Sam. ii. 35.

pattern of the Almighty."*—His lordship seems willing to make any thing *the test of truth*, but that only which has a claim to it, RIGHT REASON. Sometimes this *test* is RIDICULE; here, it is the ART OF POETRY—*it is not possible* (says he) *for the muse's art to make that royal Hero appear amiable in human eyes.* Therefore, because DAVID was not a character to be managed by the Poet, for the Hero of a fiction, he was not a fit instrument in the hands of God, to support a Theocracy: and having nothing amiable in the eyes of our noble Critic, there could be nothing in him to make him acceptable to his Maker. But when classical criticism goes beyond its bounds, it is liable to be bewildered: as here. The noble Author assures us that David was the only man *characterised*, to be AFTER GOD'S OWN HEART, whereas we see the very same character is given of Samuel; and both honoured with this glorious appellation for the same reason.

II. As for the GREAT SANHEDRIM, it seems to have been established after the failure of Prophecy. And concerning the members of this body, the Rabbins tell us, there was a tradition, that they were bound to be skilled in all sciences.† So far is certain, that they extended their jurisdiction to the judging of doctrines and opinions, as appears by their deputation to JESUS, to know by what authority he did his great works. And as the address of our blessed Saviour on this occasion deserves well to be illustrated, I shall set down the occurrence as it is recorded by St. Matthew:—"When he was come into the temple, the chief priests and the elders of the people came unto him as he was teaching, and said, By what authority dost thou these things? And who gave thee this authority? And JESUS answered and said unto them, I also will ask you one thing, which if you tell me, I in like wise will tell you by what authority I do these things. The baptism of *John*, whence was it? from heaven, or of men? And they reasoned with themselves saying, If we shall say from heaven, he will say unto us, Why did ye not then believe him? But if we shall say of men, we fear the people: for all hold *John* as a prophet. And they answered JESUS and said, We cannot tell. And he said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things."‡ We are not to suppose this to be a captious evasion of a question made by those whose authority he did not acknowledge. On the contrary, it was a direct reply to an acknowledged jurisdiction, (as JESUS was obedient to all the institutions of his country) convincing them that the question needed not, even on the principles of that jurisdiction, any precise answer. They sent to him to know the authority on which he acted. He asks them whether they had yet determined of John's: they say, they had not. Then replies JESUS,

* "Advice to an Author," vol. i. sect. 3. p. 258.

† See SMITH'S "Select Discourses,"

‡ Matt. xxi. 23, et seq.

"I need not tell you my authority; since the Sanhedrim's not having yet determined of John's, shews such a determination unnecessary; or at least, since (both by John's account and mine) he is represented as the fore-runner of my mission, it is fit to begin with his pretensions first." The address and reasoning of this reply are truly divine.

The foregoing observations concerning this method of divine wisdom, in the establishment of the Jewish Theocracy, will be much supported, if we contrast it with that which Providence was pleased to take in the propagation of Christianity.

The blessed JESUS came down to teach mankind a spiritual Religion, the object of each individual as such; and offered to their acceptance on the sole force of its own evidence. The Propagators of this religion had no need to be endowed with worldly authority or learning; for here was no Body of men to be conducted; nor no civil Policy or government to be erected or administered. Had JESUS, on the contrary, made choice of the Great and Learned for this employment, they had discredited their own success. It might have been then objected, that the Gospel had made its way by the aid of human power or sophistry. To preserve, therefore, the splendour of its evidence unsullied, the meanest and most illiterate of a barbarous people were made choice of for the instruments of GOD'S last great Revelation to mankind: armed with no other power but of Miracles, and that only for the credence of their mission; and with no other wisdom but of Truth, and that only to be proposed freely to the understandings of Particulars. St. Paul, who had fathomed the mysterious depths of divine wisdom under each Oeconomy, was so penetrated with the view of this last Dispensation, that he breaks out into this rapturous and triumphant exclamation, *Where is the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?**

But further, Divine wisdom so wonderfully contrived, that the inability and ignorance of the Propagators of Christianity were as useful to the advancement of this Religion, as the authority and wisdom of the Leader of the Jews were for the establishment of theirs.

I shall only give one instance out of many which will occur to an attentive reader of the Evangelic history.

When JESUS had chosen these mean and weak instruments of his power, he suffered them to continue in their national prejudices concerning his Character; the nature of his kingdom; and the extent of his jurisdiction; as the sole human means of keeping them attached to his service, not only during the course of their attendance on his ministry, but for some time after his resurrection, and the

* 1 Cor. i. 20.

descent of the Holy Ghost upon them; that Power which was to *lead them into all truth;* but by just and equal steps. Let us see the use of this, in the following circumstance: From the order of the whole of GOD's Dispensation to mankind, as laid down in Scripture, we learn, that the offer of the Gospel was to be first fairly made to the Jews; and then afterwards to the Gentiles. Now when, soon after the ascension of our Lord, the Church was forced, by the persecution of the Synagogue, to leave Judea, and to disperse itself through all the regions round about; had the Apostles, on this dispersion, been fully instructed in the design of GOD to call the Gentiles into his church, resentment for their ill usage within Judea, and the small prospect of better success amongst those who were without, which they of Jerusalem had prejudiced against the Gospel, would naturally have disposed them to turn immediately to the Gentiles. By which means GOD's purpose, without a supernatural force upon their minds, had been defeated; as so great a part of the Jews would not have had the Gospel *first preached unto them.* But now pushed on by this commodious prejudice, that the benefits belonged properly to the race of Abraham, they directly addressed themselves to their brethren of the *dispersion:* where meeting with the same ill success, their sense of the desperate condition of the house of Israel would now begin to abate that prejudice in their favour. And then came the time to enlighten them in this matter, without putting too great a force upon their minds; which is not GOD's way of acting with free agents. Accordingly, his purpose of calling the Gentiles into the Church was now clearly revealed to PETER at Joppa; and a proper subject wherewith to begin this great work, was ready provided for him.

But though ignorance in the Propagator of a divine truth amongst particulars may serve to these important ends, yet to shew still plainer how pernicious this inability would be wherever a Society is concerned, as in the establishment of the Jewish Religion, I shall produce an occasional example even in the Christian.

For when now so great numbers of the Gentiles were converted to CHRIST, that it became necessary to form them into a Church; that is, a religious Society; which of course hath its Policy as well as the Civil; so hurtful was ignorance in its governing members, that divers of them, though graced with many gifts of the holy Spirit, caused such disorders in their assemblies as required all the abilities of the LEARNED APOSTLE to reform and regulate. And then it was, and for this purpose, that PAUL, the proper Apostle of the Gentiles,* was, in an extraordinary manner, called in, to conduct, by his learning and

* *The gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto* Peter. (Gal. ii. 7.)

abilities, and with the assistance of his companion LUKE, a learned man also, this part of GOD's purpose to its completion. The rest were properly Apostles of the Jews; which people having a religious Society already formed, the converts from thence had a kind of rule to go by, which served them for their present occasions; and therefore these needed no great talents of parts or learning; nor had they any. But a new Society was to be formed amongst the Gentile converts; and this required an able conductor; and such an one they had in Paul. But will any one say that his learning afforded an objection against the divinity of his mission? We conclude therefore, that none can arise from the abilities, natural and acquired, of the great Jewish Lawgiver. The point to be proved.

II. We come now to the second part of the Proposition, *That the Laws instituted in compliance to the People's prejudices, and in opposition to Egyptian superstitions, are no reasonable objection to the divinity of the Jewish Religion.* That most of these Laws were given in *opposition* to Egyptian superstitions, believers seem not unwilling to allow; as apprehending no consequence from such a concession that will give them trouble. The thing which startles them is the supposition that some of these Laws were given in *compliance* to the Jewish prejudices; because infidels have inforced this circumstance to the discredit of Moses's pretensions. To satisfy believers therefore, I shall shew, "that the Laws in *compliance* were a consequence of the Laws in *opposition*." And to reconcile them to both sorts, I shall attempt to prove, from the double consideration of their NECESSITY and FITNESS, that the institution of such Laws is no reasonable objection to the divinity of their original.

I. If GOD did indeed interfere in the concerns of this People, it will, I suppose, be easily granted, that his purpose was to separate them from the contagion of that universal idolatry, which had now overspread the whole earth; and to which, especially to the EGYPTIAN, they were most inveterately prone.

There were two ways, in the hand of GOD, for effecting this separation: either to overrule the Will; and this required only the exercise of his power: or, by leaving the Will at liberty, to counterwork the passions; and this required the exercise of his WISDOM.

Now, as all the declared purposes of this separation shew, that GOD acted with the Israelites as MORAL AGENTS, we must needs conclude, notwithstanding the peculiar favour by which they were elected, and the extraordinary providence by which they were conducted, that yet, amidst all this display and blaze of almighty Power, the WILL ever remained free and uncontrolled. This not only appears from the nature of the thing, but from the whole history of their reduction out of Egypt. To give only one instance: Moses

tells us, that GOD led the Israelites into the land of Canaan, not by the direct way of the Philistines, lest the sight of danger, in an expedition against a strong and warlike People, should make them chuse to return to Egypt, and seek for refuge in their slavery: But he led them about, by the way of the Wilderness, to inure them by degrees to fatigue and hardships; the best foundation of military prowess.* And when GOD, to punish them for their cowardice, on the report of the faithless explorers of the land, had decreed that that generation should be worn away in the Wilderness,† the wise policy of this sentence was as conspicuous as the justice of it.

If then the Wills of this people were to be left free, and their minds influenced only by working on their passions, it is evident, that GOD, when he became their Lawgiver, would act by the same policy in use amongst human Lawgivers for restraining the vicious inclinations of the People. The same, I say, in kind, though differing infinitely in degree. For all People, whether conducted on divine or human measures, having the same nature, the same liberty of Will, and the same terrestrial situation, must needs require the same mode of guidance. And, in fact, we find the Jewish to be indeed constituted like other Civil governments, with regard to the integral parts of a Political society.

According to all human conception therefore, we see no way left to keep such a People, thus separated, free from the contagion of idolatry, but,

First, by severe penal Laws against idolaters;

And, Secondly, by framing a multifarious Ritual, whose whole direction, looking contrary to the forbidden superstitions, would, by degrees, wear out the present fondness for them; and at length bring on an habitual aversion to them. This is the way of wise Lawgivers; who, in order to keep the Will from revolting, forbear to do every thing by direct force and fear of punishment; but employ, where they can, the gentler methods of restraint.

Thirdly, but as even in the practice of this gentler method, when the passions and prejudices run high, a direct and professed opposition will be apt to irritate and inflame them; therefore it will be further necessary, in order to break and elude their violence, to turn men's fondness for the forbidden practice into a harmless channel; and by indulging them in those customs, which they could not well abuse to superstition, enable the more severe and opposite institutions to perform their work. Such, for instance, might be the *lighting up of lamps* in religious Worship: which practice, Clemens Alexandrinus assures us, came first from the Egyptians: ‡ nor would Witsius him-

* Exod. xiii. 17. † Num. xiii. xiv. ‡ Αἰγύπτιοι λύχνους καίειν πρῶτοι κατέδειξαν. — *Strom.* lib. i. p. 306, edit. Colon. 1688, fol.

self venture to deny it.* But, for the same reason, we conclude that the *brazen serpent* was no imitation of an Egyptian practice, as Sir J. Marsham would persuade us; because we see how easily it might, and did suffer abuse. Which conclusion, not only our principle leads us to make, but matter of fact enables us to prove.†

Such a conduct therefore as this, where the Will is left free, appears to be NECESSARY.

II. Let us see next whether it were FIT, that is, Whether it agreed with the wisdom, dignity, and purity of GOD.

1. His WISDOM indeed is the Attribute peculiarly manifested in this method of government; and certainly with as great lustre as we should have seen his POWER, had it been his good pleasure to have over-ruled the Will. To give an instance only in one particular, most liable to the ridicule of unbelievers; I mean, in that part of the Jewish Institute which concerns *clean* and *unclean* meats; and descends to so low and minute a detail, that men, ignorant of the nature and end of this regulation, have, on its apparent *unfitness* to engage the concern of GOD, concluded against the divine original of the Law. But would they reflect, that the purpose of separating one People from the contagion of universal idolatry, and this, in order to facilitate a still greater good, was a design not unworthy the Governor of the Universe, they would see this part of the Jewish Institution in a different light: They would see the brightest marks of divine wisdom in an injunction which took away the very grounds of all commerce with foreign Nations. For those who can neither eat nor drink together, are never likely to become intimate. This will open to us the admirable method of divine Providence in PETER'S *vision*. The time was now come that the Apostle should be instructed in GOD'S purpose of calling the Gentiles into the Church: At the hour of repast, therefore, he had a scenical representation of all kind of meats, *clean* and *unclean*; of which he was bid to take and eat indifferently and without distinction.‡ The primary design of this vision, as appears by the context, was to inform him that the *partition-wall* was now broken down, and that the Gentiles were to be received into the church of CHRIST. But besides its figurative meaning, it had a literal; and signified, that the distinction of MEATS, as well as of MEN, was now to be abolished. And how necessary such an information was, when he was about to go upon his mission to the Gentiles, and was to conciliate their benevolence and good-will, I have observed above. But although this was the principal cause of the distinction of meats into clean and unclean, yet another was certainly

* "Earum [lucernarum] prima ad religionem accensio, utrum Hebræis debeatur, an Ægyptiis, haud facile dixero."—*Ægyptiaca*, p. 190. † See above. ‡ Acts x. 10, et seq.

for the preservation of health. This institution was of necessity to be observed in the first case, to secure the great object of a *separation:* and in the second case (which is no trivial mark of the wisdom of the Institutor) it might be safely and commodiously observed by a People thus *separated,* who were consequently to be for ever confined within the limits of one country. And here the absurdity of this part of Mahometanism evidently betrays itself. Mahomet would needs imitate the Law of Moses, as in other things, so in this *the distinction of meats, clean and unclean;* without considering that in a Religion formed for conquest, whose followers were to inhabit Regions of the most different and contrary qualities, the food which in one climate was hurtful or nutritive, in another changed its properties to their contraries. But to shew still more clearly the difference between Institutions formed at hazard, and those by divine appointment, we may observe, that when Judaism arrived at its completion in Christianity, the followers of which were the inhabitants of all Climes, the distinction between meats clean and unclean was abolished; which, at the same time, serving other great ends explained above, shew the Dispensation (in the course of which these several changes of the Oeconomy took place) to be really Divine.

2. As to the DIGNITY and Majesty of GOD, that, surely, does not suffer, in his not interfering with his power, to force the Will, but permitting it to be drawn and inclined by those *cords of a man,* his natural motives. The dignity of any Being consists in observing a conformity between his actions, and his quality, or station. Now it pleased the GOD of heaven to take upon himself the office of supreme Magistrate of the Jewish Republic. But it is (as we have shewn) the part of a wise Magistrate to restrain a People, devoted to any particular superstition, by a Ritual directly *opposite* in the general to that superstition; and yet *similar* in such particular practices as could not be abused or perverted: because compliance with the popular prejudices in things indifferent, naturally eludes the force of their propensity to things evil. In this wise Policy, therefore, the dignity of the GOD of heaven was not impaired.

3. Nor is his PURITY any more affected by this supposed conduct. The Rites, in question, are owned to be, in themselves, indifferent: and good or evil only as they are directed to a true or false object.

If it be said "that their carnal nature, or wearisome multiplicity, or scrupulous observance, render them unworthy of the purity and spiritual nature of GOD:" To Believers, I reply, that this objection holds equally against these Rites in whatever view they themselves are wont to regard them:—To Unbelievers; that they forget, or do not understand GOD'S primary end, in the institution of the Jewish Ritual; which was, to preserve the people from the contagion of these

idolatrous practices with which they were surrounded. But nothing could be so effectual to this purpose, as such a Ritual. And since the continual proneness of that People to idolatry hath been shewn to arise from the inveterate prejudice of *intercommunity of worship*, nothing could be so effectual as the extreme minuteness of their Ritual.

If it be said, "that the former abuse of these *indulged Rites* to an abominable superstition had made them unfit to be employed in the service of the GOD of purity:" I reply, that there is nothing in the nature of things, to make them *unfit*. That a material substance, materially soiled, stained, and infected, is unfit to approach and be joined to one of great cleanness and purity, is not to be denied. But let us not mistake words for things; and draw a metaphysical conclusion from a metaphorical expression. The soil and stain, in the case before us, is altogether figurative, that is, unreal. And in truth, the very objection is taken from the command of this very Law, to abstain from things polluted by idolatry: But we now understand, that the reason of its so severely forbidding the use of some things that had been abused to superstition, was the very same with its indulging the use of others which had been equally abused; namely, to compass, by the best, though different yet concording means, that one great end, *the* EXTIRPATION OF IDOLATRY. Notwithstanding this, the Law concerning things polluted, like many other of the Jewish observances, hath occasionally been adopted by different Sects in the Christian church. Thus our PURITANS, who seem to have had their name from the subject in debate, quarrelled with the established use of the cross in baptism, the surplice, and the posture of communicating, because they had been abused to the support of popish superstition.* I chuse this instance, that the Men whom I am arguing against, may see the issue of their objection; and that They, from whom the instance is taken, may be shewn the unreasonableness of their separation; as far at least as it was occasioned on account of ceremonies.

If, lastly, it be said, "that these Rites, which once had been, might be again, abused to superstition; and were therefore *unfit* to be employed in this new service;" I reply, that this is a mistake. For, 1. We go on the supposition, that the Jews were indulged in no practices capable of being so abused. 2. That though they might in themselves be subject to abuse, yet they carried their corrective with them: which was, first, their being intermixed with a vast number of other Rites directly opposite to all idolatrous practice; and, secondly, their making part of a burdensome multifarious Worship, which would keep the people so constantly employed, as to afford them neither

* See note YYYY, at the end of this book.

time nor occasion, from the cause in question, of falling into foreign idolatries.

But how can I hope to be heard in defence of this conduct of the GOD of Israel, when even the believing part of those whom I oppose seem to pay so little attention to the reasoning of JESUS himself; who has admirably illustrated and vindicated the wisdom of this conduct, in the familiar parable of *new cloth in old garments*, and *new wine in old bottles*: * which, though given in answer to a particular question, was intended to instruct us in this general truth, That it is the way of God to accommodate his Institutions to the state, the condition, and contracted habits, of his creatures.

But as this notion hath been condemned "ex cathedra;" † and the *Ægyptiaca* of HERMAN WITSIUS recommended to the clergy, *as a distinct and solid confutation of Spencer's book, de legibus Hebræorum ritualibus*; I shall examine what that learned Foreigner hath to say against it. All Witsius's reasoning on this point is to be found in the fourteenth chapter of his third book; which I shall endeavour to pick out, and set in the fairest light.

1. His first argument is, "that it is a dishonouring of GOD, who has the hearts of men in his power, and can turn them as he pleases, to conceive of him as standing in need of the tricks of crafty Politicians; not but, he confesses, that GOD deals with men as reasonable creatures, and attains his end by fit and adequate means; and, in the choice of these means, manifests a wisdom perfectly admirable." Yet, for all this, he says, "we cannot, without the highest contumely, presume to compare the sacred Policy of Heaven with the arts and shifts of the beggarly politics of this world."‡ All I find here is only misrepresentation. Spencer never compared the wisdom of GOD, in the institution of the Jewish republic, to the *tricks* and *shifts* of politicians; but to their *legitimate arts* of Government, conducted on the rules of strict morality. And if, as this writer owns, GOD *dealt with the Israelites as reasonable creatures, and attained his end by fit and adequate means*, he must needs use a wisdom the same in

* *And he spake also a parable unto them, No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old: if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new, agreeth not with the old. And no man putteth new wine into old bottles, else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish.* (Luke v. 36.) † WATERLAND'S "Charge to the Clergy of Middlesex."

‡ "Verum enimvero quantamcunque hæc civilis prudentiæ speciem habeant, præter Dei verbum cuncta dicuntur, et humani commenta sunt ingenii, divini numinis majestate haud satis digna. Nimirum cauti catique in seculo mortales Deum ex sua metiuntur indole: arcanasque imperandi artes, et vaframenta politicorum, quæ vix terra probet, cœlo locant. Quasi vero in populo sibi formando firmandoque iis astutiarum ambagibus indigeat is, qui, mortalium corda in manu sua habens, ea, quorsum vult, flectit. Non nego equidem Deum cum hominibus, uti cum creaturis rationalibus, agentem, media adhibere iis persuadendis idonea, inque eorum mediorum delectu sapientiam ostendere prorsus admirabilem. Attamen Dei sanctissima ista sapientia cum politicorum astibus ac vafritie comparari sine insigni illius contumelia non potest."—P. 282.

kind, though vastly different in degree, with what we call human policy. But indeed, he seems reconciled to the thing: it is the name only which he dislikes. If his followers say otherwise, I desire they would explain, in some intelligible manner, their idea of that *wisdom*, in GOD's civil government of a people, which is not founded in the exercise of almighty power, and is yet different in kind from what we call Policy.

2. His second argument is, "That, as GOD erected a new Republic, it was his will that it should *appear* new to the Israelites. Its structure was not to be patched up out of the rubbish of the Canaanitish or Egyptian Rites, but was formed according to the model brought down from heaven, and shewn to Moses in the Mount. Nor was it left to the people to do the least thing in religious matters, on their own head.' 'All was determinately ordered, even to the most minute circumstance; which was so bound upon them, that they could not do, or omit, any the least thing contrary to the Law, without becoming liable to immediate punishment."*—If, by this NEWNESS of the Jewish Republic, be meant, that it was different in many fundamental circumstances from all other civil policies, so as to vindicate itself to its divine Author; I not only agree with him, but, which is more than he and his recommender could do, have proved it. But this sense makes nothing to the point in question. If by NEWNESS be meant, that it had nothing in common with any of the neighbouring Institutions; To make this credible, he should have proved that GOD gave them new *hearts*, new *natures*, and a new *world*, along with their new *Government*. There is the same ambiguity in what he says of the *appearance* of newness to the Israelites. For it may signify either that the Institution appeared so new as to be seen to come from GOD; or that it appeared so new as not to resemble, in any of its parts, the Institutions of men. The first is true, but not to the purpose: the latter is to the purpose, but not true.—From the fact, of the Law's *coming down entire from heaven*, he concludes that the genius and prejudices of the Israelites were not at all consulted: From the same fact, I conclude, that they were consulted: which of us has concluded right is left to the judgment of the public. Let me only observe, That ignorant men may compose, and have composed Laws in all things opposite to the bent and genius of a people; and they have been obeyed accordingly. But, when divine wisdom frames

* "Uti revera novam moliebatur rempublicam, ita et novam, qualis erat, videri eam Israëlitis voluit. Quippe cujus forma sive species, non ex rituum fuderibus Canaaniticorum aut Ægyptiacorum efficta, sed cœlitus delapsa, Mosi primum in sacro monstrata monte erat, ut ad illud instar cuncta in Israële componerentur. Neque permissum esse populo voluit, ut in religionis negotio vel tantillum suo ageret arbitratu. Omnia determinavit ipse, ad minutissimas usque circumstantias; quibus ita eos alligavit, ut non sine præsentaneo vitæ discrimine quicquam vel omittere, vel aliter agere potuerint."—Pp. 282, 283.

an Institution, we may be sure that no such solecism as that of *putting new wine into old bottles* will ever be committed.—*But the people were not consulted even in the least thing that concerned religious matters.* How is this to be reconciled with their free choice of GOD for their King; and with his indulgence of their impious clamours afterwards for a Vicegerent or another king? This surely *concerned religious matters,* and very capitally too, in a Policy where both the Societies were perfectly incorporated.—*But every thing was determined even to the most minute circumstances, and to be observed under the severest penalties.* What this makes for his point, I see not. But this I see, that, if indeed there were that indulgence in the Law which I contend for, these two circumstances of *minute prescription,* and *severe penalties,* must needs attend it: and for this plain reason; Men, when indulged in their prejudices, are very apt to transgress the bounds of that indulgence; it is therefore necessary that those bounds should be minutely marked out, and the transgression of them severely punished.

3. His third argument is—"That no religious Rites, formerly used by the Israelites, on their own head, were, after the giving of the law, PERMITTED, out of regard to habitude; but all things PRESCRIBED and COMMANDED: and this so precisely, that it was unlawful to deviate a finger's breadth either to the right hand or to the left." * —This indeed is an observation which I cannot reconcile to the learned writer's usual candour and ingenuity. He is writing against Spencer's system: and here he brings an argument against it, which he saw in Spencer's book had been brought against Grotius (who was in that system), and which Spencer answers in defence of Grotius. Therefore, as this answer will serve in defence of Spencer himself against Witsius, I shall give it at the bottom of the page.† For the rest, I apprehend all the force of this third argument to lie only in

* "Nec ulli in religione ritus fuerunt, ab Israëlitis olim sine numine usurpati, quibus propter assuetudinem ut in posterum quoque uterentur lege lata *permisit:* sed præscripta *jussaque* sunt omnia. Et quidem ita distincte, ut nec transversum digitum dextrorsum aut sinistrorsum declinare fas fuerit. Deut. v."—P. 283.

† "Testium meorum agmen claudit Grotius—Authoris verba sunt hæc: *Sicut fines sacrificiorum diversi sunt,—ita et ritus, qui aut ab Hebræis ad alias gentes venere, aut, quod credibilius est, a Syris et Ægyptiis usurpati, correcti sunt ab Hebræis, et ab aliis gentibus sine ea emendatione usurpati.* Hic in Grotium paulo animosius insurgit auctor nuperus: nam *hoc,* ait ille, *cum impietate et absurditate conjunctum est.* Quid ita? *Num enim,* respondet ille, *Deum sanctissima sua instituta, quæ ipse prolixe sancivit, et conscribi in religiosam observationem, per inspirationem numinis sui, voluit, credemus ab idololatria Syrorum et Ægyptiorum mutuo sumpsisse? Neque ea pro libitu Ebræi assumpserunt, aut assumpta emendarunt, sed omnia et singula divinitus in lege præscripta sunt, et juxta ejus normam exactissime observari debuerunt.* At opinio Grotii multo solidior est, quam ut mucrone tam obtuso confodi possit. Non enim asserit ille, vel sanus quispiam, Hebræos ritum ullum a gentibus, pro libitu suo, sumpsisse, vel sumptum pro ingenio suo correxisse. Id unum sub locutione figurata, contendit Grotius, Deum nempe ritus aliquos, usu veteri confirmatos (emendatos tamen, et ignem quasi purgatorium passos) a gentibus accepisse, et Hebræis usurpandos tradidisse; ne populus ille, rituum ethnicorum amore præceps, ad cultum et superstitionem Gentilium rueret, ni more plurimum veteri cultum præstare concederetur."—*De Legibus Heb. rit.* vol. ii. pp. 748, 749.

a quibble on the equivocal use of the word PERMISSION, which signifies either a *tacit connivance*, or *legal allowance*. Now Spencer used the word in this latter sense.* But *permission*, in this sense, is very consistent with *every thing's being expressly prescribed and commanded in the law.*

4. His fourth argument proceeds thus,—"But farther, God neither *permitted*, nor *commanded*, that the Israelites should worship him after the Pagan mode of worship. For it had been the same thing to GOD not to be worshipped at all, as to be worshipped by Rites used in the service of Demons. And Moses teaches us that the Laws of God were very different from what Spencer imagined; as appears from Deut. xii. 30, 31, 32. and from Lev. xviii. 2, 3, 4. Here the reason given of forbidding the vanities of Egypt, is, that Jehovah, who brought them out from amongst that people, will, from henceforth, allow no farther communication with Egypt. Small appearance of any indulgence. And hence indeed it is, that most of the ritual Laws are directly levelled against the Egyptian, Zabian, and Canaanitish superstitions, as Maimonides confesseth."†—As to what this learned man says, that we may as well not worship GOD at all as worship him by Rites which have been employed in Paganism, we have already overturned the foundation of that fanatical assertion. It is true, the argument labours a little in the hands of SPENCER and MAIMONIDES; while they suppose the Devil himself to be the principal Architect of Pagan Superstition: for to believe that GOD would employ any Rites introduced by this evil Spirit is of somewhat hard digestion. But that writer, who conceives them to be the inventions of superstitious and designing men only, hath none of this difficulty to encounter. As for the observation, that *most of the ritual Laws were levelled against idolatrous superstition*, we are so far from seeing any inconsistency between this truth and that other, "that some of those *ritual Laws* did indulge the people in such habituated practices, as could not be abused to superstition," that, on the contrary, we see a necessary connexion between them. For if severe Laws were given to a people against superstitions, to which they

* See note ZZZZ, at the end of this book.

† "Porro nec *permisit*, nec *jussit* Deus, ut eo se modo Israëlitæ colerent, quo modo Deos suos colebant Gentiles; veritus scilicet ne per veteres istas vanitates Dæmoni cultum deferrent, si minus Deo licuisset. Nam et inanis ille metus erat: quum Deo propemodum perinde sit, sive quis Dæmoni cultum deferat, sive per vanitates aliquas veteres Deo cultum deferre præsumat. Et longe aliter Deum instituisse Moses docet, Deut. xiii. 30, 31, 32: adde Levit. xviii. 2, 3, 4.' Audin', Spencere, qua ratione ab Ægyptiacis vanitatibus ad suorum observantiam præceptorum Israëlitas Deus avocet? Eo id facit nomine, quod ipse Jehova et Deus ipsorum sit, qui ex Ægypto eos eripiens nihil posthac cum Ægyptiorum vanitatibus commune habere voluit. Hoc profecto non est, id quod tu dicis, allicere eos per umbratiles veterum Ægypti rituum reliquias. Atque hinc factum est ut plurima Deus legibus suis ritualibus inseruerit, Ægyptiorum, Zabiorum, Canaanæorum institutis ἐκ παραλλήλου opposita—Cujus rei varia a nobis exempla alibi allata sunt.'—Pp. 283, 284.

were violently bent, it would be very proper to indulge them in some of their favourite habits, so far forth as safely they could be indulged, in order to break the violence of the rest, and to give the body of opposed Laws a fuller liberty of working their effect. And if they had Laws likewise given them in indulgence, it would be necessary to accompany such Laws with the most severe prohibitions of idolatrous practice, and of the least deviation from a tittle of the Institute. In a word, Laws in direct *opposition*, and Laws in *conformity* or compliance, had equally, as we say, the same tendency, and jointly concurred to promote the same end; namely, the preservation of the Israelites from idolatry.*

5. His fifth argument runs thus.—"Indulgence was so far from being the end of the Law, that the Ritual was given as a most heavy yoke, to subdue and conquer the ferocity of that stiff-necked people, Gal. iv. 1, 2, 3. Col. ii. 21."†—By this one would imagine, his adversaries had contended for such a kind of indulgence as arose out of GOD'S fondness for a chosen People; when indeed, they suppose it to be only such an indulgence as tended the more effectually and expeditiously to subdue and conquer the ferocity of their savage tempers:

Quos optimus
Fallere et effugere est triumphus.

If, therefore, *that* were the END of the Law which Witsius himself contends for, we may be assured that this indulgence was one of the MEANS. But the principal and more general *means* being Laws in direct opposition, this justified the character the Apostle gives of the Jewish Ritual, in the two places urged against us.

6. His sixth argument is,—"That the intent of the Law was to separate the Israelites, by a partition-wall, as it were, from all other people; which, by its diversity, might set them at a distance from idolaters, and create an aversion to idolatry." ‡—As to the first effect of the diversity of the Jewish Law, the keeping the people distinct; if the learned writer would thereby insinuate (which is indeed to his point) that this distinction could be kept up only while the Jews and other nations had no similar Rites; it could never, even by the means he himself prescribes, be long kept up at all. For if the Jews were not indulged in the imitation of any Pagan Rites, the Pagans might indulge themselves in the imitation of the Jewish: as indeed they are supposed to have done in the practice of CIRCUMCISION: and so this

* See note AAAAA, at the end of this book. † "Id sibi primum in rituum jussione propositum habuit Deus, ut laboriosis istis exercitiis *ferociam* populi indomitam, veluti *difficillimo jugo*, *subigeret*, Gal. iv. 1, 2, 3; Col. ii. 21."—P. 286. ‡ "Deinde hæc quoque Dei in rituum jussione intentio fuit, ut eorum observantia, veluti *pariete intergerino*, eos à gentium communione longe semoveret, Eph. ii. 14, 15. —Quum autem legem præceptorum in ritibus *inimicitias* Apostolus vocat, hoc inter cætera innuit, fuisse eam symbolum atque instrumentum divisionis atque odii inter Israëlem et gentes."—Pp. 287, 288.

partition-wall, if only built of this untempered mortar of Witsius's providing, would soon tumble of itself. But the very case here given shews no necessity for ALL the laws to be in opposition, in order to secure a separation; the Jews being as effectually separated from all their neighbours when most of them used the rite of *circumcision,* as when these Jews practised it without a rival. And the reason is this, CIRCUMCISION was not given to Abraham and to his race as a mark of distinction and separation from all other people, but, what its constant use made it only fit for, a standing memorial of the covenant between GOD and Abraham. *And ye shall circumcise* (says God) *the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a* TOKEN OF THE COVENANT *between me and you,* Gen. xvii. 11. But though it was not given as a mark of separation, yet it effectually answered that purpose: for it preserved the memory, or was the *token,* of a covenant, which necessarily kept them separate and distinct from the rest of mankind. As to the other effect of this diversity of the Jewish Law, namely the creating an aversion to the Rites of all other nations; in this, the learned writer hath betrayed his ignorance of human nature. For we always find a more inveterate hatred and aversion, between people of different Religions where several things are alike, than where every thing is diametrically opposite: of which a plain cause might be found in the nature of man, whose heart is so much corrupted by his passions. So that the retaining some innocent Egyptian practices, all accompanied with their provisional opposites, would naturally make the Jews more averse to Egypt, than if they had differed in every individual circumstance.

7. His last argument concludes thus,—"The ceremonies of the Jewish Ritual were types and shadows of heavenly things: It is therefore highly improbable that GOD should chuse the impious and diabolic Sacra of Egypt, and the mummery of Magic practices, for the shadows of such holy and spiritual matters." * Thus he ends, as he began, with hard words and soft arguments. No one ever pretended to say that such kinds of practices were suffered or imitated in the Jewish Ritual. All the indulgence supposed, is of some harmless Rite or innocent Ornament, such as the *lighting up of Lamps, or wearing a Linen garment.* And let me ask, whether these things, though done, as we suppose, in conformity to an Egyptian practice, were more unfit to be made a type or shadow of heavenly things, than the erection *of an altar without steps;* done, as they will allow, in direct opposition to Pagan practice. But it will be shewn under the

* "Denique et hic cærimoniarum scopus fuit, ut *rerum spiritualium figuræ* atque *umbræ* essent, et exstaret in iis artificiosa *pictura Christi,* ac gratiæ per ipsum impetrandæ—Non est autem probabile, Deum ex impiis Ægyptiorum ac diabolicis sacris, ex veteribus vanitatibus, ex magicæ artis imitamentis, picturas fecisse rerum spiritualium atque cœlestium."—P. 289.

next head, that the supposition that the Jewish Ritual was framed, partly in compliance to the people's prejudices, and partly in opposition to idolatrous superstitions, and, at the same time, typical of a future Dispensation, tends greatly to raise and enlarge our ideas of the divine Wisdom.

But it is strange, that such a writer as WITSIUS (whatever we may think of the admirers of his argument) should not see, that the character given of the RITUAL LAW by God himself did not imply that it had a mixture at least of no better stuff than Egyptian and other Pagan practices.

GOD, by the prophet EZEKIEL, upbraiding the Israelites with their perversity and disobedience, from the time of their going out of Egypt to their entrance into the land of Canaan, speaks to them in this manner.—

Ver. 1. "And it came to pass, in the seventh year, in the fifth month, the tenth day of the month, that certain of the elders of Israel came to inquire of the Lord, and sat before me.

2. "Then came the word of the Lord unto me saying:

3. "Son of man, speak unto the elders of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Are ye come to inquire of me? as I live, saith the Lord God, I will not be inquired of by you.

4. "Wilt thou judge them, son of man, wilt thou judge them? cause them to know the abominations of their fathers:

5. "And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, in the day when I chose Israel, and lifted up mine hand unto the seed of the house of Jacob, and made myself known unto them in the land of Egypt, when I lifted up mine hand unto them, saying I am the Lord your God.

6. "In the day that I lifted up mine hand unto them to bring them forth of the land of Egypt, into a land that I had espied for them, flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands:

7. "Then said I unto them, Cast ye away every man the abominations of his eyes, and defile not yourselves with the idols of Egypt: I am the Lord your God.

8. "But they rebelled against me, and would not hearken unto me; they did not every man cast away the abominations of their eyes, neither did they forsake the idols of Egypt: Then I said, I will pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the midst of the land of Egypt.

9. "But I wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted before the heathen, among whom they were, in whose sight I made myself known unto them, in bringing them forth out of the land of Egypt.

10. "Wherefore I caused them to go forth out of the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness.

11. "And I gave them my statutes, and shewed them my judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live in them.

12. "Moreover also, I gave them my sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them.

13. "But the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness: they walked not in my statutes, and they despised my judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live in them; and my sabbaths they greatly polluted: then I said I would pour out my fury upon them in the wilderness to consume them.

14. "But I wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted before the heathen, in whose sight I brought them out.

15. "Yet also I lifted up my hand unto them in the wilderness, that I would not bring them into the land which I had given them, flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands:

16. "Because they despised my judgments, and walked not in my statutes, but polluted my sabbaths: for their heart went after their idols.

17. "Nevertheless, mine eye spared them from destroying them, neither did I make an end of them in the wilderness.

18. "But I said unto their children in the wilderness, Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, neither observe their judgments, nor defile yourselves with their idols.

19. "I am the Lord your God; walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them:

20. "And hallow my sabbaths, and they shall be a sign between me and you, that ye may know that I am the Lord your God.

21. "Notwithstanding the children rebelled against me: they walked not in my statutes, neither kept my judgments to do them, which if a man do, he shall even live in them; they polluted my sabbaths: then I said I would pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the wilderness.

22. "Nevertheless, I withdrew mine hand, and wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted in the sight of the heathen, in whose sight I brought them forth.

23. "I lifted up mine hand unto them also in the wilderness, that I would scatter them among the heathen, and disperse them through the countries...

24. "Because they had not executed my judgments, but had despised my statutes, and had polluted my sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers' idols.

25. "WHEREFORE I GAVE THEM ALSO STATUTES THAT WERE

NOT GOOD, AND JUDGMENTS WHEREBY THEY SHOULD NOT LIVE.

26. "And I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know that I am the Lord." *

Could the Prophet have possibly given a plainer or more graphical description of the character and genius of the RITUAL LAW, than in those last words? Yet to suit it to theologic purposes, System-makers have endeavoured, in their usual manner, *to interpret it away*, as if it only signified GOD'S suffering the Israelites to fall into idolatry. Now if it were not indulged to these men to make use of any arms they can catch hold of, one should be a little scandalized to find that they had borrowed this forced interpretation from the RABBINS; who holding their Law to be perfect, and of eternal obligation, were indeed much concerned to remove this opprobrium from it. Kimchi is recorded for his dexterity in giving it this meaning: though done with much more caution than the Christian writers who took it from him. He supposed that the *statutes not good* were the Tributes imposed on the Israelites while in subjection to their Pagan neighbours. And this takes off something from the unnatural violence of the expression, of GIVING STATUTES, when understood only to signify the permission of abusing their free-will, when they fell into idolatry.

Now, because the right explanation and proper inforcement of this famous passage will, besides its use in the present argument, serve for many considerable purposes, in the sequel of this work, it may not be time mis-spent to expose this spurious pilfered interpretation. And, as the last inforcer of it, and the most satisfied with his exploit, the late Author of the *Connexions between sacred and profane history*, takes the honour of it to himself, I shall examine his reasoning at large.

Dr. Spencer, and (I suppose) every capable judge before him, understood the *statutes and judgments* in the eleventh verse, to signify the MORAL law; and the *statutes and judgments* in the twenty-fifth verse, to signify the RITUAL. But Dr. Shuckford, who always takes a singular pleasure in carping at that faithful Servant of Common-sense, directs the defence of his borrowed novelty, against the great Author of *the Reasons of the Ritual Law*, in the following manner.—"The persons spoken of, who had the *statutes given* to them, which were *not good*, were not that generation of men to whom the *whole Law* was given, but their children or posterity. To this posterity, God made no additions to his laws; the whole being completed in the time of their forefathers. Therefore all he GAVE to them of *statutes*

* Ezek. xx. 1—26, inclusive.

not good was the PERMISSION of falling into the Pagan idolatries round about." * This, I believe, his followers will confess to be his argument, though represented in fewer words, yet with greater force: for a perplexed combination of needless repetitions, which fill two or three large pages, have much weakened and obscured his reasoning.

However it concludes in these very terms: "And thus it must be undeniably plain, that the Prophet could not, by the *statutes not good*, mean any part of the Ritual law: for the whole Law was given to the fathers of those whom the Prophet now speaks of; but *these statutes* were not given to the fathers, but to the descendants. If we go on, and compare the narrative of the Prophet with the history of the Israelites, we shall see further, that the *statutes and judgments not good* are so far from being any part of Moses's law, that they were not *given* earlier than the times of the Judges;" † *i. e.* the Israelites then fell into the idolatries, here called (as this learned interpreter will have it) *statutes and judgments* GIVEN.

And now, to canvass a little this decisive argument—THUS (says he) *it must be undeniably plain—Thus!* that is, Grant him his premisses, and the conclusion follows. Without doubt. But the whole context shews that his premisses are false.

First then let it be observed, that the occasion of the Prophecy, in the xxth chapter of Ezekiel, was this,—The Jews, by certain of their Elders, had, as was usual in their distresses, recourse to the God of Israel for direction and assistance [ver. 1.]. On this we are informed [ver. 3.], that the word of the Lord came to Ezekiel, bidding him tell these Elders that GOD would not be inquired of by them: for that their continued rebellions, from their coming out of Egypt, to that time, had made them unworthy of his patronage and protection. Their idolatries are then recapitulated, and divided into three periods. The FIRST, from GOD'S message to them while in Egypt, to their entrance into the promised land.—*Thus saith the Lord God, In the day when I chose Israel, and lifted up mine hand unto the seed of Jacob, and made myself known unto them in the land of Egypt*, &c. and so on, from the fifth to the twenty-sixth verse inclusively. The SECOND period contains all the time from their taking possession of the land of Canaan, to their present condition when this prophecy was delivered.—*Therefore, son of man, speak unto the house of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Yet in this your fathers have blasphemed me, in that they have committed a trespass against me! For* WHEN I HAD BROUGHT THEM INTO THE LAND, *for the which I lifted up mine hand to give it to them, then they saw every high hill*, &c. and so on, from the twenty-seventh to the thirty-second verse inclusively. The THIRD period concerns the iniquities, and the

* "Connection," vol. v. pp. 159—161. † Idem, vol. v. p. 161.

consequent punishment of the present generation, which had now applied to him in their distresses.—*As I live, saith the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand, and with a stretched out arm, and with fury poured out,* WILL I RULE OVER YOU, &c. And this is the subject of what we find between the thirty-third and the forty-fourth verse, inclusively.

This short, but exact analysis of the Prophecy, is more than sufficient to overturn Dr. Shuckford's system, founded on a distinction between the *fathers* and the *children* in the eighteenth verse, (which is within the first period) as if the *fathers* related to what happened in the wilderness, and the *children*, to what happened under the judges; whereas common sense is sufficient to convince us, that the whole is confined to the two generations, between the exodus from Egypt and the entrance into Canaan.

But the confutation of a foolish system, dishonourable indeed to Scripture, is the least of my concern. Such things will die of themselves. My point, in delivering the truths of GOD as they lie in his Word, is to illustrate the amazing wisdom of that Dispensation to which they belong. Let me observe therefore, as a matter of much greater moment, that this distinction, which the text hath made between the FATHERS and the CHILDREN, in the first period, during their abode in the wilderness, affords us a very noble instance of that divine *mercy* which extends to *thousands*.

The Prophet thus represents the fact. When GOD brought his chosen people out of Egypt, *he gave them his statutes and shewed them his judgments, which if a man do, he shall live in them. Moreover also he gave them his sabbaths, to be a sign between him and them.** That is, he gave them the *moral* law of the Decalogue, in which there was one *positive* institution,† and no more; but this one, absolutely necessary as *the token of a covenant*, to be a perpetual memorial of it, and, by that means, to preserve them a select people, unmixed with the nations. What followed so gracious and generous a dispensation to the house of Israel? Why, *they rebelled against him in the wilderness: they walked not in his statutes, and they despised his judgments, and his Sabbaths they greatly polluted.*‡ On which, he threatened *to pour out his fury upon them in the wilderness, and consume them.*§ But, in regard to his own glory, lest the Heathen, before whom he brought them out of Egypt, should blaspheme, he thought fit to spare them.‖ Yet so far punished that generation, as never to suffer them to come into the land of Canaan.¶ Their *children* he spared, that the race might not be consumed as he had first threatened.** And hoping better things of them than of their

* Ezek. xx. 11, 12. † The Sabbath. ‡ Ezek. xx. 13. § Ibid.
‖ Verse 14. ¶ Verses 15, 16. ** Verse 17.

Fathers, he said *to them in the wilderness, Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, neither observe their judgments, nor defile yourselves with their idols. Walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments and do them: and hallow my Sabbaths, and they shall be a sign between me and you.** Here we see, the Children, or immediate progeny, were again offered, as their sole rule of government, what had been given to, and had been violated by their Fathers; namely, the moral law of the Decalogue, and the positive institution of the Sabbath. Well, and how did they behave themselves on this occasion? Just as their fathers had done before them.—*Notwithstanding* [the repetition of this offered grace] *the Children rebelled against me, they walked not in my statutes, they polluted my Sabbaths.*†—What followed? The same denunciation which had hung over the Fathers, utter destruction *in the wilderness.*‡ However, mercy again prevails over judgment; and the same reason for which he spared their Fathers inclines him to spare them; lest his *name should be polluted in the sight of the heathen.*§ However due punishment attended their transgressions, as it had done their Fathers'. Their Fathers left their bones in the wilderness: but this perverse race being pardoned, as a People, and still possessed of the privilege of a select and chosen Nation, were neither to be scattered amongst the Heathen, nor to be confined for ever in the wilderness: Almighty Wisdom therefore ordained that their punishment should be such, as should continue them, even against their Wills, a separated race, in possession of the land of Canaan. What this punishment was, the following words declare;—*Because they had not executed my judgments, but had despised my statutes, and had polluted my Sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers idols. Wherefore* I GAVE THEM ALSO STATUTES THAT WERE NOT GOOD, AND JUDGMENTS WHEREBY THEY SHOULD NOT LIVE.‖ That is, because they had violated my FIRST system of laws, the DECALOGUE, I added to them [I GAVE THEM ALSO, words which imply the giving as a supplement] my SECOND system, the RITUAL LAW; very aptly characterised (when set in opposition to the MORAL LAW) by *statutes that were not good, and by judgments whereby they should not live.*

What is here observed, opens to us the admirable reasons of both punishments: and why there was a forbearance, or a second trial, before the *yoke of Ordinances* was imposed. For we must never forget, that the God of Israel transacted with his people according to the mode of human Governors. Let this be kept in mind, and we shall see the admirable progress of the Dispensation. God brought the *Fathers* out of Egypt, to put them in possession of the land of

* Ezek. xx. 18—20. † Verse 21. ‡ Ibid. § Verse 22.
‖ Verses 24, 25.

Canaan. He gave them the MORAL LAW to distinguish them for the worshippers of the true God: And he gave them the POSITIVE Law of the Sabbath to distinguish them for God's peculiar people. These *Fathers* proving perverse and rebellious, their punishment was death in the wilderness, and exclusion from that good land which was reserved for their *Children*. But then these *Children*, in that very Wilderness, the scene of their Fathers' crime and calamity, fell into the same transgressions. What was now to be done? It was plain, so inveterate an evil could be only checked or subdued by the curb of some severe Institution. A severe Institution was prepared; and the RITUAL LAW was established. For the first offence, the punishment was *personal*: but when a repetition shewed it to be inbred, and, like the Leprosy, sticking to the whole race, the punishment was properly changed to *national*.

How clear, how coherent, is every thing, as here explained! How consonant to reason! How full of divine wisdom! Yet, in defiance of Scripture and Common-sense (which have a closer connexion than the Enemies of religion suspect, or than the common advocates of it dare venture to maintain) comes a Doctor, and tells us, that these *Children in the Wilderness* of the time of Moses, were *Children of the land of Canaan* in the time of the Judges; and that the *statutes given* which were *not good*, were Pagan idolatries, *not given*, but *suffered*; indeed not *suffered*; because severely, and almost always immediately punished.

What misled our Doctor (whose *Connexions*, by what we have seen, appear to be little better than a *chain* of errors) seems to have been this, The *Ritual law* was given during the life of the *Fathers*, and soon after their transgression mentioned in the 13th verse of this Prophecy. So he could not conceive how the Prophet should mean that this Law was given to the *Children*. But he did not consider, that the proper punishment of the *Fathers* was extinction in the wilderness: the proper punishment of the *Children*, who were reserved to possess the holy land, was the infliction of the RITUAL LAW.

The Doctor, however, notwithstanding all his complacency in this his adopted system, yet appears conscious of its want of strength; for he owns that an objection may be made to it from the following words of the Prophecy.—*But I said unto their Children* IN THE WILDERNESS, *Walk ye not in the statutes of your Fathers—walk in my statutes—and hallow my Sabbath.** And again, of these *Children—then I said I would pour out my fury upon them to accomplish mine anger against them* IN THE WILDERNESS.† And again,—*I lifted up my hand unto them also* IN THE WILDERNESS.‡ "Here" (says the

* Ezek. xx. 18—20. † Verse 21. ‡ Verse 23.

learned Doctor) "the prophet may SEEM TO HINT, that God's anger against the Children was *while they were in the wilderness.*" *

May seem to hint! The Doctor must be immoderately fond of precise expression when he esteems this to be no more than a *hint* or doubtful intimation.

But MOSES having omitted to tell us, that these Children did indeed play these pranks *in the Wilderness*, he will not take a later Prophet's word for it. *As Moses* (says the Doctor) *wrote before Ezekiel prophesied; his prophecy could not alter facts.* It will be more than the Doctor deserves, if the Freethinker neglects to reply, that both the Prophet and the Doctor here *seem to hint;* the former, *that God's anger against the Children was while they were in the wilderness;* the latter, that Moses and Ezekiel contradict one another. But to let this pass.—*Prophecy*, he says, *could not alter facts;* by which he means that Prophecy, any more than the author of Prophecy, could not make that to be undone which was already done. Who ever thought it could? But might not Ezekiel's Prophecy explain facts, and relate them too, which a former Prophet had omitted? However Ezekiel is not the only one who informs us of this fact. AMOS upbraids these sojourners *in the wilderness* with a still more general apostacy. "Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings IN THE WILDERNESS forty years, O house of Israel? But ye have born the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun, your images, the Star of your God, which ye made to yourselves."† Now if the Israelites committed idolatry all the time they sojourned in the Wilderness, the crime necessarily included the CHILDREN with the *Fathers.*

The Doctor's second expedient to evade the determinate evidence of the text is as ridiculous as the first is extravagant. The text says, —*I will pour out my fury upon them to accomplish mine anger against them* IN THE WILDERNESS.—"These words, *in the wilderness,*" (says the acute Expositor) "do not hint the place where the *anger* was to be *accomplished*, but rather refer to *anger*, and suggest the *anger* to be, as if we might almost say in English, the WILDERNESS-ANGER."‡—If the Doctor's Rhetoric is to be enriched with this new phrase, I think his Logic should not be denied the benefit of a like acquisition, of which it will have frequent use, and that is, WILDERNESS-REASONING. And so much for this learned solution.

But the absurdity of supposing with these men, that the words, *I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live*, might signify, their *taking* (without *giving*) *Baal and Ashteroth for their Gods*,§ is best exposed by the Prophet himself, as his words lie in the text. Consider then the case of these

* Page 169. † Amos v. 25, 26. ‡ Page 171. § Page 163.

Rebels. God's first intention (as in the other case of their Fathers' rebellion) is represented to be the renouncing them for his people, and scattering them amongst the nations. *Then I said I would pour out my fury upon them to accomplish my anger against them in the wilderness.** But his mercy prevails.—*Nevertheless I withdrew mine hand, and wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted in the sight of the Heathen, in whose sight I brought them forth.*† In these two verses, we see, that the punishment intended, and the mercy shewn, are delivered in general; without the circumstances of the punishment, or the conditions of the mercy. The three following verses, in the mode of the eastern composition, which delights in repetition, informs us more particularly of these *circumstances*, which were DISPERSION, &c. and of these *conditions*, which were the imposition of a *Ritual Law.*—*I lifted up my hand unto them also in the wilderness, that I would* SCATTER THEM *amongst the heathen, and* DISPERSE THEM *through the countries; because they had not executed my judgments, but had despised my statutes, and had polluted my Sabbaths, and their eyes were after their Fathers' idols.*‡ Here, the intended punishment is explained specifically, that is, with its circumstances.—The mercy follows; and the terms, on which it was bestowed, are likewise explained.—*Wherefore I gave them also Statutes that were* NOT GOOD, *and Judgments whereby they should* NOT LIVE.§ And now the beggarly shifts of the new interpretation appear in all their nakedness. Whatever is meant by *statutes not good*, the end of giving them, we see, was to preserve them a peculiar people to the Lord; for the punishment of dispersion was remitted to them. But if by *statutes not good* be meant the permitting them to fall into Idolatries, God is absurdly represented as decreeing an *end* (the keeping his people separate); and at the same time providing *means* to defeat it: For every lapse into idolatry was a step to their dispersion and *utter consumption*, by absorbing them into the Nations. We must needs conclude therefore, that, by STATUTES NOT GOOD is meant the RITUAL LAW, the only means of attaining that end of mercy, The preserving them a separate people.

Who now can chuse but smile to hear our learned Expositor quoting these words of the book of Judges,—*The* CHILDREN *of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and followed other Gods of the Gods of the people, that were round about them, and provoked the Lord to anger, and served Baal and Ashteroth;* ‖ and then gravely adding,—"So that here the scene opens which Ezekiel alludes to; and accordingly what Ezekiel mentions as the punishment of these wickednesses began now to come upon them."¶

* Ezek. xx. 21. † Verse 22. ‡ Verses 23, 24. § Verse 25.
‖ Judges ii. 11—13. ¶ Page 163.

However, it must be owned, that if words alone could shake the solidity of the interpretation I have here given, these which immediately follow the contested passage of *statutes not good*, would be enough to alarm us—*And I polluted them* (says the text) *in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know that I am the Lord.** The common interpretation of which is this, "I permitted them to fall into that wicked inhumanity, whereby they were polluted and contaminated, in making their Children to pass through the fire to Moloch, in order to root them out and utterly to destroy them."

Dr. Spencer (who follows the general sense of the prophecy which I have here explained and supported) appeared but too sensible how much this text stood in his way. He endeavours therefore to shew, that "it relates to God's rejecting the first-born of the Israelites from the priesthood, and appointing the tribe of Levi to the sacred office in their stead:" and that, therefore, the verse should be rendered thus, *I pronounced them polluted in their gifts* [i. e. unfit to offer me any oblation], *in that I passed by all that openeth the womb* [i. e. the first-born] *in order to humble them that they might know that I am the Lord.* And this rendering may be the right, for any thing Dr. Shuckford has to oppose to the contrary; † the main of which is, what has been already confuted, (or rather, what the very terms, in which the assertion is advanced, do themselves confute) namely, that *the Children in the wilderness* were not the immediate issue of those who died *in the wilderness*, but a remote posterity. As for his Hebrew criticism, that the word *maas*, and not *nabar*, would probably have been used by the Prophet, if *rejecting from the priesthood* had been the sense intended by him,‡ this is the slenderest of all reasoning, even though it had been applied to a Rhetorician by profession, and in a language very copious, and perfectly well understood: How evanid is it therefore, when applied to a Prophet under the impulse of inspiration, and speaking in the most scanty of all languages; the small knowledge of which is to be got from one single volume of no large bulk, and conveyed in a mode of writing subject to perpetual equivocations and ambiguities! From the mischiefs of which, God in his good providence preserved us by the Septuagint Translation, made while the Hebrew was a living language, and afterwards authenticated by the recognition of the inspired writers of the New Testament.

However, the truth is, that this explanation of the learned Spencer must appear forced, even though we had no better to oppose to it: But when there is a better at hand, which not only takes off all the

* Ezek. xx. 26. † Pp. 168, 169. ‡ Page 169.

countenance which this 26th verse affords to Dr. Shuckford's interpretation of *statutes not good*, but so exactly quadrates with the sense here given, that it completes and perfects the narrative, we shall be no longer frighted with its formidable look.

To understand then what it aims at, we must consider the context as it has been explained above. The 21st and 22d verses (it hath been shewn) contain God's purposes of *judgment* and of *mercy* in general. The 23d, 24th, and 25th, explain in what the intended *judgment* would have consisted, and how the prevailing *mercy* was qualified. The Israelites were to be pardoned; but to be kept under, by the yoke of a ritual Law, described only in general by the title of *statutes not good*. The 26th verse opens the matter still further, and explains the nature and genius of that yoke, together with its effects, both salutary and baleful. The *salutary*, as it was a barrier to idolatry, the most enormous species of which was that of *causing their children to pass through the fire to Moloch*: the *baleful*, as it brought on their *desolation* when they became deprived of the Temple-worship. But to be more particular.—*I polluted them in their own gifts*. By *gifts* I understand that homage (universally expressed, in the ancient world, by Rites of sacrifice) which a People owed to their God. And how were these *gifts polluted?* By a multifarious Ritual, which, being opposed to the idolatries of the Nations, was prescribed in reference to those idolatries; and, consequently, was incumbered with a thousand Ceremonies, respecting the choice of the animal; the qualities and purifications of the Sacrificers; and the direction and efficacy of each specific Offering. This account of their *pollution*, by such a Ritual, exactly answers to the character given of that Ritual, [*statutes not good, &c.*] in the text in question. Then follows the reason of God's thus *polluting them in their own gifts—in that* [or, because that] *they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb*—i. e. the *polluting* Ritual was imposed as a PUNISHMENT FOR, as well as BARRIER TO their idolatries; characterised under this most enormous and horrid of them all, the causing of their children *to pass through the fire to Moloch*. Then follows the humiliating circumstance of this ritual yoke,—*that I might make them desolate*, i. e. that they should, even from the nature of that Ritual, be deprived, when they most wanted it, of their nearest intercourse with their God and King. A real state of *desolation!* To understand which, we are to consider, that at the time this Prophecy was delivered, the Jews, by their accumulated iniquities, were accelerating, what doubtless the Prophet had then in his eye, their punishment of the seventy years Captivity. Now, by the peculiar Constitution of the ritual Law, their Religion became, as it were, local; it being unlawful to offer sacrifice but in the temple

of Jerusalem only. So that when they were led captive into a foreign land, the most solemn and essential intercourse between God and them *(the morning and evening sacrifice)* was entirely cut off: and thus, by means of the ritual Law, they were emphatically said to be *made desolate.* The verse concludes in telling us, for what end this punishment was inflicted—*that they might know that I am the Lord.* How would this appear from the premisses? Very evidently. For if, while they were in Captivity, they were under an interdict, and their Religion in a state of Suspension, and yet that they were to continue God's select people (for the scope of the whole Prophecy is to shew, that, notwithstanding all their provocations, God still *worked for his name's sake),* then, in order to be restored to their Religion, they were to be reinstated in their own Land; which work, Prophecy always describes as the utmost manifestation of God's power. Their redemption from the *Assyrian* captivity particularly, being frequently compared, by the Prophets, to that of the *Egyptian.* From hence therefore all men *might know* and collect, that the God of Israel *was the Lord.*

This famous text then, we see, may be thus aptly paraphrased—*And I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know that I am the Lord;* i. e. "I loaded the religious Worship due to me, as their God and King, with a number of operose Ceremonies, to punish their past, and to oppose to their future, idolatries; the most abominable of which was their making their children to pass through the fire to Moloch: And further, that I might have the Ceremonial Law always at hand as an instrument for still more severe punishments, when the full measure of their iniquities should bring them into Captivity in a strange land, I so contrived, by the very constitution of their Religion, that it should then remain under an interdict, and all stated intercourse be cut off between me and them; From which evil, would necessarily arise this advantage, an occasion to manifest my power to the Gentiles, in bringing my People again, after a due time of penance, into their own land."

Here we see, the text, thus expounded, connects and compleats the whole narrative, concerning the imposition of the ritual Law, and its nature and consequences, from the 21st to the 26th verse inclusively: and opens the history of it by due degrees, which the most just and elegant compositions require. We are first informed of the threatened judgment, and of the prevailing mercy in general:—we are then told the specific nature of that judgment, and the circumstance attending the accorded mercy;—and lastly, the Prophet explains the nature and genius of that attendant circumstance; together with its adverse as well as benignant effects.

I have now deprived the CONNECTER of all his arguments but one, for this strange interpretation of *statutes not good;* and that one is, "That the worshipers of *Baal and Ashteroth,* in the book of Judges, and the slaves to *statutes not good* in the prophet Ezekiel, having the common name of CHILDREN, must needs be the same individuals:" But this I make a conscience of taking from him.

Yet such confidence has the learned person in his goodly exposition, that he concludes his reasoning against the obvious sense of the Prophecy, in this extraordinary manner—"Dr. Spencer imagined, this text alone was sufficient to support his hypothesis: but I cannot but think, if what has been offered be fairly considered, NO HONEST WRITER can ever cite it again for that purpose."*

What is Dr. Spencer's hypothesis? Just this and no other, that *Moses gave the ritual Law to the Jews because of the hardness of their hearts;*† the very Hypothesis of Jesus Christ himself.

But the CONNECTER thinks, that, *if what he has offered be fairly considered,* NO HONEST WRITER *can ever cite it again for that purpose.* This smells strong of the Bigot. One can hardly think one's self in the closet of a learned and sober Divine; but rather in some wild Conventicle of Methodists or Hutchinsonians; whose criticisms are all Revelations: which, though you cannot embrace but at the expence of COMMON SENSE, you are not allowed to question without renouncing COMMON HONESTY.

I have *fairly considered* (as the *Connecter* expects his Reader should do) *what he has offered against Dr. Spencer's hypothesis;* and if there be any truth in the conclusions of human reason, I think a writer may go on very advantageously, as well as with a good conscience, to defend *that Hypothesis.* How such a writer shall be qualified by Bigots, is another point. Many an HONEST MAN, I am persuaded, will still adhere to Dr. *Shuckford's hypothesis;* and with the same good faith, with which he himself supported it: for though his charity will not allow that title to those who dissent from him, yet God forbid, that I should not give it to Him.

But it is now time to proceed to the *third period* of THIS Prophecy. For the principal design of this work is to vindicate and illustrate sacred Scripture, though in my progress I be still obliged, from time to time, to stop a little, while I remove the most material obstructions which lie in my way.

This Prophecy hitherto contains a declaration of the various punishments inflicted on the rebellious Israelites, from the time of Moses's mission, to the preaching of Ezekiel. We have shewn that their punishment in the first period, was *death in the wilderness:*

* Page 167. † Matt. xix. 8.

their punishment in the second period, was *the fastening on their necks the yoke of the ritual Law.*

Their punishment in the *third period* is now to be considered: and we shall see that it consisted in rendering the yoke of the ritual Law still more galling, by withdrawing from them that EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, which once rewarded the studious observers of it, with many temporal blessings. The punishment was dreadful: and such, indeed, the Prophet describes it to have been. But we may be assured, their crimes deserved it, as having risen in proportion with it; and this likewise, he tells us, was the case. Their idolatries were at first, and so, for some time, they continued to be, the mixing Pagan worship with the worship of the God of Israel. But though they had so often smarted for this folly, they were yet so besotted with the Gods of the nations, *the stocks and stones of the high places,* that their last progress in impiety was the project of casting off the God of Israel entirely, at least as their TUTELAR God, and of mixing themselves amongst the Nations. They had experienced, that the *God of Israel* was a JEALOUS GOD, who would not share his glory with another; and they hoped to avoid his wrath by renouncing their Covenant with him, and leaving him at liberty to chuse another people. To such a degree of impiety and madness was this devoted Nation arrived, when Ezekiel prophesied at the eve of their approaching Captivity. All this will be made plain, by what follows.

We have seen their behaviour in the two former periods; in EGYPT, and in the WILDERNESS. The third begins with a description of their Manners when they had taken possession of the land of CANAAN.

Ver. 27. "Son of man, speak unto the house of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, yet in this, your fathers have blasphemed me, in that they have committed a trespass against me.

28. "For when I had brought them into the land, for the which I lifted up my hand to give it to them, then they saw every high hill, and all the thick trees, and they offered there their sacrifices, and there they presented the provocation of their offering."

This was their continual practice, even to the delivery of this Prophecy; at which time, their enormities were come to the height, we just mentioned; to contrive in their hearts to renounce the God of Israel, altogether. But being surrounded with calamities, and a powerful enemy at their door, they were willing to procure a present relief from him, whom they had so much offended; though at this very instant, they were projecting to offend still more. The singular impudence of this conduct was, apparently, the immediate occasion of this famous Prophecy; as we shall now see.

Ver. 30. "Wherefore say unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the

Lord God, Are ye polluted after the manner of your fathers? and commit ye whoredoms after their abominations?

31. "For when ye offer your gifts, when ye make your sons to pass through the fire, ye pollute yourselves with all your idols EVEN TO THIS DAY. And shall I be enquired of by you, O house of Israel? As I live, saith the Lord God, I will not be enquired of by you."

That this recourse to the God of their Fathers was only a momentary impulse, arising from their pressing necessities, is evident from what immediately follows; the mention of that specific crime which brought upon them the punishment annexed to the third period.—

Ver. 32. "AND THAT WHICH COMETH INTO YOUR MIND SHALL NOT BE AT ALL, THAT YE SAY, WE WILL BE AS THE HEATHEN, AS THE FAMILIES OF THE COUNTRIES, TO SERVE WOOD AND STONE.

33. "As I live, saith the Lord God, Surely with a mighty hand, and with a stretched out arm, AND WITH FURY POURED OUT, WILL I RULE OVER YOU.

34. "AND I WILL BRING YOU OUT FROM THE PEOPLE, AND WILL GATHER YOU OUT OF THE COUNTRIES WHEREIN YE ARE SCATTERED, with a mighty hand, and with a stretched out arm, AND WITH FURY POURED OUT.

35. "And I will bring you into the WILDERNESS OF THE PEOPLE, and there will I plead with you face to face.

36. "Like as I pleaded with your fathers in the *wilderness* of the land of Egypt, so will I plead with you face to face."

By all this it appears, that the Jews of this time were little anxious to *avoid* their approaching Captivity, denounced and threatened by all their Prophets. What they wanted was a light and easy servitude, which might enable them to mingle with, and at last to be lost amongst the Nations; like the Ten Tribes which had gone before them. Against the vileness of these hopes is this part of the Prophecy directed. God assures them, he will bring them out of the *Assyrian* Captivity, as he had done out of the *Egyptian;* but not in mercy, as that deliverance was procured, but in judgment, and *with fury poured out.* And as he had brought their Fathers into the *wilderness of the land* of Egypt, so would he bring them into the WILDERNESS OF THE PEOPLE, that is, the land of Canaan, which they would find, on their return to it, was become desart and uninhabited: and therefore elegantly called the *wilderness of the people.* But what now was to be their reception, on their second possession of the promised Land? a very different welcome from the first. God indeed leads them here again with a *mighty hand and a stretched out arm;* and it was to take possession; but not, as at first, of a *land*

flowing with milk and honey, but of a prison, a house of correction where they were to pass under the rod, and to remain in bonds.

37. "AND I WILL CAUSE YOU (says God) TO PASS UNDER THE ROD, AND I WILL BRING YOU INTO THE BOND OF THE COVENANT."

Words which strongly and elegantly express subjection to a ritual Law, after the extraordinary Providence, which so much alleviated the yoke of it, was withdrawn: And we find it withdrawn soon after their return from the Captivity.—But, the prophecy, carrying on the comparison to the Egyptian deliverance, adds—

Ver. 38. "And I will purge out from amongst you, the Rebels, and them that transgress against me: I will bring them forth out of the country where they sojourn, and they shall not enter into the land of Israel."

These *Rebels*, like their FATHERS *in the wilderness*, were indeed to be brought out of Captivity, but were never to enjoy the promised Land; and the rest, like the CHILDREN *in the wilderness*, were to have the yoke of the ritual Law still made more galling. And thus the COMPARISON is compleated.

These were the three different punishments inflicted in these three different periods. The first PERSONAL; the second and the third, NATIONAL; only the third made heavier than the second, in proportion to their accumulated offences.

But as, in the height of God's vengeance on the sins of this wretched people, the distant prospect always terminated in a mercy; So, with a mercy, and a promise of better times, the whole of this prophetic Scene is closed; in order that the NATION to which it is addressed, should, however criminal they were, not be left in an utter state of desperation, but be afforded some shadow of repose, in the prospect of future peace and tranquillity. For now, turning again to these *temporary Inquirers* after God, the Prophecy addresses them, in this manner,

Ver. 39. "As for you, O house of Israel, thus saith the Lord God, Go ye, serve ye every one his idols, and hereafter also, if ye will not hearken unto me: But pollute you my holy name no more with your gifts, and with your idols."

As much as to say, Go on no longer in this divided worship; halt no more between two opinions; if Baal be your God, serve him; if the God of Israel, then serve him only. The reason follows.

Ver. 40—43. "*For in mine holy mountain—there shall all the house of Israel—serve me. There will I accept them, and there will I require your offerings—with all your holy things—and there shall ye remember your ways, and all your doings wherein ye have been defiled,* AND YE SHALL LOTHE YOURSELVES IN YOUR OWN SIGHT."—i. e.

"For then, a new order of things shall commence. My people, after their return from the Captivity, shall be as averse to idolatry, as till then they were prone and disposed to it: and the memory of their former follies shall *make them lothe themselves* in their own sight." And this, indeed, was the fact, as we learn by their whole history, from their restoration to their own Land, quite down to the present hour.

The idea of MERCY is naturally attached to that of repentance and reformation; and with MERCY the Prophecy concludes.

Ver. 44. "*And ye shall know that I am the Lord when I have wrought with you for my name's sake; not according to your wicked ways, nor according to your corrupt doings, O ye house of Israel, saith the Lord God.*"

The Reader hath now a full explanation of the whole Prophecy: whereby he may understand how justly it hath acquired its eminent celebrity. Its general subject being no less than the Fate and Fortunes of the Jewish Republic; of which the several parts are so important, so judiciously chosen, so elegantly disposed, and so nobly enounced, that we see the divinity of the original in every step we take.

But to return to the peculiar purpose of this Comment. Which is given to shew, that God himself has delivered the ritual Law of the Jews, under the character of *Statutes that were not good, and Judgments whereby they should not live.**

The use I would make of it against WITSIUS, with whom I have been concerned, is to shew, that if such be the genius of the ritual Law, it is no wonder it should have, in its composition, an alloy of no better materials, than Egyptian and other Pagan Ceremonies; cleansed indeed and refined from their immoralities and superstitions: And conversely, that a composition of such an alloy was very aptly characterised by *Statutes not good, and Judgments whereby they could not live.*

Thus having before seen what little force there was in Witsius's arguments, and now understanding how little reason he had to be so tenacious of his opinion; the reader may think he scarce merited the distinction of being recommended to a learned Body as the very bulwark of the faith, in this matter. But let what will become of his arguments, he deserves honour for a much better thing than orthodox disputation: I mean, for an honest turn of mind, averse to imputing odious designs to his adversaries, or dangerous consequences to their opinions.†

On the whole then, we conclude, both against DEIST and

* See note BBBBB, at the end of this book.

† See note CCCCC, at the end of this book.

BELIEVER, that the Ritual Law's being made in reference to Egyptian superstition is no reasonable objection to the divinity of its original.

But the Deist may object, "That though indeed, when the Israelites were once deeply infected with that superstition, such a ritual might be necessary to stop and cure a growing evil; yet as the remedy was so multiplex, burdensome, and slavish, and therefore not in itself eligible, how happened it, that GOD, who had this family under his immediate and peculiar care, should suffer them to contract an infection which required so inconvenient and impure a remedy?"

I have been so accustomed to find the strongest objections of infidelity end in the stronger recommendation of revealed Religion, that I have never been backward, either to produce what they have said, when they write their best, or to imagine what they would say, if they knew how to write better. To this therefore I reply, That the promise GOD had made to Abraham, to give his posterity the land of Canaan, could not be performed till that Family was grown strong enough to take and keep possession of it. In the mean time, therefore, they were necessitated to reside amongst idolaters. And we have seen, although they resided unmixed, how violent a propensity they ever had to join themselves to the Gentile Nations, and to practise their Manners. GOD, therefore, in his infinite wisdom brought them into Egypt, and kept them there during this period; the only place where they could remain, for so long a time, safe and unconfounded with the natives; the ancient Egyptians being, by numerous institutions, forbidden all fellowship with strangers; and bearing, besides, a particular aversion to the profession* of this Family. Thus we see, that the natural disposition of the Israelites, which, in Egypt, occasioned their superstitions; and, in consequence, the necessity of a burthensome Ritual, would, in any other Country, have absorbed them in Gentilism, and confounded them with Idolaters. From this objection, therefore, nothing comes but a new occasion to adore the footsteps of eternal Wisdom in his Dispensations to his chosen People.

III.

The last proposition is, *That the very circumstances of Moses's Egyptian learning, and the Laws instituted in compliance to the people's prejudices, and in opposition to Egyptian superstitions, are a strong confirmation of the divinity of his mission.*

EGYPT was the great School of legislation for the rest of Mankind. And so revered were her oracular dictates, that foreign Lawgivers, who went thither for instruction, never ventured to deviate from those fundamental principles of Government which she prescribed. In

* The profession of Shepherds.

RELIGION, particularly, which always made a part of civil Policy, they so closely adhered to Egyptian maxims, that Posterity, as we have seen, were deceived into an opinion that the Greek Lawgivers had received their very Gods from thence.

What therefore must we think had been the case of a Native of Egypt; bred up from his infancy in Egyptian wisdom, and, at length, become a member of their Legislative body? would such a man, when going to frame a civil Policy and Religion (though we suppose nothing of that natural affection, which the best and wisest men have ever borne for their own country-institutions), be at all inclined to deviate from its fundamental principles of Government?

Yet here we have in Moses, according to our Adversaries' account of him, a mere human Lawgiver, come fresh out of the Schools of Egypt, to reduce a turbulent People into Society, acting on fundamental Principles of Religion and Policy directly opposite to all the maxims of Egyptian Wisdom.

One of the chief of which, in the RELIGIOUS POLICY of Egypt, was, That the government of the World had, by the supreme Ruler of the universe, been committed into the hands of subordinate, local, tutelary Deities; amongst whom the several Regions of the earth were shared out and divided: that these were the true and proper objects of all public and popular Religion; and that the knowledge of the ONE TRUE God, the Creator of all things, was highly dangerous to be communicated to the People; but was to be secreted, and shut up in their MYSTERIES; and in them, to be revealed only occasionally, and to a few; and those few, the wise, the learned, and ruling part of mankind.* Now, in plain defiance and contempt of this most venerable Principle, our Egyptian Lawgiver rejects these doctrines of inferior Deities, as impostures, and *lying vanities;* and boldly and openly preaches up to the People, the belief of the ONE TRUE GOD, the Creator, as the sole object of the Religion of all mankind.†

Another fundamental maxim, the RELIGIOUS POLICY of Egypt, was to propagate, by every kind of method, the doctrine of A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS; as the necessary support of all Religion and Government. Here again, our Lawgiver (no Deist can tell why‡) forsakes all his own principles; intentionally rejects a support, which was as really beneficial to mankind, in all his interests, as the other notion, of inferior Deities, was but thought to be; intirely omits to mention it in his Institutes of Law and Religion; and is studiously silent in all those particulars which lead to the propagation of it.§ But of this, more at large, in a future volume.

* See an account of these MYSTERIES in the first volume. † See note DDDDD, at the end of this book. ‡ See "View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy," letter iv. § See note EEEEE, at the end of this book.

Again, it was of the CIVIL POLICY of Egypt to prefer an hereditary despotic Monarchy to all other forms of Government: Moses, on the contrary, erects a THEOCRACY on the free choice of the people; to be administered Aristocratically.

Add to all this, that his deviation from the Policy of Egypt was encountering the strongest prejudices of his People; who were violently carried away to all the customs and superstitions of that Policy.

And now let an ingenuous Deist weigh these instances, with many more that will easily occur to him, and then fairly tell us his sentiments. Let him try, if he can think it was at all likely, that Moses, a mere human Lawgiver, a Native of Egypt, and learned in all its political Wisdom, should, in the formation of a Civil policy, for such a People as he undertook to govern, act directly contrary to all the fundamental principles in which he had been instructed?

I. To this perhaps it may be said,—"That Moses well understood the folly and falshood of inferior GODS:—that he did not believe the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments;—that he was too honest to employ fraud:—that his love to his People made him indisposed to an hereditary despotic Monarchy;—and that the theologic principles of Egypt led him to the invention of a THEOCRACY." To all this, I answer,

1. As to *his seeing the falshood of inferior Gods.*—So did many other of the old Lawgivers, instructed in Egyptian policy; yet being taught to think Polytheism useful to Society, they did not, for all that, the less cultivate their abominable idolatry.

2. As to *his not believing a future state, and his honesty in not teaching what he did not believe.*—Such Objectors forget that they have already made him a fraudulent impostor, in his pretension to a divine employment. Now if the end of civil Government made him fraudulent in that instance, it would hardly suffer him to be scrupulous in this; even allowing the extravagance of this fancy, that he *did not believe* a future state; because, as hath been proved at large,* the propagation of this doctrine is, and was always believed to be, the firmest support of civil government: But of this more at large, hereafter.

3. With regard to *his concern for the happiness of his people;*—I will readily allow this to be very consistent with Heroic or Legislative fraud. But this happiness the ancient Lawgivers thought best procured by the Egyptian mode of Government. And indeed they had EXPERIENCE, the best guide in public matters. "For the excellent education which the Egyptians gave their Kings, in training them up to the love of the Public, and high veneration for the Laws, prevented

* See the first volume.

the usual abuse of power; and gave to that people the longest and most uninterrupted course of prosperity that any Nation ever enjoyed.* It is no wonder, therefore, that this should make MONARCHY (as it did) the first favourite form of Government, in all places civilized by the aid of Egypt.

4. But, *the theologic principles of Egypt led Moses to the invention of a* THEOCRACY.—Without doubt those principles, as we shall see hereafter, occasioned its easy reception amongst the Hebrews. But there is one circumstance in the case that shews its invention must have been of GOD, and not of Moses. For the ground of its easy reception was the notion of local tutelary Deities. But this notion, Moses, in preaching up the doctrine of the one true GOD, entirely took away. This, indeed, on a supposition of a DIVINE LEGATION, has all the marks of admirable wisdom; but supposing it to be Moses's own contrivance, we see nothing but inconsistency and absurdity. He forms a design, and then defeats it; he gives with one hand, and he takes away with the other.

II. But it may be farther objected,—"That, as it was the intention of Moses to separate these people from all others, he, therefore, gave them those cross and opposite institutions, as a barrier to all communication." To this I answer,

1. That were it indeed GOD, and not Moses, who projected this SEPARATION, the reason would be good. Because the immediate end of GOD'S *separation* was twofold, to keep them unmixed; and to secure them from idolatry: and such end could not be effected but by opposing those fundamental principles of Egypt, with the doctrine of ONE GOD, and the institution of a THEOCRACY. But then this, which would be a good reason, will become a very bad objection. Our Deist is to be held to the question. He regards Moses as a mere human Lawgiver. But the sole end which such a one could propose by a *separation*, was to preserve his people pure and unmixed. Now this could be effected only by laws which kept them at home, and discouraged and prevented all foreign commerce: and these, by the same means, bringing on general poverty, there would be small danger of their being much frequented, while they laboured under that contagious malady. This we know was the case of Sparta. It was their Lawgiver's chief aim to keep them distinct and unmixed. But did he do this by institutions which crossed the fundamental principles of the Religion and Policy of Greece? By no means. They were all of them the same. The method he employed was only to frame such Laws as discouraged commerce and foreign intercourse. And these proved effectual. I the rather instance in the Spartan, than in any other Government, because the end, which Moses and Lycurgus pur-

* See note FFFFF, at the end of this book.

sued in common, (though for different purposes) of keeping their people *separate*, occasioned such a likeness in several parts of the two Institutions, as was, in my opinion, the real origin of that tradition mentioned in the first book of Maccabees, That there was a Family-relation between the two People.

2. But, secondly, as it is very true, that the mere intention of keeping a people separate and unmixed (which is all a human Law-giver could have in view) would occasion Laws in opposition to the customs of those people with whom, from their vicinity to, or fondness for, they were in most danger of being confounded; so, when I insisted on those Anti-Egyptian institutions, which I gave as a certain proof of Moses's *Divine Legation*, I did not reckon, in my account, any of that vast number of ritual and municipal laws, which, Manetho confesses, were *given principally in opposition to Egyptian customs.** This a mere separation would require: But this is a very different thing from the opposition to FUNDAMENTALS, here insisted on; which a mere separation did not in the least require.

III. But it may be still further urged, "That resentment for ill usage might dispose Moses to obliterate the memory of the place they came from, by a Policy contrary to the *fundamental* Institutions of Egypt." Here again our objecting Deist will forget himself. 1. He hath urged a CONFORMITY in the LAW to Egyptian Rites; and this, in order to discredit Moses's *Divine Legation:* and we have allowed him his fact. Whatever it was therefore that engaged Moses to his general OPPOSITION, it could not be resentment: for that had certainly prevented all kind of conformity or similitude.

2. But, secondly, such effects of civil resentment, the natural manners of men will never suffer us to suppose. We have in ancient history many accounts of the settlement of new Colonies, forced injuriously from home by their fellow-citizens. But we never find that this imbittered them against their Country-institutions. On the contrary, their close adherence to their native customs, notwithstanding all personal wrongs, has in every age enabled learned men to find out their original, by strong characteristic marks of relation to the mother city. And the reason is evident: INNATE LOVE OF ONE'S COUNTRY, whose attractive power, contrary to that of natural bodies, is strongest at a distance; and INVETERATE MANNERS which stick closest in distress; (the usual state of all new Colonies) are qualities infinitely too strong to give way to resentment against particular men for personal injuries.

* Ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς νόμον ἔθετο, μήτε προσκυνεῖν θεούς, μήτε τῶν μάλιστα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεμιστευομένων ἱερῶν ζώων ἀπέχεσθαι μηδενὸς, πάντα τε θύειν καὶ ἀναλοῦν· συνάπτεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν συνωμοσμένων. τοιαῦτα δὲ νομοθετήσας καὶ πλεῖστα ἄλλα, μάλιστα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐθισμοῖς ἐναντιούμενα.—Apud JOSEPHUM *Contra Apion.* lib. i. pp. 460, 461, Haverch. ed.

It is not indeed unlikely but that some certain specific Law or custom, which did, or was imagined to contribute to their disgrace and expulsion, might, out of resentment, be reprobated by the new Colony. And this is the utmost that the history of mankind will suffer us to suppose.

On the whole, therefore, I conclude that MOSES'S EGYPTIAN LEARNING IS A STRONG CONFIRMATION OF THE DIVINITY OF HIS MISSION.

The second part of the proposition is no less evident, *That the laws instituted in compliance to the people's prejudices, and in opposition to Egyptian superstitions, support the same truth with equal strength.* Had Moses's Mission been only pretended, his conduct, as a wise Lawgiver, had doubtless been very different. His business had been then only to support a false pretence to inspiration. Let us see how he managed. He pretended to receive the whole frame of a national Institution from GOD; and to have had the pattern of all its parts brought him down from Heaven, to the Mount. But when this came to be promulged, it was seen that, the CEREMONIAL LAW being politically instituted, partly in compliance to the people's prejudices, and partly in opposition to Egyptian superstitions, several of its Rites had a reference to the Pagan superstitions in vogue. This, as we see, from the objection of the ignorant in these times, might have been an objection in those. And as an Impostor could not but have foreseen the objection, his fears of a discovery would have made him decline so hazardous a system, and cautiously avoid every thing that looked like an imitation. It is true, that, on enquiry, this unfolds a scene of admirable and superior wisdom: but it is such as an Impostor could never have projected; or at least would never have ventured to leave to the mercy of popular judgment. We conclude, therefore, that this conduct is a clear proof that Moses actually received the Institution from GOD. Nor does this in anywise contradict what we have so much insisted on above, That a mere human Lawgiver, or even an inspired one, acting with free agents, is necessitated to comply with the passions of the People; a compliance which would necessarily induce such a relation to Egypt as we find in the ritual Law: for we must remember too what hath been likewise shewn, that the *ends* of a divine and human Lawgiver, both using the common means of a SEPARATION, are vastly different; the latter only aiming to keep the people unmixed; the former, to keep them pure from idolatry. Now, in both cases, where the People are dealt with as free agents, some compliance to their prejudices will be necessary. But as, in the Institution of a human Lawgiver pretending only to inspiration, such compliance in the RITUAL would be subject to the danger here spoken of; and as compliance in the FUNDAMENTALS,

such as the object of Worship, a future State, and mode of civil Government, would not be so subject; and, at the same time, would win most forcibly on a prejudiced people, to the promoting the Legislator's *end;* we must needs conclude that these would be the things he would comply with and espouse. On the other hand, as a divine Lawgiver could not comply in these things; and as a RITUAL, like the Mosaic, was the only means left of gaining his end; we must conclude that a divine Lawgiver would make his compliance on that side.

1. Let me only add one corollary to our BELIEVING ADVERSARIES, as a farther support of this part of the *proposition;* "That allowing the Ritual-law to be generally instituted in reference to Egyptian and other neighbouring Superstitions, the divine wisdom of the contrivance will be seen in redoubled lustre." One reason, as we have seen above, of the opposition to the notion of *such a reference* is, that the RITUAL LAW WAS TYPICAL, not only of things relating to that Dispensation, but to the Evangelical. This then they take for granted; and, as will be shewn hereafter, with good reason. Now an Institution of a body of Rites, particularly and minutely levelled against, and referring to, the idolatrous practices of those ages; and, at the same time, as minutely typical, not only of all the remarkable transactions under that Dispensation, but likewise of all the great and constituent parts of a future one, to arise in a distant age, and of a genius directly opposite, must needs give an attentive considerer the most amazing idea of divine wisdom.* And this I beg leave to offer to the consideration of the unprejudiced Reader, as another strong INTERNAL ARGUMENT THAT THE RITUAL LAW WAS NOT OF MERE HUMAN CONTRIVANCE.

2. Let me add another corollary to the UNBELIEVING Jews. We have seen at large how expedient it was for the Jews of the first ages, that the Ritual or ceremonial Law should be directed against the several idolatries of those ages. It was as expedient for the Jews of the later ages that this Law should be TYPICAL likewise. For had it not been *typical*, God would have given a Law whose reason would have ceased many ages before the *Theocracy* was abolished: and so have afforded a plausible occasion to the Jews for changing or abrogating them, on their own head.

* Hear what the learned Spencer says on this occasion: "Atque hac in re Deus sapientiæ suæ specimen egregium edidit, et illi non absimile quod in mundo frequenter observamus: in eo enim, notante *Verulamio*, dum *natura aliud agit, providentia aliud elicit;* nam frondibus quas natura, consuetudinem suam retinens, parit, utitur providentia ad cœli injurias a fructu tenello propulsandas. Pari modo, cum Hebræorum natio, consuetudinem suam exuere nescia, ritus antiquos impense desideraret, Deus eorum desiderio se morigerum præbebat; sed eorum ruditate et impotentia puerili ad fines egregios et sapientia sua dignos utebatur. Sic enim ritus antiquos populo indultos, circumstantiis quibusdam demptis aut additis, immutavit, ut rerum cœlestium schema repræsentarent, oculis purgatioribus facile percipiendum; adeo ut Deus puerilibus Israelitarum studiis obsequens, divina promoveret."— *De Legibus Heb. Rit.* p. 218.

3. Let me add a third corollary to the UNBELIEVING GENTILES. The Law's being *typical* obviates their foolish argument against Revelation, that the abolition of the *Mosaic* religion and the establishment of the *Christian* in its stead, impeaches the wisdom of God, as implying change and inconstancy in his acting; for by his making the Law *typical*, the two religions are seen to be the two parts of one and the same design.

The great Maimonides, who first * explained the CAUSES of the Jewish Ritual in any reasonable manner (and who, to observe it by the way, saw nothing in the LAW but *temporal sanctions)*, was so struck with the splendour of divinity, which this light reflected back upon the law, that in the entry on his subject he breaks out into this triumphant boast, EA TIBI EXPLICABO UT PLANE NON AMPLIUS DUBITARE QUEAS ET DIFFERENTIAM HABEAS QUA DISCERNERE POSSIS INTER ORDINATIONES LEGUM CONDITARUM AB HOMINIBUS ET INTER ORDINATIONES LEGIS DIVINÆ.

Thus the Reader sees what may be gained by fairly and boldly submitting to the force of evidence. Such a manifestation of the divinity of the Law, arising out of the Deist's own principles, as is sufficient to cover him with confusion!

And what is it, we lose? Nothing sure very great or excellent. The imaginary honour of being original in certain Rites (considered in themselves) indifferent; and becoming good or bad by *comparison*, or by the *authority* which enjoins them, and by the object to which they are directed.

The Deist indeed pretends that, in the things borrowed from Egypt, the first principles of Law and Morality, and the very tritest customs of civil life, are to be included. The extravagance of this fancy hath been exposed elsewhere.† But as it is a species of folly all parties are apt to give into, it may not be amiss to consider this matter of TRADUCTIVE CUSTOMS a little more particularly.

There is nothing obstructs our discoveries in Antiquity (as far as concerns the noblest end of this study, the knowledge of mankind) so much as that false, though undisputed Principle, that the general customs of men, whether civil or religious, (in which a common likeness connects, as in a chain, the Manners of its inhabitants, throughout the whole globe) are traductive from one another. When, in truth, the origin of this general similitude is from the sameness of one common Nature, improved by reason, or debased by superstition. But when a custom, whose meaning lies not upon the surface, but requires a profounder search, is the subject of inquiry, it is much easier to tell us that the users borrowed it from such or such a people,

* In his *More Nevoch.* pars iii.—And see note GGGGG, at the end of this book.
† Vol. i. book ii.

than rightly to inform us, what common principle of REASON or SUPERSTITION gave birth to it in both.

How many able writers have employed their time and learning to prove that Christian Rome borrowed their superstitions from the Pagan city! They have indeed shewn an exact and surprising likeness in a great variety of instances. But the conclusion from thence, that, therefore, the Catholic borrowed from the Heathen, as plausible as it may seem, is, I think, a very great mistake; which the followers of this hypothesis might have understood without the assistance of the principle here laid down: since the rise of the superstitious customs in question were many ages later than the conversion of that imperial city to the Christian Faith: consequently, at the time of their introduction, there were no PAGAN prejudices which required such a compliance from the ruling Clergy. For this, but principally for the general reason here advanced, I am rather induced to believe, that the very same *spirit of superstition*, operating in equal circumstances, made both Papists and Pagans truly originals.

But does this take off from the just reproach which the Reformed have cast upon the Church of Rome, for the practice of such Rites, and encouragement of such Superstitions? Surely not; but rather strongly fixes it. In the former case, the rulers of that Church had been guilty of a base compliance with the infirmities of their new converts: in the latter, the poison of superstition is seen to have infected the very vitals of its Hierarchy.*

But then, truth will fare almost as ill when a right, as when a wrong principle, is pushed to an extravagance. Thus, as it would be ridiculous to deny, that the Roman laws of the Twelve Tables were derived from the Greeks; because we have a circumstantial history of their traduction: so it would be equally foolish not to own, that a great part of the Jewish ritual was composed in reference to the superstitions of Egypt; because their long abode in the country had made the Israelites extravagantly fond of *Egyptian* customs: but to think (as some Deists seem to have done) that they borrowed from thence their common principles of morality, and the legal provisions for the support of such principles,† is, whether we consider the Israelites under a divine or human direction, a thing equally absurd; and such an absurdity as betrays the grossest ignorance of human nature, and the history of mankind.

And thus much concerning the ANTIQUITY of Egypt, and its EFFECTS on the Divine Legation of Moses.

* See note HHHHH, at the end of this book. † See MARSHAM.

NOTES

ON

THE FOURTH BOOK.

P. 141. A. Dr. Prideaux, in his learned *Connexions*, has indeed told us a very entertaining story of Zoroastres: whom, of an early Lawgiver of the Bactrians, Dr. Hyde had made a late false prophet of the Persians, and the preacher-up of one God in the public religion; which doctrine, however, this learned man supposes to be stolen from the Jews. But the truth is, the whole is a pure fable; contradicts all learned antiquity; and is supported only by the ignorant and romantic relations of late Persian writers under the Califes; who make Zoroastres contemporary with Darius Hystaspis, and servant to one of the Jewish prophets; yet, in another fit of lying, they place him as early as Moses; they even say he was Abraham; nay, they stick not to make him one of the builders of Babel. It may be thought strange how such crude imaginations, however cooked up, could be deemed serviceable to Revelation, when they may be so easily turned against it; for all falshood is naturally on the side of unbelief. I have long indeed looked when some *minute philosopher* would settle upon this corrupted place, and give it the infidel taint. And just as I thought, it happened. One of them having grounded upon this absurd whimsy the impious slander *of the Jews having received from the followers of Zoroastres, during the captivity, juster notions of God and his providence than they had before.*—See *The Moral Philosopher*, vol. i. and vol. ii. p. 144. Another of these *Philosophers* makes as good an use of his Indian Bracmanes, and their *Vedam* and *Ezourvedam*; for this *Vedam* is their Bible, as the *Zend* or *Zendavesta* is the Bible of the fire worshipers in Persia, and both of them apparent forgeries since the time of Mahomet to oppose to the Alcoran. Yet Mr. Voltaire says, of his Κειμήλιον, the *Ezourvedam*, that it is apparently older than the conquests of Alexander, because the rivers, towns, and countries, are called by their old names, before they were new christened by the Greeks.—"Cet ancien Commentaire du Vedam me parait ecrit avant les conquêtes d'Alexandre, car on n'y trouve aucun des noms que les vainqueurs Grecs imposerent aux fleuves, aux villes, aux contrees." Additions à l' Hist. Generale, p. 23, 24. Which is just as wise, as it would be to observe, that the Sarazin and Turkish annals were written before the conquests of Alexander, because we find in them none of the names which the Greeks imposed on the rivers, the cities, and the countries, which they conquered in the Lesser Asia, but their ancient names, by which they were known from the earliest times. It never came into the Poet's head that the Indians and Arabians might be exactly of the same humour, to restore the native names to the places from which the Greeks had driven them.

P. 141. B. μόνῳ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων γένει τὴν ΕΠΟΠΤΕΙΑΝ ἀνατεθεῖσθαι τῆς ΘΕΩΡΙΑΣ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων ποιητοῦ καὶ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΥ Θεοῦ, καὶ τῆς εἰς

ἀντὸν ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας. *Præp. Evang.* l. i. c. ix. p. 20. As the imaginary interest of religion engaged Dr. Prideaux to espouse the *Persian tale* of Zoroastres; so the same motive induced those excellent persons, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, and Newton, to take the affirmative in the general question, whether the one true God had ever been publicly worshiped out of Judea, between the introduction of general idolatry, and the birth of Christ. As this determination of the *general* question is no less injurious to Revelation than the *particular* of Zoroastres, we may be assured no less advantage would be taken of it. Lord Bolingbroke saw to what use it might be applied, and has therefore enforced it to the discredit of Judaism: indeed, with his usual address, by entangling it in a contradiction. But those other venerable names will make it necessary hereafter to examine both the one and the other question at large.

P. 147. C. See Shuckford's *Sacred and profane history of the world connected*, vol. ii. edit. 2. p. 317—327. Our countryman Gale, in the like manner, is for deriving all arts and sciences, without exception, from the Jews—"*Arithmetic*," he says, "*if* is evident, had its foundation from God himself; for the first computation of time is made by God, Gen. i. 5, &c. And as for *navigation*, though some ascribe it to the Phenicians; yet it is manifest the first idea thereof was taken from Noah's ark. It is as plain that *geography* traduced its first lines from the Mosaic description of the several plantations of Noah's posterity."—Court of the Gentiles, part i. p. 18. Who would not think but the learned man, and learned he really was in good truth, was disposed to banter us, had he not given so sad a proof of his being in earnest as the writing three bulky volumes to support these wonderful discoveries?

P. 147. D. See Canon Chron. Secul. v. tit. *Circumcisio.* I decline entering into this controversy for two reasons: 1. Because, which way soever the question be decided, the truth of the Mosaic account will be nothing affected by it; for the Scripture no where says, that Abraham was the first man, circumcised; nor is the prior use of this rite amongst men, any argument against God's enjoining him to observe it. The pious bishop Cumberland little thought he was disserving religion, when he followed an interpretation of the fragment of Sanchoniatho, which led him to conclude [Remarks on Sanchon.'s Phœn. Hist. p. 150.] that whole nations had practised circumcision before Abraham: but I quote this great man, not for the weight of his opinion in a matter so unconcerning, but as an example of that candour of mind and integrity of heart, without which the pursuit of truth is a vainer employment than the pursuit of butterflies. A less able and a less ingenuous man, with not a tenth part of this noble writer's invention, would have had a thousand tricks and fetches to reconcile the first institution of this rite in Abraham to the high antiquity he had given to Cronus. Another example of a contrary conduct, in a writer of equal account, will shew us how much this ingenuity is to be esteemed in men of learning. The excellent Dr. Hammond, misled by the party-prejudices of his time, had persuaded himself to believe, that the prophecies of the Apocalypse related only to the first ages of the Christian Church; and that the book was written, not, as Irenæus supposed, about the end of Domitian's reign, but, as Epiphanius affirmed, in Claudius Cæsar's. To this, there were two objections; First, that then the prophecy, which, on Hammond's system, related to the destruction of Jerusalem, would be of an event past: while the prophecy speaks of it as a thing future. To this he replies, That it was *customary with the Prophets to speak of things past as of things to come.* So far was well. But then the second objection is, That if this

were the time of writing the Revelations, Antipas, who is said, c. ii. ver. 13. to have been martyred, was yet alive. No matter for that, it was *customary with the Prophets*, as he tells us on the other hand, *to speak of things to come as of things past*. And all this within the compass of two pages. 2. The other reason for my not entering into this matter is, because it is not my intention to examine (except occasionally) any particular question of this kind. This hath been done already. What I propose is to prove in general, that many of the positive institutions of the Hebrews were enjoined in opposition to the idolatrous customs of the Egyptians; and that some bearing a conformity to those customs, and not liable to be abused to superstition, were indulged to them, in wise compliance with the prejudices which long use and habit are accustomed to induce.

P. 151. E. The recovery of exhausted fertility by compost, seems not to have been a very early invention. For though Homer describes Laertes in his rural occupations as busied in this part of agriculture; yet Hesiod, in a professed and detailed poem on the subject, never once mentions the method of dunging land.—Not that I regard this circumstance as any sure proof to determine the question of Hesiod's priority in point of time. It may be well accounted for, by supposing, that they described particular places in the state they were then found, some more and some less advanced in the arts of civil life.

P. 153. F. Here let me observe, that this representation of the high and flourishing state of Egypt, in these early times, greatly recommends the truth of the Samaritan chronology, and shews how much it is to be preferred to the Hebrew. See the learned and judicious M. LEONARD in his *Observations sur l'antiquité des Hieroglyphes scientifiques*, p. 339, 2d vol.

P. 153. G. The various disasters to which determined disputants are obnoxious from their own proper tempers, would make no unentertaining part of literary history. A learned writer undertaking to confute the Egyptian pretensions to their high antiquity, thinks it proper first to shew, that they did indeed pretend to it. And this, it must be owned, he does effectually enough. His words are these: "Et profecto, ab ANTIQUISSIMIS TEMPORIBUS hâc vanitate infecti erant: dicebat enim, ipso Isaiæ tempore, purpuratorum quisque Pharaoni se esse *filium regum* antiquissimorum."—*Spicilegia antiq. Egypt. &c. autore Gul. Jameson.* Now, could any thing be more unlucky? The author only meant to introduce his system by this flourish; and in introducing it, he confutes it. For can there be a better evidence of the high antiquity of any people than that they claimed it from the *most ancient times*? from times long preceding that general vanity of a high antiquity, which had infected the nations, and prompted them to support their claims against one another, by forged evidence and unphilosophic reasoning? Not to say, that this high antiquity is acknowledged by the Prophet also: the force of whose exultation depends on the truth of it. For what reason was there to insist so much on the power and wisdom of God in *destroying the counsel of Egypt*, if *Pharaoh and his Counsellors*, only pretended to be, but were not, *wise;* nor yet, *the sons of ancient kings?*

P. 155. H. Chæremon, who, as we are told by Josephus, wrote the history of Egypt, calls Moses and Joseph scribes; and Joseph a sacred scribe, ἡγεῖσθαι δ' αὐτῶν γραμματέας Μωϋσήν τε καὶ ΙΩΣΗΠΟΝ· καὶ τοῦτον ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑ, cont. Ap. lib. i. It is true, the historian has confounded times, in making Joseph contemporary with Moses: but this was a common mistake amongst the Pagans. Justin the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius calls Moses the son of Joseph—*Filius ejus* [Joseph] *Moses fuit, quem*

præter paternæ scientiæ hæreditatem, &c., lib. xxxvi. cap. 2. Those learned men therefore are mistaken, who, for this reason, would have it that Chæremon, by Joseph, meant Joshua. Besides, the superior title here given to Joseph shews plainly we are to understand the patriarch, and not the companion of Moses: for though it appears from Scripture that Joseph and Moses were related to, and educated by the Egyptian Priesthood, yet we have not the least reason to think that Joshua had ever any concern with them; being held with the rest of his brethren in a state of servitude, remote from the benefit of that education, which a singular accident had bestowed upon Moses.

P. 156. I. Hence we may collect, how ill-grounded that opinion is of Eupolemus and other authors, ancient and modern, who imagine, that Abraham first taught the Egyptians astrology. And indeed the contending for this original of the sciences seems to contradict another argument much in use amongst Divines, and deservedly so; which answers the objection of infidels against the authority of the Bible, from several inaccuracies in science to be met with in sacred history, by observing it was not God's purpose, in revealing himself to mankind, to instruct them in the sciences.

P. 156. K. Εὔδοξον μὲν οὖν Χονούφεώς φησι Μεμφίτου διακοῦσαι· Σόλωνα δὲ, Σόγχιτος Σαΐτου· ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΝ δὲ, Οἰνούφεως ΗΛΙΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ. Plut. de Is. et Osir. p. 632. Steph. ed. Here we see, each sage went for that science he was disposed to cultivate, to its proper Mart: for not only Pythagoras studied astronomy at Heliopolis, where it was professed with the greatest celebrity; but Eudoxus learnt his geometry at Memphis, whose Priests were the most profound mathematicians; and Solon was instructed in civil wisdom at Sais, whose patron deity being Minerva (as we are told by Herodotus and Strabo) shews that politicks was there in most request: and this doubtless was the reason why Pythagoras, who, during his long abode in Egypt, went through all their schools, chose Minerva for the patroness of his legislation. See Div. Leg. vol. i. book ii. sect. 2, 3.

P. 157. L. I cannot forbear on this occasion to commend the ingenuous temper of another learned writer, far gone in the same system: who, having said all he could think of to discredit the antiquity and wisdom of Egypt, concludes in this manner.—"Tandem quæres, in qua doctrina Ægyptiorum propter quam tantopere celebrati erant in *ipsis Scripturis*, viz. 1 Reg. c. iv. com. 30. et vii. *actorum*, com. 22. Respondeo, non nego magnos *Philosophos, Geometras*, et Medicos, et aliarum artium peritos fuisse in Egypto, tempore Mosis, et postea quoque. Sed sensim et gradatim illa doctrina exolevit, ut omnino nihil aut parum ejus permanserit."—G. Jameson, Spicilegia Antiq. Ægypt. p. 400, 1.—You will ask now, What is become of his system? No matter. He is true to a better thing, the sacred Text: for the sake of which he took up the system; and for the sake of which, upon better information, he lays it down again: and, like an honest man, sticks to his Bible at all hazards.

P. 164. M. Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. says, that Melampus was in the number of those civilizers of Greece, who went, to fit themselves for that employment, into Egypt: and, as Orpheus proceeded thence a legislator and philosopher; so Melampus, whose bent lay another way, commenced physician and diviner; those two arts being, as we have said, professed together in Egypt. Apollodorus says, he was the first who cured diseases by medicinal potions. τὴν διὰ φαρμακῶν καὶ καθαρμῶν θεραπείαν πρῶτος εὑρηκώς. —meaning the first among the Greeks. As this Greek went to Egypt to

be instructed in his craft, so we meet with an Egyptian who went to practise the very same trade in Greece;

Ἄπις γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἐκ πέρας Ναυπακτείας,
ΙΑΤΡΟΜΑΝΤΙΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ, χθόνα
Τήνδ' ἐκκαθαίρει κνωδάλων βροτοφθόρων.
Æsch. Ικετ. p. 316. Stanl. ed.

As to what is said of his being the son of Apollo, we must understand it in the sense of Homer, where he speaks of the Egyptian physicians in general:

ΙΗΤΡΟΣ δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων· ἦ γὰρ ΠΑΙΗΟΝΟΣ ΕΙΣΙ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΗΣ.

P. 172. N. Nothing can be more unjust or absurd than the accusation of Joseph's making the free monarchy of Egypt despotic: for allowing it did indeed at this time suffer such a revolution, who is to be esteemed the author of it but Pharaoh himself? Joseph indeed was prime minister; but it does not appear that his master was of that tribe of lazy monarchs, who intrust their sceptre to the hands of their servants. Moses describes him as active, vigilant, jealous of his authority, anxious for his country, and little indulgent to his officers of state. But the terms in which he invests Joseph in his office, shew that office to be purely ministerial; *Thou shalt be over my house, and according to thy word shall all my people be ruled,* ONLY IN THE THRONE WILL I BE GREATER THAN THOU. [Gen. xli. 40.] i. e. thou shalt *administer justice,* but I will reserve to myself the prerogative of *giving law.* It is highly reasonable therefore, when we find, in so concise a history as the Mosaick, Joseph bidding the people give their money, their cattle, and their lands for bread, to suppose that he only delivered to them the words of Pharaoh, who would supply their wants on no other conditions.

P. 173. O. This is the general sentiment of Antiquity; and as generally embraced by modern writers. Kircher makes it the foundation of his *Theatrum Hieroglyphicum,* and so consequently hath written a large volume full of the most visionary interpretations. The great principle, he goes upon, as he himself tells us, is this:—"Hieroglyphica Ægyptiorum doctrina nihil aliud est, quàm Arcana de Deo, divinisque Ideis, Angelis, Dæmonibus, cæterisque mundanarum potestatum classibus ordinibusque scientia, SAXIS potissimùm insculpta." *Oedipus Ægyptiacus,* tom. iii. p. 4. Dr. Wilkins follows the received opinion in the general division of his subject, in his *Essay towards a real Character:* For speaking of notes for secrecy, *such* (says he) *were the Egyptian hieroglyphics.*—Yet he adds, with his usual penetration,—*it seems to me questionable whether the Egyptians did not at first use their hieroglyphics as a mere shift for the want of letters, as was done by the Mexicans,* p. 12.—And this was all his subject led him to say of the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics.* Servius had gone further, and asserted the priority of hieroglyphics without a doubt. "Annus enim secundum Ægyptios indicabatur, *ante inventas literas,* picto dracone caudam suam mordente." Apud Virg. Æn. l. v. ver. 85.

P. 176. P. The *ship and pilot,* bearing this signification, would, of course, be much used in the descriptions of their mysteries, in which, as we have shewn, the knowledge of the Governor of the universe was part of the ἀπόῤῥητα: and so we find it more than once delineated in the *Bembine Table.* Kircher, according to custom, makes it full of sublime knowledge; but the plain truth is no more than this above.—Tacitus, speaking of the religion of the Suevians, says they worshipped Isis; he could not

conceive how this came about, only the figure of a galley, under which image she was represented, shewed that the worship was imported from abroad. "Pars Suevorum et ISIDI sacrificat: unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, *nisi quod* signum ipsum, in modum LIBURNÆ figuratum, docet advectam religionem." De Morib. Germ. c. ix. The latter part of which period Mr. Gordon has thus translated, *unless the figure of her image formed like a galley shewed, &c.* But *nisi quod* does not signify *unless*, as implying any doubt, but *saving only*. So the same author, De Mor. Ger. c. xxv. "Occidere solent non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, *nisi quod* impune." Tacitus could tell no more of the original than this, that the worship of Isis was imported, because her image was made in the figure of a galley. In this he was positive: but for all this, not the less mistaken. It was indeed imported; but the galley was no mark of that original. Strabo tells us, in his fourth book, that, in an island near Britain, they performed the same mysterious rites to Ceres and Proserpine as were used in Samothrace. Ceres and Isis were the same. The Phenician seamen, without doubt, brought them thither, as likewise to the Suevians inhabiting the coasts of the German ocean. The governor of the universe was taught in these mysteries. Isis was represented by the later Egyptians to be the governor of the universe, as we have seen before, in a discourse on the metamorphosis of Apuleius. But the governor of the universe was delineated, in their hieroglyphics, by a *ship and pilot*. Hence, amongst the Suevians, Isis was worshipped under the form of a *galley*, and not because her religion was of foreign growth: And so amongst the Romans, which Tacitus did not advert to. For in the *calendarium rusticum* amongst the inscriptions of Gruter, in the month of March, an Egyptian holyday is marked under the title of ISIDIS NAVIGIUM. The ceremonies on this holyday are described in Apuleius Met. l. ii.—It was a festival of very high antiquity amongst the Egyptians; and seems to be alluded to in these words of the Prophet Isaiah:—*Wo to the land* shadowing with wings—*that sendeth ambassadors by the sea even in* VESSELS OF BULRUSHES *upon the waters, saying, Go ye swift messengers, &c.* chap. xviii. ver. 1, 2.

P. 177. Q. The original is, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διετύπωσεν τοὺς ἱεροὺς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας. There is a small fault in this reading; it should be τούς TE ἱεροὺς, with the conjunction: The corruption helped to mislead Cumberland, who translates,—*and formed the sacred characters of the other elements* [p. 38. of his *Sanchoniatho's Phenician history*]; which looks as if the learned prelate understood by στοιχείων, the *elements of nature; Cœlum* or *Ouranos* having (as he supposed) been mentioned before, as delineated or engraved by Taautus: but ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ signifies the elements of hieroglyphic writing, and λοιπῶν refers not to that, but to θεῶν just above; which further appears from what follows—τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς; otherwise, only Dagon is left, for these words, τοῖς λοιποῖς θεοῖς to be applied to.—Sanchoniatho had said that Taautus represented the gods in a new invented hieroglyphic character; and then goes on to tell us that he invented other hieroglyphic characters, whether by figures or marks; for I apprehend that ἱεροὺς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας principally designs that part of hieroglyphic writing which was by marks, not figures: for without doubt, at first,* the Egyptians used the same method as the Mexicans, who, we are told, expressed in their hieroglyphic writing, those things which had form,

* This EUSTATHIUS intimates in these words, speaking of the most ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics,—Ζώδιά τινα ἱερογλυφοῦντες, καὶ λοιποὺς δὴ χαρακτῆρας εἰς σημασίαν ὧν λέγειν ἐβούλοντο.—*In Iliad.* vi. verse 168.

by figures; others by arbitrary marks. See p. 175, note (†). But we shall see, that when the Egyptians employed this writing for the vehicle of their secrets, they then invented the forms of things to express abstract ideas. However, that this is the meaning of στοιχείων is further evident from this place of Eusebius, where he speaks of a quotation of Philo's, from a work of Sanchoniatho, concerning the Phenician elements, Φοινίκων στοιχείων; which work, as appears by his account of the quotation, treated of the nature of several animals. But we have shewn how much the study of natural history contributed to the composition of hieroglyphic characters.

P. 177. R. At the time this account was first given to the public, the learned Dr. Richard Pococke coming fresh from Egypt, thought it incumbent on him to contradict that Egyptian learning which was only conceived at home. But as, by a common practice of prudent men, he had not mentioned me by name, it was thought I had no right to reply. Let the reader judge of one, by the other.—This learned and indeed candid writer, in his book of travels, has a chapter, *On the ancient hieroglyphics of Egypt;* in which he expresseth himself as follows.—"If hieroglyphical figures stood for words or sounds that signified certain things, the power of hieroglyphics seems to be the same as of a number of letters composing such a sound, that by agreement was made to signify such a thing. For hieroglyphics, as words, seem to have stood for sounds, and sounds signify things; as for instance, it might have been agreed that the figure of a crocodile might stand for the sound that meant what we call malice: the children of the priests were early taught that the figure of a crocodile stood for such a sound, and, if they did not know the meaning of the sound, it would certainly stand with them for a sound; though, as the sound, it signified also a quality or thing; and they might afterwards be taught the meaning of this sound; as words are only sounds, which sounds we agree shall signify such and such things; so that, to children, words only stand for sounds, which relate to such things as they know nothing of; and, in this sense, we say children learn many things like parrots, what they do not understand, and their memories are exercised only about sounds, till they are instructed in the meaning of the words. This I thought it might be proper to observe, AS SOME SAY HIEROGLYPHICS STOOD FOR THINGS AND NOT FOR WORDS,—if sounds articulated in a certain manner are words. And though it may be said, that in this case, when different nations of different languages agree on common characters, that stand for certain things they agree on, that then such figures stand for things: this will be allowed; but then they stand for sounds too, that is, the sounds in each language that signify such things: and, as observed before, to children, who know nothing of the several things they stand for, to them they are only marks that express such and such sounds: so that these figures stand not for things alone, but as words, for sounds and things." *

The design of this passage, the reader sees, is to oppose the principle I went upon, in explaining the nature of Egyptian hieroglyphics, *that they stood for things, and not for words.* But that is all one sees; for the learned writer's expression conforming to his ideas, will not suffer us to do more than guess at the proof which he advances: it looks, however, like this,—That hieroglyphics cannot be said to stand for things only; because things being denoted by words or sounds; and hieroglyphics exciting the idea of sounds (which are the notes of things) as well as the idea of the things themselves, hieroglyphics stand both for sounds and things.—This seems to

* Pp. 228, 229, of a book intituled, "A Description of the East," &c.

be the argument put into common English. But, for fear of mistaking him, let us confine ourselves to his own words.

If hieroglyphical figures (says he) *stood for words or sounds that signified certain things, the power of hieroglyphics seems to be the same as of a number of letters composing such a sound that by agreement was made to signify such a thing.* Without doubt, if hieroglyphics stood for sounds, they were of the nature of words, which stand for sounds. But this is only an hypothetical proposition; let us see therefore how he addresses himself to prove it.—*For hieroglyphics,* AS WORDS, *seem to have stood for sounds, and sounds signify things; as for instance, it* MIGHT *have been agreed that the figure of a crocodile* MIGHT *stand for the same sound that meant what we call malice.* The propriety of the expression is suited to the force of the reasoning. 1. Instead of saying, *but hieroglyphics,* the learned writer says, *for hieroglyphics;* which not expressing an illation, but implying a reason, obscures the argument he would illustrate. 2. He says, *Hieroglyphics, as words, seem to have stood for sounds.* Just before, he said, *hieroglyphics stood for words* OR *sounds.* Here they are AS *words,* or *like words,* and *seem to stand* FOR *sound.* What are we to take them for? are words sound? or, do they stand for sound? He has given us our choice. But we go on. 3. For, he corroborates this seeming truth by an instance, in which the possibility of its standing for a sound is made a proof of its so doing. *It* MIGHT (says he) *have been agreed that the figure of a crocodile* MIGHT *stand, &c.*

But he is less diffident in what follows. *The children of the priests were early taught that the figure of a crocodile stood for such a sound, and if they did not know the meaning of the sound, it would certainly stand with them for a sound.* This indeed is an anecdote: but where did he learn that the children, before they could decipher the sounds of their own language, were taught hieroglyphics? 'Till now, hieroglyphics, when got into exclusive hands, were understood to be reserved for those instructed in high and mysterious science. But let us suppose that they were taught to children amongst their first elements: yet even then, as we shall see from the nature of the thing, they could never stand as marks for words or sounds. When a child is taught the power of letters, he learns that the letters, which compose one word, *malice,* for instance, express the *sound;* which, naturally arising from a combination of the several powers of each letter, shews him that the letters stand for such a sound or word. But when he is taught that the figure or picture of a crocodile signifies *malice,* he as naturally and necessarily conceives (though he knows not the meaning of the word) that it stands for some *thing,* signified by that word, and not for a *sound:* because there is no natural connexion between *figure* and a *sound,* as there is between *figure* and a *thing.* And the only reason why the word *malice* intervenes, in this connexion, is because of the necessity of the use of words to distinguish things, and rank them into sorts. But the veriest child could never be so simple as to conceive that, when he was told the figure of a beast with four short legs and a long tail signified *malice,* that it signified the *sound* of *malice:* any more than if he were told it signified a *crocodile,* that it signified the *sound* of the word *crocodile.* The truth is, the ignorant often mistake words for things, but never, things for words: that is, they frequently mistake the name of a thing for its nature; and rest contented in the knowledge which that gives them: Like him who, on the sight of a pictured elephant, inquiring what the creature was, on his being answered, that it was the *great Czar,* asked no further, but went away well satisfied in his acquaintance with that illus-

tious Stranger. Yet I apprehend he did not understand his informer to mean that it signified only the sound of that word. Perhaps the learned writer will object, that the cases are different; that the *elephant* was a mere picture, and the *crocodile* a sign or mark. But I have shewn at large that the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics were at first mere pictures; and that all the alteration they received, in becoming marks, was only the having their general use of conveying knowledge rendered more extensive and expeditious, more mysterious and profound; while they still continued to be the marks of *things*.

To proceed; our author considers next what he apprehends may be thought an objection to his opinion. *And though* (says he) *it may be said that, in this case, where different nations of different languages agree on common characters, that stand for certain things they agree on, that then such figures stand for things.* To which he answers, *This will be allowed; but then they stand for sounds too, that is, the sounds in each language that signify such things.* He who can grant so much, and without injury to his system, need be under no fear of ever giving his adversary advantages. He may, if he pleases, say next, when disputing about the colour of an object,—*that it is black, will be allowed; but then it is white too.* For a mark for *things* can no more be a mark for *sounds*, than *black* can be *white*. The reason is the same in both cases; one quality or property excludes the other: thus, if hieroglyphic marks stand for *things*, and are used as common characters by various nations differing in speech and language, they cannot stand for *sounds;* because these men express the same *thing* by different sounds; unless, to remove this difficulty, he will go farther, and say, not, as he did before, that one *hieroglyphic word* (to use his own language) stood for one sound, but, that it stands for an hundred. Again: if hieroglyphic marks stand for *sounds*, they cannot stand for *things:* not those things which are not signified by such sounds; this he himself will allow: nor yet, I affirm, for those which are thus signified; because it is the sound which stands for the thing signified by the sound, and not the hieroglyphic mark. But all this mistake proceeded from another, namely, *that* WORDS *stand both for sounds and things*, which we now come to. For he concludes thus, *So that these figures* (viz. *hieroglyphics*) *stand not for things alone, but,* AS WORDS, *for sounds and things.* An unhappy illustration! which has all the defects, both in point of meaning and expression, that a proposition can well have. For, if by *words*, be meant *articulated sounds*, then the expression labours in the sense, as affirming, that sounds stand for sounds. And that he meant so is possible, because in the beginning of the passage quoted, he uses words for articulate sounds.—*Hieroglyphics*, says he, *stood for words* OR *sounds.* But if, by words, he meant letters, (and that he might mean so is possible likewise, for he presently afterwards uses words in that sense too—*Hieroglyphics, as words*, says he, *seem to stand for sounds*) then the proposition is only false: the plain truth being this, letters stand for sounds only; which sounds they naturally produce; as sounds arbitrarily denote things.

But to be a little more particular; as in this distinction lies the judgment which is to be made, if ever it be rightly made, of the controversy between us. All this confusion of counter-reasoning proceeds, as we observed before, First, from not reflecting that letters, which stand for words, *have not*, and hieroglyphics, which stand for things, once *had not*, an arbitrary, but a natural designation. For, as the powers of letters naturally produce words or sounds, so the figures of hieroglyphics naturally signify things: either more simply, by representation, or more

artificially by analogy: Secondly, from his not considering, that as we cannot think nor converse about things either accurately or intelligibly without words, so their intervention becomes necessary in explaining the marks of things. But therefore, to make hieroglyphics the marks of sounds, because sounds accompany things, would be as absurd as to make letters the marks of things, because things accompany sounds. And who, before our author, would say that *letters signified things as well as sounds?* unless he had a mind to confound all meaning. If he chose to instruct, or even to be understood, he would say, that letters naturally produced sounds or words; and that words arbitrarily denoted things: and had our author spoken the same intelligible language, and told us that hieroglyphics naturally expressed things, and that things were arbitrarily denoted by words, he would indeed have spared both of us the present trouble; but then he had said nothing new. As it is, I cannot but suspect that this learned writer, though he had been in Egypt, yet found his *hieroglyphics* at home, and mistook these for the Egyptian. No other agreeing with his description of picture characters standing for *sounds*, but that foolish kind of *rebus-writing* called by the polite vulgar, *hieroglyphics*, the childish amusement of the illiterate; in which, indeed, the figures stand only for sounds; sounds, divested of *sense* as well as *things*. Nor is Dr. Pococke the only *polite* writer who has fallen into this ridiculous mistake. See a paper called THE WORLD, N° XXIV.

P. 183. S. It may not be improper, in this place, just to take notice of one of the strangest fancies, that ever got possession of the pericranium of an Antiquary. It is this, that the Chinese borrowed their *real characters* or *hieroglyphic marks* from the Egyptians. The author of it expresses his conceit in this manner.—"Linguam autem primitivam et barbaram vel puram, vel saltem parum immutatam, et politam Ægyptiorum consuetudine, retinere poterant [Sinenses,] et solum hoc sibi ab ipsis DERIVARE, ET ADOPTARE SCRIBENDI GENUS, ratione habita non ad linguam Ægyptiacam, sed unice ad ideas his Characteribus expressas, quos et sermonis sui nativi, immo etiam et linguæ suæ syllabis separatim sumptis eodem tempore applicaverunt." *De Inscr. Ægyptiaca Epist.* p. 53. Authore Turbervil. Needham.

From what hath been observed of the nature and origin of a REAL CHARACTER in general, supported by what the Chinese tell us of the very high antiquity of theirs, it is impossible to fix upon any period of time when the Egyptians (whether invited, or simply enabled by their improvements in navigation and commerce to penetrate into China) could find this highly policied people without a *real character*.

The question then will be, What possible inducements the Chinese could have to exchange their *real characters* for the Egyptian? Benefit by this change they could receive none, because one *real character* is just as good as another: And men at their ease, are rarely disposed to change native for foreign, but with the prospect of some advantage. To this it may be said, "that one *alphabetic character* likewise is just as good as another: and yet nothing has been more common than for one nation to change its own alphabet for the alphabet of another." An instance, without doubt, very apposite. To change the shapes of four and twenty letters is but a morning's work; and I suppose a small share of civility and complaisance might go thus far, between neighbours. But to throw away a million of *old* marks, and to have a million of *new* to learn, is an amusement of quite another nature. I apprehend, that such a proposal (had the Egyptians made it, with an offer of all their learning along with

it) would have much alarmed the indolent unenterprising temper of the Chinese. But the Critic seems to think, that an old character, like an old coat, would be willingly exchanged for a new one. Alas! Time and Antiquity, which make such havock with *the muddy vestures of decay*, give a new gloss, as well as a stronger texture, to the *spiritual cloathing* of ideas. And if their old characters were like any old coat, it must be such a one as Settle wore in Elysium; which, as the Poet sings, had, together with its owner, received a new lustre in this its state of beatification:

> "All as the Vest, appear'd the Wearer's frame,
> Old in new state, another yet the same."

The truth is, the Chinese, who have preserved specimens of all the various revolutions in their *real characters*, have the highest veneration for the most ancient. Now is it possible to conceive that a people, thus circumstanced and disposed, should part with their native characters, the gift of their Demy-gods and Heroes, to receive others, of the same sort, from strangers: recommendable for no advantage which their own did not possess, and partaking of all the inconveniencies to which their own were subject. Had the Egyptians indeed offered them an ALPHABET (which, were they disposed to be so communicative, we know, they had it in their power to do, at what time soever it can be *reasonably* supposed they first visited the coasts of China), the offer had been humane, and, without doubt, the benefit had been gratefully accepted. But that the Egyptians did nothing of all this, appears from the Chinese being without an ALPHABET to this very day. And yet I am persuaded, it was the confounding of these two things, one of which was practicable and useful, the other useless and impracticable, I mean the communication of an Alphabet, which was common in the ancient world; and the communication of a real Character, which was never heard of till now,—I say, it was the confounding of these two things that gave birth to this strange conceit. And then the similitude of shape between the Egyptian and the Chinese *marks*, was thought to compleat the discovery. The Letter-writer did not seem to reflect, that the shapes of *real characters*, after great improvements made in them by a long course of time, such as the Egyptian and the Chinese, must needs have a great resemblance, whether the characters were formed by ANALOGY or INSTITUTION. In the first case, *nature* made the resemblance, as being the common archetype to both nations. In the latter, *necessity*, for only straight and crooked lines being employed to form these marks, there must needs arise from a combination of such lines infinitely varied, a striking resemblance between the *real characters* of two people, though most distant in genius and situation. But the folly, which such Conjecturers are apt to fall into, is, that, if the *forms* of the marks be alike, the *powers* must be alike also.

What is here said will enable us likewise to appreciate another ingenious contrivance of one *M. de Guignes of the Academy Royal of Inscriptions, &c.* to get to the same discovery. Upon a supposition of the truth of what I had laid down, that the first Egyptian alphabet was taken from their hieroglyphic characters,* this Academician fell to work, to ANALYSE, as he terms

* "M. Warburton avoit pensé que le premier Alphabet avoit emprunté ses elemens des Hieroglyphes mêmes; et M. l' Abbé Barthelemy avoit mis cette excellente théorie dans un plus grand jour, en plaçant sur une colonne diverses lettres Egyptiennes, en correspondance avec les Hieroglyphes qui les avoient produits. On pouvoit donc presumer que *les Egyptiens avoient communiqué aux Chinois* les caracteres que je venois de decouvrir, mais qu'ils les regardoient eux-mêmes alors comme des signes Hieroglyphiques, et non comme des lettres proprement dites."—*De l'Origine des Chinois*, pp. 63, 64.

it, the Chinese characters; when, to his great surprise, he found, that their contents were only a certain number of LETTERS belonging to the Oriental *Alphabets*, packed up, as it were, for carriage: which, when taken out, developed, and put in order, formed an Egyptian or Phenician *word*, that expressed the idea for which the Chinese *real Character* stood, as its Representatives. How precarious, and of how little solidity this fanciful Analysis is, may be understood by all who have seen these *Chinese marks* and *Oriental alphabets;* both of which consist of the same straight and curve lines variously combined; so that it cannot be otherwise but that in every Chinese mark should be found, that is, easily imagined, a composition of any alphabetic letters which the profound Decipherer stands in need of. But the pleasantry of the conceit lies here, that though the Chinese have alphabetic characters (which this ingenious Author has, with great astonishment, now first discovered) yet they themselves know nothing of the matter, as he at the same time has assured us.*

I might likewise insist upon this scheme's labouring under the same absurdity with M. Needham's. For though when M. de Guignes speaks of that part of the Chinese real character whose marks are *symbolic*, or formed upon analogy, pp. 71, 72. he is willing to have it believed (what his title-page enounces), that China was inhabited by an Egyptian Colony, which carried along with them the Hieroglyphics they now use: yet where he examines that other part, consisting of arbitrary marks, or marks by institution, p. 64 et seq. he supposes them, as we see above, communicated to the Chinese by the Egyptians. *On pouvoit donc presumer* (says he) *que les Egyptiens avoient communiqué aux Chinois les caractères que je venois de decouvrir.*

To conclude, the learned world abounds with discoveries of this kind. They have all one common Original; the old inveterate error, that a similitude of customs and manners, amongst the various tribes of mankind most remote from one another, must needs arise from some communication. Whereas human nature, without any other help, will, in the same circumstances, always exhibit the same appearances.

P. 183. T. "L'Alphabeth Ethiopien est seul de tous ceux que l'on connoit qui tient encore des Hieroglyphes." *Fourmont, Reflexions Crit. sur les Hist. des Anc. Peuples*, tom. sec. p. 501. Kircher illustrates this matter in his account of the Coptic alphabet. But as on his system every thing that relates to Egypt is a mystery, the shapes and names of the letters of their alphabet we may expect to find full of profound wisdom: yet, methinks, nothing could be more natural, than for a people long used to hieroglyphic characters, to employ the most celebrated of them, when they invented an alphabet, in forming the letters of it: and if the Chinese, who yet want an alphabet, were now to make one, it is not to be doubted but they would use the most venerable of their characteristic marks for the letters of it. However, let us hear Kircher for the fact's sake:—"Ita Ægyptiis natura comparatum fuit, ut quemadmodum nihil in omnibus eorum institutis sine mysterio peragebatur, ita et in lingua communi, uti ex alphabeto eorundem, mysteriosa literarum institutione ita concinnato, ut nulla ferè in eodem litera reconditorum sacramentorum non undiquaque plena reperiretur, patet. De primævis Ægyptiorum literis variæ diversorum sunt opini-

* "Les caracteres Chinoises dans l'etat où nous les avons à present, constituent trois sortes de caracteres; l'Epistolique ou ALPHABETIQUE, le hieroglyphique et le symbolique; c'est un nouveau rapport des plus singuliers avec l'Egypte, *qui n'a point eté connu jusque* à present, QUE LES CHINOIS EUXMEMES IGNORENT, et qui me jette dans le plus grand étonnement, un examen attentif—me l'a fait connoitre," &c.—*Mem. de Lit.* tom. xxix. p. 15.

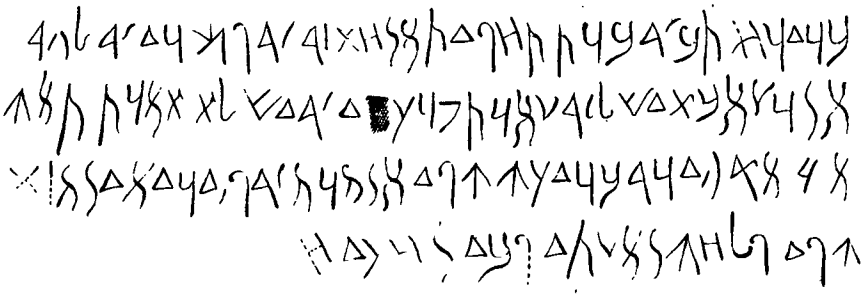
ones. *Omnes tamen in hoc consentiunt, plerasque ex sacrorum animalium forma, incessu, aliarumque corporis partium sitibus et symmetrio desumptas.* Ita Demetrius Phalereus, qui septem vocales assignans, septem Diis consecratas, ait, cæteras ex animalium formâ desumptas. Eusebius adstruit idem."—*Theatr. Hierogl.* p. 42. tom. iii. of his *Œdip. Ægypt.* As for this fancy, mentioned by Demetrius Phalereus, it had a very different original from what Kircher supposes; being only an enigmatic intimation of the different natures of vowels and consonants. The latter being brute sounds without the aid of the former, by which they are as it were animated.

P. 184. U. The very learned and illustrious author of a work intituled, Recueil d' Antiquités Egyptiennes, Etrusques, Grecques et Romaines, vol. i. M. the Count Caylus, after having confuted the idle conjectures of certain learned men concerning the contents of a sepulchral linen, marked over with Egyptian alphabetic characters, proceeds thus:—"Il me semble qu'on tireroit de plus grands avantages de ce monument, si au lieu de s'obstiner à percer ces ténébres, on tâchoit de remonter par son moyen à l'origine de l'écriture, et d'en suivre le developpement et les progres: si l'on cherchoit enfin à connoître la forme des anciennes lettres, et le pays où l'on a commencé à les employer. Ces questions et tant d'autres semblables ne pourront jamais être eclaircies par les temoignages des auteurs Grecs et Latins. Souvent peu instruits des antiquités de leur pays, ils n'ont fait que recueillir des traditions incertaines, et multiplier des doutes, auxquels en prefereroit volontiers l'ignorance la plus profonde: c'est aux monumens qu'on doit recourir. Quand ils parleront clairement, il faudra bien que les anciens auteurs s'accordent avec eux. Avant le commencement de ce siécle on ne connoissoit point l'ecriture courante des Egyptiens, et plusieurs critiques la confondoient tantôt avec celle des anciens Hebreux, et tantôt avec les hieroglyphes; mais depuis cette epoque il nous est venu plusieurs fragmens, qui ont fixé nos idées; et il faut espérer que de nouvelles recherches nous en procureront un plus grand nombre. Conservons avec soin des restes si précieux, et tachons de les mettre en œuvre, en suivant l'exemple de celui des modernes, qui a repandu les plus grandes lumieres sur la question de l'antiquité des lettres. M. Warburton a detruit l'erreur où l'on etoit que les prêtres Egyptiens avoient inventé les hieroglyphes pour cacher leur science: il a distingué trois epoques principales dans l'art de se communiquer les idées par ecrit: sous la premiere, l'ecriture n'etoit qu'une simple representation des objets, une veritable peinture; sous la seconde, elle ne consistoit qu'en hieroglyphes, c'est-à-dire, en une peinture abrégée, qui, par exemple, au lieu de representer un objet entier, n'en representoit qu'une partie, un rapport, &c. Enfin sous la troisieme epoque, les hieroglyphes altérés dans leurs traits devinrent les élémens d'une écriture courante: M. Warburton auroit pû mettre cette excellente theorie à portée de tout le monde, en plaçant dans une premiére colomne une suite d'hieroglyphes, et dans une seconde les lettres qui en sont dérivées; mais sans doute que les bornes qu'il s'etoit prescrites ne lui ont pas permis d'entrer dans ce detail. Quoi qu'il soit, tous ceux qui recherchent l'origine des arts et des connoissances humaines, peuvent verifier le systême du sçavant Anglois, et se convaincre que les lettres Egyptiennes ne sont que des hieroglyphes deguisés. Nous avons assez de secours pour entreprendre cet examin. Les recueils des antiquaires offrent plusieurs monumens Egyptiens chargés d'hieroglyphes: et la seule bande de toile que l'on publie ici [Pl. N° 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.] suffiroit pour donner une idée de l'écriture courante—de s'assurer que l'alphabet de la langue Egyptienne emanoit des hieroglyphes, il suffira d'avoir une assez grande quantité des lettres isolées, et de comparer avec les

figures représentées sur les monumens Egyptiens. Or je puis assûrer que l'on appercevra entr'elles la liaison la plus intime, et les rapports les plus sensibles; et pour s'en convaincre, on n'a qu'à jetter les yeux sur le N° I. de la XXVI. planche. J'y ai fait graver sur une premiere colomne une suite d'hieroglyphes tirés la plûpart des obelisques, et dans une colomne correspondante, les lettres Egyptiennes qui viennent de ces hieroglyphes. On trouvera, par exemple, que le premier hieroglyphe representant une barque, a produit un element d'ecriture, dont la valeur a pû varier, suivant les points ou les traits dont il etoit affecté: que le troisieme hieroglyphe, qu'on croit être l'image d'une porte, en perdant son arrondissement a formé la lettre qui lui est paralléle; que la figure d'homme ou d'animal accroupie au N° 4. est devenue une lettre qui ne conserve que les linéamens du symbole original; enfin que le serpent figuré si souvent sur les monumens Egyptiens, N° 19. s'est changé en un caractère qui retrace encore aux yeux les sinuosités de ce reptile. On trouvera aussi que les autres hieroglyphes, tels que le 2. le 5. le 6. le 11. le 13, &c. ont passé dans l'ecriture courante, sans éprouver le moindre changement. Au reste, ce n'est ici que le leger essai d'une operation qui pourroit être poussée plus loin, et dans laquelle on appercevroit peut-être des rapports différens de ceux que j'ai établis entre certaines lettres Egyptiennes prouve visiblement leur origine; et plus il est approfondi, plus il sert à confirmer le sentiment de M. Warburton," p. 69. Thus far this learned person. I have borrowed the scheme he refers to, and the reader will find it marked, plate VII.

P. 184. X. Mr. Voltaire, in a discourse intituled, Nouveau plan de l'Histoire de l'Esprit humain, speaking of the Chinese printing, which is an impression from a solid block, and not by moveable types, says they have not adopted the latter method, *out of attachment to their old usages.*—"On sait que cette Imprimerie est une gravûre sur des planches de bois. L'Art de graver les caractères mobiles et de fonte, beaucoup supérieure à la leur, *n'a point encore été adopté par eux*, TANT ILS SONT ATTACHES A LEURS ANCIENS USAGES." Now I desire to know of M. Voltaire, how it was possible for them to adopt the method of a Font of types or moveable characters, unless they had an *alphabet*. That they had no such, M. Voltaire very well knew, as he gives us to understand, in the same place. "L'art de faire connoitre ses idées par l'ecriture, qui devroit n'être qu'une methode très simple, est chez eux ce qu'ils ont de plus difficile; chaque mot a des caractères differens: un savant à la Chine est celui qui connoit le plus de ces caractères, et quelques uns sont arrivés à la vieillesse avant que de savoir bien écrire." Would not Caslon or Baskerville be finely employed to make a font of letters for this people, who have so many millions of real characters? But this historian of men and manners goes on in the same rambling incoherent manner, and so he can but discredit the Jewish history he cares little for the rest.—"Qui leur donne une superiorité reconnue sur tous ceux qui rapportent l'origine des autres nations, c'est qu'on n'y voit aucun *prodige*, aucune *prediction*, aucune même de ces fourberies politiques que nous attribuons aux Fondateurs des autres Etats, excepté peut-être ce qu'on a imputé à FOHI, d'avoir fait accroire qu'il avoit vû ses Loix ecrites sur le dos d'un serpent ailé. Cette imputation même fait voir qu'on connaissait l'ecriture avant *Fohi*. Enfin, ce n'est pas à nous, au bout de notre Occident, à contester les archives d'une nation qui etait toute policée quand nous n'etions que des Sauvages."—First, China has the advantage of the western world, because the Founders of its religious policy employed neither Miracles nor Prophecies, nor the Founders of its civil policy state tricks and cheats, like other Leaders. And yet he is forced, before the

Nº 11 PLATE. 7.



Nº 111

Hieroglyphics.	Letters	Hieroglyphics.	Letters.
1		5	
2		6	
3		7	
4			

Nº 1 PLATE. 7.

Hieroglyphics	Letters	Hieroglyphics.	Letters.
1		12	
2		13	
3		14	
4		15	
5		16	
6		17	
7		18	
8		19	
9		20	
10		21	
11		22	

words are well out of his mouth, to own that *Fohi* pretended to have seen his laws written upon the back of a winged Serpent: and one can hardly think that Fohi now gotten into so good a train would stop there. Secondly, By this, however, the historian gains (and he bids us observe it) a very early date for *writing* amongst the Chinese, whereas in truth they have no *writing* in the sense the historian gives to the word, even at this day: and as for Hieroglyphic Characters, all nations had them from the most early times, and as soon as men began to associate. Thirdly, We barbarians of yesterday must not pretend, he says, to contradict the records of this ancient nation. And why not, I pray, when superior Science has enabled this upstart people of the West to detect the falsehood of the Records of Egypt, a nation which pretended to as high antiquity as the Chinese? This they have done, and, I suppose, to the good liking of our historian, if ever he has heard of the names of Scaliger and Petavius, of Usher and Marsham.

P. 184. Y. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ μόνον Αἰγυπτίων οἱ λογικώτατοι, ὡρὸς δὲ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ὠρέχθησαν, τὸ συμβολικὸν εἶδος ἐζήλωσαν· φασὶ γοῦν καὶ Ἰδανθούραν τῶν ΣΚΥΘΩΝ βασιλέα, &c. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. v. p. 567. Thus this learned Father; who being in the general prejudice that hieroglyphics were a late art, invented by philosophic men, to secrete their knowledge, expresses himself accordingly, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ὠρέχθησαν: and yet, methinks, the story he tells of the Scythian king might have directed him to another original.—Eustathius says the same thing: Οἱ δέ γε παλαιοὶ, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐποίουν, ζῳδιά τινα ἱερογλυφοῦντες καὶ λοιποὺς δὲ χαρακτῆρας εἰς σημασίαν ὧν λέγειν ἐβούλοντο, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ καθὰ καὶ τῶν τινες ὕστερον Σκυθῶν, ἐσήμαινον ἃ ἤθελον εἰδωλά τινα καὶ πολυειδῆ γράμματα ξέσματα ἐγγράφοντες.—*In Iliad.* vi. ver. 168.

P. 185. Z. In judging only from the nature of things, and without the surer light of Revelation, one should be apt to embrace the opinion of Diodorus Siculus [lib. ii.], and Vitruvius [lib. ii. cap. i.], that the first Men lived, for some time, in woods and caves, after the manner of beasts, uttering only confused and indistinct noises; till associating for mutual assistance, they came, by degrees, to use articulate sounds, mutually agreed upon, for the arbitrary signs or marks of those ideas in the mind of the speaker, which he wanted to communicate to the hearer. Hence the diversity of languages; for it is confessed on all hands, that speech is not innate. This is so natural an account of the original of language, and so unquestioned by Antiquity, that Gregory Nyssen [*adver. Eunomium*, lib. xii.] a father of the church, and Richard Simon [*Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test.* lib. i. cap. 14 et 15, lib. iii. cap. 21,] a priest of the Oratory, have both endeavoured to support this hypothesis: and yet, methinks, they should have known better; Scripture plainly informing us, that *language* had a different original. This was just the case of SACRIFICES. It is very easy to conceive, that one sort arose naturally from the sense of gratitude to our Divine Benefactor, and the other from a sense of our demerit towards him (as will be shewn hereafter); yet it is certain they were of divine appointment. In this indeed the two cases differ; *language*, I believe, had, for its sole original, divine instruction; whereas *sacrifices* amongst many people were certainly of human invention, and underived from tradition. But to return to the subject of language. It is strange, as I say, that these learned men should not have been better informed. We see, by Scripture, that God instructed the first man, in *religion*. And can we believe, he would not at the same time teach him *language*, so necessary to support the intercourse between man and his Maker? For Quietism is a thing of

modern growth; this, with Mysticism of all kinds, is the issue of that wantonness which makes favoured man grow tired of his two great blessings, REASON and LANGUAGE.—If it be said, Man might gain language by the use of reason, I reply, so might he gain religion likewise: and that much easier and sooner. Again, when God created man, he made woman for his companion and associate; but the only means of enjoying this benefit is the use of speech. Can we think that God would leave them to themselves, to get out of the forlorn condition of brutality as they could? But there is more than a probable support for this opinion. If I am not much mistaken, we have the express testimony of MOSES, that God did indeed teach men language: It is where he tells us, that *God brought every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, unto Adam, to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field.* Gen. ii. 19, 20. Here, by a common figure of speech, instead of directly *relating* the fact, that God taught men language, the historian *represents* it, by shewing God in the act of doing it, in a particular mode of information; and that, the most apposite we can conceive, namely, elementary instruction; in the giving names to substances; such as those with which Adam was to be most conversant, and which therefore had need of being distinguished each by its proper name: How familiar an image do these words convey of a learner of his rudiments?—*And God brought every beast,* &c. *to Adam to* SEE *what he would call them.* In a word, the prophet's manner of relating this important fact, has, in my opinion, an uncommon elegance. But men of warm imaginations overlooked this obvious and natural meaning to ramble after forced and mysterious senses, such as this, that Adam gave to every creature *a name expressive of its nature.* From which fantastic interpretation, all the wild visions of Hutchinson, and his cabalistic followers, seem to have arisen. Nor are the Freethinkers much behind them in absurdities. "Some," says Tindal, "would be almost apt to imagine that the author of the book of GENESIS thought that words had ideas naturally fixed to them, and not by consent; otherwise, say they, how can we account for his supposing that God brought all animals before Adam, as soon as he was created, to give them names; and that *whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof?*" [Christianity as old as the Creation, 8vo. ed. p. 228.] But though Moses *thought* no such thing, I can tell him of one who did: a very ancient writer, and frequently quoted by the men of this tribe to confront with Moses, I mean HERODOTUS; who not only thought this, but thought still more absurdly, that *Ideas had words naturally affixed to them.* See the famous tale of Psammetichus and his two boys, lib. ii. How would these men have rejoiced to catch Moses at the same advantage!—To conclude. From what hath been said, it appears, that God taught man, language: yet we cannot reasonably suppose it to be any other than what served his present use: after this, he was able of himself to improve and enlarge it, as his future occasions should require: consequently the first language must needs be very poor and narrow.

P. 186. AA. "How many commands did God give his Prophets, which, if taken according to the letter, seem unworthy of God, as making them act like madmen or idiots? As for instance, the prophet *Isaiah walked for three years together naked for a sign;* Jeremiah is commanded *to carry his girdle as far as Euphrates,—to make bands and yokes,* &c.—Ezekiel is commanded *to draw Jerusalem on a tile,* &c. &c." [*Tindal's Christianity as old as the Creation,* p. 229.] *The prophet Jeremiah* (says a

learned writer) *is ordered to buy a girdle*, &c.—*He is also sent about with yokes—Ezekiel besieges a pan-tile.—He shaves his head and beard.—No reasonable man can believe these actions were really performed.* See Dissertation on the History and Character of Balaam.

P. 186. BB. "Quemadmodum autem vidit in visionibus [Propheta] quod jussus fuerit [Ezech. cap. viii.] fodere in pariete, ut intrare et videre posset, quid intùs faciant, quod foderit, per foramen ingressus fuerit, et viderit id quod vidit; ita quoque id quod dictum est ad eum, *Et tu sume tibi laterem*, &c. [Ezech. cap. iv.] quod item alibi ei dictum legitur, *Novaculam hanc tonsoriam cape tibi*, [Ezech. cap. v.] ita, inquam, ista omnia in visione prophetiæ facta sunt, ac vidit, vel visum fuit ipsi, se ista opera facere, quæ ipsi præcipiebantur. Absit enim ut Deus prophetas suos stultis vel ebriis similes reddat, eosque stultorum aut furiosorum actiones facere jubeat." *More Nev.* p. ii. cap. 46. But here the author's reasoning is defective,—because what Ezekiel saw in the *chambers of imagery* in his eighth chapter was in vision, therefore his *delineation of the plan of the siege*, and the *shaving his beard*, in the fourth and fifth chapters, were likewise in vision. But to make this illation logical, it is necessary that the circumstance in the eighth, and the circumstances in the fourth and fifth, be shewn to be specifically the same; but examine them, and we shall find them very different: that in the eighth was to shew the Prophet the excessive idolatry of Jerusalem, by a sight of the very idolatry itself; those in the fourth and fifth, were to convey the will of God, by the Prophet to the people, in a symbolic action. Now in the first case, as we have shewn above, the information was properly by vision, and fully answered the purpose, namely, the Prophet's information; but, in the *latter*, a vision had been improper; for a vision to the prophet was of itself no information to the people.

P. 188. CC. The general moral, which is of great importance, and is inculcated with all imaginable force, is that weak and worthless men are ever most forward to thrust themselves into power; while the wise and good decline rule, and prize their native ease and freedom above all the equipage and trappings of grandeur. The vanity of base men in power is taught in the fifteenth verse, and the ridicule of that vanity is inimitably marked out in those circumstances; where the *bramble* is made to bid his new subjects, who wanted no shadow, to *come and put their trust in his*, who had none; and that, in case of disobedience, he would send out from himself *a fire that should devour the cedars of Lebanon*, whenas *the fire of brambles*, and such like trash, was short and momentary even to a proverb, amongst the Easterns.—TINDAL, speaking of the necessity of the application of reason to scripture, in order to a right understanding of those passages in the Old Testament, where God speaks, or is spoken of, after the manner of men, as being *jealous, angry, repentant, reposing*, &c. (Modes of expression very apposite, where the subject is God's moral government of the world; very necessary, where it is his civil government of a particular people.) Tindal, I say, brings this in, amongst his instances.—*Wine, that cheareth god and man;* as if Jotham had meant God, the governor of the universe; when all, who can read antiquity, must see his meaning to be, that *wine cheareth hero-gods and common men.* For Jotham is here speaking to an idolatrous city, which *ran a whoring after Baalim, and made Baalberith their god;* a god sprung from amongst men, as may be partly collected from his name, as well as from divers other circumstances of the story. But our critic, who could not see the sense, it is certain, saw nothing of the beauty of the expression; which contains one of the finest

strokes of ridicule in the whole apologue, so much abounding with them; and insinuates to the Shechemites the vanity and pitiful original of their idolatrous gods, who were thought to be, or really had been, *refreshed with wine.* Hesiod tells us, in a similar expression, *that the vengeance of the fates pursued the crimes of gods and men:*

Αἵτ' ΑΝΔΡΩΝ τε ΘΕΩΝ τε παραιβασίας ἐφέπουσαι,
Οὐδέποτε λήγουσι θεαὶ δεινοῖο χόλοιο,
Πρίν γ' ἀπὸ τῷ δώσσι κακὴν ὑπιν ὅστις ἁμάρτῃ.—ΘΕΟΓ. ver. 220.

P. 188. DD. Judges ix. 7. COLLINS, the author of the *Scheme of literal Prophecy considered*, speaking of Dean Sherlock's interpretation of Gen. iii. 15, says—"What the Dean just now said is nothing but an argument from the pretended absurdity of the literal sense, that supposes the most plain matter of fact to be *fable, or parable, or allegory;* though it be suited to the notions of the Ancients, *who thought that beasts had, in the first ages of the world, the use of speech,* agreeable to what is related in the Bible of Balaam's ass, and told after a *simple historical manner,* like *all the relations* in the Old Testament, wherein there is nothing savours of *allegory,* and *every thing is plainly and simply exposed.*" p. 234. By this it appears that Mr. Collins thought that *fable, parable,* and *allegory,* were the same mode of speech, whereas they are very different modes. A *fable* was a story familiarly told, without any pretended foundation of fact, with design to persuade the hearers of some truth in question; a *parable* was the same kind of story, more obscurely delivered; and an *allegory* was the relation of a real fact, delivered in symbolic terms: Of this kind was the story of the FALL: a real fact, told allegorically. According to Mr. Collins, it is a *fable* to be understood literally, because *it was suited to the notions of the ancients, who thought that beasts had, in the first ages of the world, the use of speech.* By the Ancients he must mean, if he means any thing to the purpose, those of the Mosaic age: and this will be news. His authority is, in truth, an authentic one! It is Balaam's ass.—*Agreeable,* says he, *to what is related in the Bible of Balaam's ass, and told after a simple historical manner.* Now the Bible, to which he so confidently appeals, expressly tells us, that Balaam had the gift of prophecy; that an angel intervened; and that God Almighty opened the ass's mouth. But however he is pleased to conceal the matter, he had a much better proof that *the Ancients thought beasts had the use of speech in the first ages of the world* than *Balaam's ass;* and that was Esop's FABLES. And this might have led him rather to the story of Jotham, so plainly and simply exposed, that, had not only the *serpent,* but the *tree of knowledge* likewise spoken, he could have given a good account of the matter, by Jotham's fable; *told after a simple historical manner, like all the relations in the Old Testament.* A great improvement, believe me, this, to his discovery,—*that the ancients thought not only that beasts, but that trees spoke in the first ages of the world.* The *Ancients!* an' please you. It is true, they delighted in fabulous traditions. But what then? they had always the sense to give a sufficient cause to every effect. They never represented things out of nature, but when placed there by some God, who had nature in his power. Even Homer, the father of fables, when he makes the horses of Achilles speak, or feel human passions, thinks it not enough to represent them as stimulated by a God, without informing us, that they themselves were of a cœlestial and immortal race.

P. 190. EE. This account shews how ridiculously the critics were employed in seeking out the inventor of the Apologue; they might as well have sought for the inventor of the Metaphor, and carried their

researches still further, and with Sancho Pancha inquired after the inventor of eating and drinking.

P. 191. FF. Καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι συνῆν, καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἐξέμαθε, καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φωνήν. Γραμμάτων δὲ τρισσὰς διαφορὰς, ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ τε, καὶ ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΩΝ, καὶ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΙΚΩΝ· τῶν μὲν κοινολογουμένων κατὰ μίμησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορουμένων κατά τινας αἰνιγμούς. *De Vitâ Pythagoræ*, cap. xi. et xii. p. 15. Ed. Kusteri. Holstenius translates τῶν μὲν κοινολογονμένων κατὰ μίμησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορουμένων κατά τινας αἰνιγμοὺς, in this manner:—"Quorum illud *propriam et communem loquendi consuetudinem* imitatur; *reliqua* per allegorias sub quibusdam ænigmatum involucris sensum exprimunt." By which, it seems, he understood, τῶν μὲν κοινολογουμένων κατὰ μίμησιν to be an explanation of the nature of *epistolary writing;* and τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορουμένων κατά τινας αἰνιγμοὺς, of the nature both of *hieroglyphic* and *symbolic;* whereas the first words are an explanation of hieroglyphic writing, and the second only of symbolic. For Porphyry having named three kinds of writing, the first common to all people; the two other peculiar, at that time, to the Egyptians; when he comes to speak of their natures, he judiciously omits explaining the *epistolary*, which all the world knew; and confines his discourse to the *hieroglyphic* and *symbolic*. But was it, as Holstenius thought, that he explained the nature of the *epistolary* in the words τῶν μὲν κοινολογουμένων, &c. then has he entirely omitted the proper *hieroglyphic* (for the τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορουμένων, &c. relates only to the *symbolic*); which had been an unpardonable fault. But that this is Holstenius's mistake is further seen by the next passage from Clemens Alexandrinus: for what Porphyry calls *hieroglyphical and symbolical*, Clemens calls *hieroglyphical;* using hieroglyphical as a generic term, which Porphyry used as a specific. Clemens, I say, giving an account of the nature of hieroglyphic writing, tells us it was of two sorts; the one, ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΕΙΤΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΙΜΗΣΙΝ, *directly and simply imitates the thing intended to be represented;* by this he meant the proper hieroglyphic (which Porphyry, in his enumeration of the kinds, distinguishes from the *symbolic*); and what is more, Porphyry seems to have borrowed his expression of τῶν μὲν κοινολογουμένων κατὰ μίμησιν, from Clemens's κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν, by which this latter evidently means to express the nature of the proper hieroglyphic. Besides, Clemens, who gives the nature of epistolary writing, with the same judgement that Porphyry omitted giving it, describes it in a very different manner, and with great propriety, thus, ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ. Yet a learned writer, supported by the authority of Holstenius, which served his purpose in an argument for the low antiquity of Egypt, would persuade us that *Porphyry did not mean by the expression* κοινολογούμενα κατὰ μίμησιν, *that the characters he spoke of imitated the forms or figures of the things intended by them;* FOR *that was not the* μίμησις *which the ancient writers ascribed to* LETTERS. [*Sacr. and Prof. Hist. of the World connect.* vol. ii. p. 296.] This argument is a *Petitio Principii;* which supposes Porphyry to be here describing epistolary writing. On this supposition the writer says, *that the imitation of the forms or figures of things is not the* μίμησις *the ancient writers ascribed to letters.* Certainly it is not. But Porphyry is not speaking of the letters, but of hieroglyphic figures: therefore, μίμησις does here, and may any where, mean (because it is the literal sense of the word) imitation of the figure of things. However, let us consider his criticism on this word, though it makes so little to his purpose:—Socrates in Plato says, it seems, ὁ διὰ τῶν συλλαβῶν τε καὶ γραμμάτων τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν

πραγμάτων ΑΠΟΜΙΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ· and *the ancients*, the learned writer tells us, *were exceeding philosophical in their accounts of both words and letters: when a word or sound was thought fully to express, according to their notions, the thing which it was designed to be the name of, then they called it the εἰκὼν, or picture of that thing.* The ancients were, without doubt, wonderfully profound; if we will believe Kircher and his school: but if a plain man may be heard, all the mystery of μίμησις and εἰκὼν was simply this: Alphabetic letters, as we have observed, sprung from hieroglyphic characters; and even received their form from thence. Now the ancients, as was very natural, when they spoke of the power of letters, and of words composed of letters, frequently transferred the terms μίμησις and εἰκὼν, to these, which properly belonged to hieroglyphic characters: a plain proof of this is the very word ἀπομιμέομαι, quoted by the learned writer from Plato; which literally signifies, *to imitate from an exemplar*, but figuratively, to *express*, at large: So πλάσμα originally signified any thing formed and fashioned by art; traductively, a similitude in speech, nay, the musical modulation of the voice. There is a remarkable passage in Plutarch's discourse of the *Pythian prophetess no longer rendering her prophecies in verse*; where the word πλάσμα is generally thought to be used in the first of these traductive senses, but I think it must be understood in the second: speaking of the ancient manner of delivering the oracles, he says,—οὐκ ἀνήδυντον, οὐδὲ λιτὴν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ὄγκῳ καὶ ΠΛΑΣΜΑΤΙ καὶ μεταφοραῖς ὀνομάτων, καὶ μετ' αὐλοῦ. Mr. Le Clerc, [*De Prophetia*, p. 18, tom. iv. *Comm. in V. T.*] translates the latter part thus, "pedibus vincta, tumida, *quæsitis et tralatitiis verbis* constantia, et cum tibia pronunciata." But πλάσματι signifies here, not *quæsitis verbis*, but that modulation of the voice which we may call *placida conformatio*, and is opposed to ὄγκῳ, a contrary modulation of the voice, which may be called *gravis conformatio*. These two were used in the theatre (to which the matter is compared) in a kind of *recitative* on the flute: so that what Plutarch would say, is this, that the ancient oracles were not only delivered in verse, and in a pompous figurative style, but were sung likewise to the flute. To ὄγκῳ and πλάσματι he opposed ἀνήδυντον, in the sense of *untunable*; and to μεταφοραῖς ὀνομάτων he opposed λιτὴν, *plain, simple*. Plutarch uses πλάσμα again in the sense of *conformatio*, where speaking of the elocution of Pericles, he calls it ΠΛΑΣΜΑ φωνῆς ἀθόρυβον, *a composed modulation of voice*. But Quintilian employs it in the very sense in question, to express *a soft and delicate modulation of voice*. "Sit autem imprimis lectio virilis et cum suavitate quadam gravis, et non quidem prosæ similis, quia carmen est, et se poetæ canere testantur. Non tamen in canticum dissoluta, nec PLASMATE (ut nunc a plerisque fit) effœminata." l. i. c. 14. Hence again, in another traduction, *plasma* was used to signify a certain medicine, that speakers in public took to render their voice soft and harmonious:

> "Sede leges celsa, *liquido* cum *plasmate* guttur
> Mobile conlueris"—Pers. Sat. i. 17.

Turnebus, not attending to this progressive change in the sense of words, and taking his signification of *plasma* from the passage of Quintilian, supposed that *plasma*, in this place of the poet, signifies not a medicament, but a soft and delicate modulation of the voice.—"Est cùm molli et tenera fictaque vocula poema eliquaverit udo gutture. Est enim *plasma*, ut alio loco docui, cum vox est tenera et mollis." On the other hand, Lubin, who had taken his signification of *plasma* from this place, will needs have the same word in the passage quoted above from Quintilian to signify not a

soft and delicate modulation of the voice, but a medicament. "Turnebi hujus loci explicatio, l. xxviii. c. 26. Adversar. mihi non placet, et hoc Quintiliani loco refutatur." *Comment. in Pers.*

P. 192. GG. Κατ' οἰκειότητα μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες. That is, as I understand it, representing one thing by another, which other hath qualities bearing relation or analogy to the thing represented.

P. 192. HH. Ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων. The Latin translator keeps close to his original, *anaglyphicis describunt;* and Stanley, [*Lives of Phil.* p. 350, ed. 3d.] *they write by anaglyphics:* as if this was a new species of writing, now first mentioned by Clemens, and to be added to the other three: whereas, I suppose, it was Clemens's intention only to tell us that tropical symbols were chiefly to be met with on their stone monuments, engraven in relief: which was true.

P. 192. II. Αὐτίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΝ καλουμένην· δευτέραν δὲ, τὴν ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ, ᾗ χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν, τὴν ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΗΝ, ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ συμβολική· τῆς δὲ συμβολικῆς ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν· ἡ δ' ὥσπερ τροπικῶς γράφεται· ἡ δὲ ἀντικρυς ἀλληγορεῖται κατά τινας αἰνιγμούς. Ἥλιον γοῦν γράψαι βουλόμενοι, κύκλον ποιοῦσι· Σελήνην δὲ, σχῆμα μηνοειδές, κατὰ τὸ κυριολογούμενον εἶδος· τροπικῶς δὲ, κατ' οἰκειότητα μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες, τὰ δ' ἐξαλλάττοντες· τὰ δὲ, πολλαχῶς μετασχηματίζοντες, χαράττουσιν· τοὺς γοῦν τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαίνους θεολογουμένοις μύθοις παραδιδόντες, ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων· τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αἰνίγμους, τρίτου εἴδους, δεῖγμα ἔστω τόδε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, διὰ τὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξὴν, ὄφεων σώμασιν ἀπείκαζον· τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον, τῷ τοῦ κανθάρου· ἐπειδὴ κυκλοτερὲς ἐκ τῆς βοείης ὄνθου σχῆμα πλασάμενος, ἀντιπρόσωπος κυλίνδει. *Strom.* lib. v. p. 555, 556, Ed. Morell.—ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων κυριολογική. ἡ δὲ, συμβολική, the Latin translator turns thus, *Cujus una quidem est per prima elementa* κυριολογική, *id est, proprie loquens; altera vero symbolica, id est, per signa significans.* This is so faithfully translated, that it preserves the very ambiguity of the original, and leaves us still to guess at the author's division. Marsham takes it just wrong; and so does his nephew Stanley: the first of these learned men quotes and translates the passage thus: *Triplex erat apud Ægyptios characterum ratio,* Ἐπιστολογραφική, *ad scribendas epistolas apta, sive vulgaris;* Ἱερατική, *qua utuntur* Ἱερογραμματεῖς, *qui de rebus sacris scribunt; et* Ἱερογλυφική, *sacra sculptura;* HUJUS *duæ sunt species,* Κυριολογική, *proprie loquens* per prima elementa, *et* Συμβολική, *per signa* [*Can. Chron.* p. 38, Franeq. Ed.] The second thus,—*the last and most perfect,* hieroglyphical: WHEREOF *one is* curiologic, *the other* symbolic. [*Lives of Phil.* p. 329, 3d. ed.] By this interpretation, the learned Father is, 1. made to enumerate three kinds of writing, but to explain only the last, namely *hieroglyphics;* 2. which is worse, he is made to say one kind of hieroglyphics was by letters of an alphabet; for that is the meaning of διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων: 3. which is still worse, he is made to divide hieroglyphics into two sorts, *curiologic* and *symbolic;* and *symbolic* into three sorts, *curiologic, tropical,* and *allegorical;* which makes the prior division into curiologic and symbolic, inaccurate and absurd; and spreads a general confusion over the whole passage. Their mistake seems to have arisen from supposing μεθόδου ἱερογλυφικῆς (the *immediate antecedent*) was understood at ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι; whereas it was the more *remote antecedent,* μεθόδου Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων: and what made them suppose this, was, I presume, the author's expressing the common plain way of writing by letters of an alphabet, and

the common plain way of imitating by figures (two very different things) by the same words, κυριολογικὴ and κυριολογεῖται; not considering that διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων, joined to the adjective, signified writing by letters; and, κατὰ μίμησιν, joined to the verb, signified *writing by figures.* In a word then, the plain and easy meaning of Clemens is this,—"The Egyptian method of writing was epistolic, sacerdotal, and hieroglyphical; of this method, the epistolic and sacerdotal were by letters of an alphabet; the hieroglyphical, by symbols: symbols were of three kinds, curiologic, tropical, and allegorical."

P. 192. KK. This was indeed a very logical conclusion from the opinion *that hieroglyphics were invented to hide mysteries;* but the high improbability of the fact should have led them, one would think, to the falshood of the premisses. That the Egyptians had *letters* before they had *hieroglyphics,* seems to me as extravagant as that they danced before they could walk; and, I believe, will seem so to all who consider the first part of this dissertation. However, a modern writer has taken up that opinion: and tells us in plain terms, that *the hieroglyphical way of writing was not the most ancient way of writing in Egypt;* [*Connect. of the Sacr. and Prof. Hist.* vol. i. p. 230, and again to the same purpose, vol. ii. 293, 294.] partly, I presume, as it favoured the hypothesis of the low antiquity of Egypt; and partly, perhaps, in compliment to that consequential notion, that not only all arts and sciences came from the Hebrews, but all the vehicles of knowledge likewise; whence, particularly, the author of the *Court of the Gentiles* derives hieroglyphics. *The greatest pieces of the Jewish wisdom,* says Mr. Gale, *were couched under the cover of symbols and types; whence the Egyptians and other nations borrowed their hieroglyphic and symbolic wisdom.* [Part i. p. 77.] But on what ground does the author of the *Connection* build, in support of his opinion? On this, that *letters* are very ancient; in which, without doubt, he is right: but surely not so ancient as he would have them. However, the Argument he uses is certainly a very perverse one: *There is one consideration more,* says he, *which makes it very probable that the use of* LETTERS *came from Noah, and out of the first world, and that is the account which the Chinese give of their* LETTERS. *They assert their first emperor, whom they name* Fohy, *to be the inventor of them; before* Fohy *they have no records, and their* Fohy *and* Noah *were the same person.* [Vol. i. p. 236.] Now it unluckily happens that the Chinese are without LETTERS, even to this day. Nor are we, for all this, to think our author ignorant of the nature of the Chinese characters, for he tells us soon after, that *the Chinese have no notion of alphabetical letters, but make use of characters to express their meaning. Their characters are not designed to express words, for they are used by several neighbouring nations who differ in language.* [p. 244.] Thus the learned writer, before he was aware, in endeavouring to prove *letters* of higher antiquity than *hieroglyphics,* hath proved just the contrary; even that hieroglyphical characters, not letters, were the writing so early as his Noah: For the Chinese characters are properly hieroglyphics, that is, marks for *things,* not *words;* and *hieroglyphics* they are called by all the missionaries from whom we have the most authentic accounts of China. But had their characters been indeed *letters,* as our author, in this place, by mistake supposed them, yet still his argument would have had no weight; and I will beg leave to tell him why: The Chinese characters in use at present are very modern in comparison of the monarchy. The missionaries tell us (as may be seen by the quotations given above) that the Chinese character hath undergone several changes; that their first way of writing was, like the Mexican, by

picture; that they then abbreviated it in the manner of the most ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics; and at length brought it, by many gradual improvements, to its present contracted form: yet a *real character* or *hieroglyphic* the Chinese writing still is; and so is likely to continue.

P. 194. LL. A late curious Voyager, who had examined the larger PYRAMIDS with great exactness, and found no hieroglyphics inscribed upon them, either without or within, concludes, rather too hastily, that they were built before the use of hieroglyphic writing in Egypt; and from thence insinuates another conclusion, in favour of the absurd hypothesis here confuted, that hieroglyphics were not the first species of writing known in Egypt; and, consequently, did not come from picture-writing, but from alphabetic marks; a foolish error, which betrays great ignorance in the natural progress of human knowledge. "Si je suppose" (says Captain Norden) "que les Pyramides, même les dernieres, ont été elevées avant que l'on eût l'usage des hieroglyphes, je ne l'avance sans fondement. Qui pourroit se persuader, que les Egyptiens eussent laissé ces superbes monumens, sans la moindre inscription hieroglyphique, eux, qui, comme on l'observe de toutes parts, prodigueoient les hieroglyphes sur tous les edifices de quelque consideration? Or on n'en apperçoit aucun, ni au dedans, ni au dehors, des pyramides, pas même sur les ruines des temples de la seconde et de la troisieme pyramide: n'est ce pas une preuve que l'origine des pyramides précéde celle des hieroglyphes, que l'on regarde neanmoins comme les premiers caracteres dont on ait usé en Egypte?"—*Voyage d'Egypte*, 3me partie, p. 75.

The curious voyager not only satisfies himself in accounting for the want of hieroglyphic characters on the Pyramids, by their being built before the invention of such characters, but seems to value himself upon a discovery resulting from it, that *Hieroglyphics were not the first sort of writing in Egypt*. But there is a greater difficulty in this matter than he was aware of.

It hath been proved at large, that *marks for things*, by a kind of picture-writing, were the first rude effort of every people upon earth, to convey and perpetuate their intelligence and conceptions to one another, as soon as they began to associate into tribes and nations. The Monuments in question are a proof that the erectors of them had advanced in the arts of civil life. No one then, who understands what Society is, can doubt but that the Egyptians had then a method of conveying their thoughts at a distance, by visible marks: and no one, acquainted with the slow progress of human inventions, can imagine that alphabetic writing was the first effort towards this conveyance. Hence arises the difficulty.

But this observation of the curious voyager, which furnishes the difficulty, supplies the solution. Suppose only the Pyramids to be erected in the interval between the inventions of *curiologic* and *tropical* hieroglyphics, that is, between their natural and more artificial state, and the difficulty vanishes: For in their natural state, they would be only used out of necessity; and not for ornament, luxury, or decoration. So that it is no wonder we do not find them on the PYRAMIDS in pompous and flattering inscriptions like those on the OBELISKS.

His observation Norden, indeed, gives as a proof of the high antiquity of the pyramids; and very justly. But his drawings furnish us with another argument in support of this truth, which he himself seems not to have considered. It is this, that the general idea of Egyptian architecture was entirely taken from the PYRAMIDS: which nothing sure but the high veneration for them, increased by their remote antiquity, could possibly

have occasioned; since the figure of these sepulchral monuments, so well adapted to triumph over time, is the most inconvenient that can possibly be imagined for habitable structures, whether public or private; and exceedingly grotesque, in all others. And yet we see, from the ancient ruins of Egypt, of which this diligent and exact Traveller has given us so fine drawings, that all their buildings, without exception, were raised on the idea and genius of the Pyramids. We are surprised to find not only their ports, their door-steads [See plates cix.—cxviii.] but even the very walls of their temples, [Pl. cxlvii.—viii.—cli.—cliv.] nay, of their towns, narrowing upwards and inclining inwards, in the manner of a modern fortification. [Pl. xcix.—cxv.—cxxxviii.]—But to return to the solution given above: It may be said, perhaps, "Allow the pyramids to have been erected in the interval between the invention of *curiologic* and *tropical* hieroglyphics. What hindered the Egyptians from scribbling over these bulky monuments with their first rude essays, as other barbarous nations have done upon their rocks? of which we find specimens enough in Scandinavia, North-East Tartary, and elsewhere." Indeed I know of nothing but CUSTOM that hindered them; that sovereign Mistress of the world, who only is of force to control and conquer Nature: And that Custom did effectually hinder them, is very plain, from our finding no specimens of any of their first rude hieroglyphic paintings; though, from them, their improved hieroglyphics received their birth. Nor did they want, any more than other Barbarians, their isolated rocks for this purpose: they had them very commodiously bordering on the Nile, and in view of all passengers. And on these, it is remarkable, they have inscribed their improved hieroglyphics, though we see no remains of any the earlier and ruder efforts of picture-writing.

But the modesty and reserve of this curious Traveller, and his deference to learned Antiquity, deserves commendation. He is not of the number of those who expect more faith from their Reader than they commonly find, or venture to entertain him with discoveries which he did not expect. For the learned reader acquiesces in Antiquity; the sensible reader prefers the evidence of a contemporary writer to the conjectures of a modern traveller: yet such is the general humour of our Voyagers, that they think they do nothing, if they do not rectify the errors of Antiquity. I have an ingenious measurer of the Pyramids in my eye, and one of the latest too [Dr. Shaw], who, in the passion for saying something new, assures us, that the opinion of their being SEPULCHRES is an old inveterate mistake: that they are indeed no other than TEMPLES, for religious worship. To soften so rugged a paradox, he says, *there was no universal consent amongst the Ancients concerning the use or purpose for which these Pyramids were designed.* And was there any *universal consent* amongst them that snow was white? But would this save the modesty or understanding of him who should affirm, after a certain ancient Philosopher, that it was black? And yet such a one would have the advantage of our Traveller; who would be hard put to it to produce any Ancient, whether Philosopher or otherwise, who said the Pyramids were *Temples.* But if the positive and agreeing testimony of all the old writers extant may be called *universal consent,* it certainly is not wanting. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, &c. all assure us that the Pyramids were *Sepulchres.* Nay, Diodorus, to put the matter out of doubt, informs us, that the sacred commentaries of their Priests said so. But our Traveller supposed this universal consent to be shaken at least by Pliny, who tells us, *they were built for ostentation, and to keep an idle people in employment.* As if this inti-

mated that, in Pliny's opinion, they were not Sepulchres! Suppose I should say the great Arch at Blenheim was *built for ostentation;* and if not to set an idle people to work, yet at least to make them stare: Does this contradict the universal consent of its being a Bridge, though as much too large for the water that runs under it, as the Pyramids were for the bodies contained in them? In a word, Pliny is not speaking of the *use* to which the buildings were applied, but of the *motives* for their erection.

P. 197. MM. Against this, a late furious writer objects—"But is it credible that the polite and learned priests of Egypt would use a method to hide and secrete their knowledge, which the more rude and barbarous nations employed to publish and divulge theirs? Or can you conceive that a curious and studied refinement of so knowing and enlightened a people as the Egyptians should be one and the very same thing with a rude and simple invention of those nations which were most barbarous and uncivilized?" *Jackson's Chronol.* vol. iii. p. 357.

I answer by another question—Is it credible that the polite and learned orators and historians of Greece and Rome should, out of choice, use a method [FIGURATIVE EXPRESSION] to perfect their eloquence, which the first rude and barbarous nations employed out of necessity, and which rude and barbarous nations still employ, for want of intellectual ideas, and more abstract terms? Or can *you conceive, that a curious and studied refinement* of dress, *in so knowing and enlightened a people* as the present French, *should be one and the same thing with the rude and simple invention* of leathern garments to cover nakedness amongst the Laplanders, a people most barbarous and uncivilized? But if it displeases our Chronologist, that so enlightened and refined a people as the Egyptians should pride themselves in the rude and simple invention of barbarians: what will he say to find, that the most savage people upon earth go a step beyond the most polished in the delicacy and luxury of speech? Yet this is the case of the Greenlanders, or the missionary Egede deceives us. *The women* (says he) *have a dialect different from the men, making use of the softest letters at the ends of words, instead of the hard ones.* Hist. of Greenland, p. 160.

P. 197. NN. This hieroglyphic likewise signified the *earth;* for the first rude mortals imagined, that that which sustained them was the Deity which gave them being. So Hesiod, who took his notions of the *earth* from the Egyptians, describes her after their paintings; ΓΑΙ' ΕΥΡΥ-ΣΤΕΡΝΟΣ, which the figure of the Diana multimammia well explains. But Shakspeare, who, as Mr. Pope finely observes, had *immediately from nature what the two Greek poets, Homer and Hesiod, received through Egyptian strainers,* paints this famous *hieroglyphic* with much more life and spirit!

> "Common Mother thou!
> Whose womb unmeasurable and INFINITE BREAST
> Teems and feeds all."

That Hesiod had there the Egyptian Goddess in his mind, is plain from the character he gives of her in the words subjoined,

> πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
> Ἀθανάτων,

for the *earth* was the first habitation of those Gods which *Greece* borrowed of the *Egyptians:* from whence, as the poet insinuates, they were transferred into heaven:

> Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγείνατο ἶσον ἑαυτῇ
> Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντ', ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτοι,
> Ὅφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί.

P. 199. OO. A very curious specimen of this hasty delineation of the outlines of the figures (which gave birth to the running-hand character we are here speaking of) the reader will find in Kircher, p. 350, of his *Œdip. Ægypt.* tom. iii. where he has given the characters on the Florentine obelisk, which, though dignified by that name, is only a late mimic in miniature of the superb monuments so intitled. See plate viii.

P. 199. PP. The account which a missionary jesuit gives us of the several sorts of writing amongst the Chinese will illustrate this matter:—*Parmi ces caracteres il y en a de plusieurs sortes. Les premiers ne sont presque plus d'usage, et on ne les conserve que pour faire honneur à l'antiquité. Les seconds beaucoup moins anciens n'ont place que dans les inscriptions publiques: quand on en a besoin, on consulte les livres, et à la faveur des dictionnaires il est facile de les dechiffrer. Les troisiemes, beaucoup plus reguliers et plus beaux, servent dans l'impression et même dans l'ecriture ordinaire. Neanmoins comme les traits en sont bien formez,* il faut un temps considerable pour les écrire; c'est pour cela qu'on a trouvé une quatrieme espece d'ecriture, dont les traits plus liez et moins distinguez les uns des autres, donnent la facilité d'ecrire plus viste—*ces trois derniers caracteres ont entre eux beaucoup de ressemblance, et respondent assez à nos lettres capitales, aux lettres d'impression, et à l'ecriture ordinaire.—Nouveaux Memoires sur l'etat present de la Chine, par le P. L. Le Comte,* tom. i. *Amst.* 1698, p. 258, 259. And here let me just take notice of a ridiculous mistake into which the equivocation of the word *Notæ* (a term signifying as well *short-hand* characters, as *hieroglyphical)* drew a certain learned grammarian: who in a letter to his friend [*Gloss. Ant. Rom.* p. 414. ed. 1731] undertaking to give the original of *short-hand characters,* rejects the account of the ancients (which makes them a Roman invention) to fetch them from the Barbarians; and will have them to be indeed the same as the *Ignorabiles Literæ* of the Egyptians (mentioned by Apuleius) and the present Chinese characters; that is, real *hieroglyphics.* But had he considered, that the *notes of short-hand* were marks for *words,* and the *notes of hieroglyphics* marks for *things,* he would have seen that they had no manner of relation to one another, but were of different original, and employed to different ends: He thinks, however, he has found a support for his notion in St. Jerom; who, he says, tells us somewhere or other, that they came from the Barbarians: *Restant adhuc* NOTÆ, *quæ cum ex Barbarorum puto ortu natæ sint, rationem amisere.* But without searching for the place, and recurring to the context, we may safely pronounce, that St. Jerom meant here by NOTÆ, not *the notes of short-hand,* but *hieroglyphic notes;* by his saying of them *rationem amisere;* which was not true of *short-hand notes,* but very true of *hieroglyphical.*

P. 201. QQ. To this, perhaps, it may be objected that *literary writing* had the name of *epistolary,* rather for its being afterwards employed in such kind of compositions; because Clemens Alexandrinus says, *That Atossa the Persian empress was the first that wrote epistles;* and Tatian, where he gives a list of some Inventors, expresses himself, from Hellanicus the historian, in this manner, Ἐπιστολὰς ΣΥΝΤΑΣΣΕΙΝ ἐξεῦρεν ἡ Περσῶν ποτε ἡγησαμένη γυνὴ, καθάπερ φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος, Ἄτοσσα δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῇ ἦν. But to this it may be replied, that the supposition of literary writing's having the name of *epistolary* from any later application of alphabetic letters to this sort of composition, is very precarious: for it may be asked, why rather a name from *epistles* than from any nobler sort of composition, in which we must needs conclude letters had been employed, before the use of epistles, if epistles were so lately invented? But the

truth is, if by *συντάσσειν*, which word Clemens likewise uses, we are to understand the *composing*, and not the *artificial closing and sealing* up of the tablets in which the Ancients wrote their epistles (the more natural sense of the word, and an invention more to the genius of a court lady) we must needs say the whole story of Atossa's invention is a very idle *one*, and worth only the attention of such triflers as the writers *Of the invention of things;* from whence Tatian and Clemens had it: they might as well have enquired after the inventors of *speech:* writing epistles being as early as the occasions of communicating the thoughts at a distance; that is, as early as human commerce. We find in the *Il. ζ'.* ver. 169. Bellerophon carrying an epistle from Prætus to Iobates. "No," says a great Critic, [see p. 539, of *the Dissertation upon Phalaris*] "this was no epistle, as Pliny rightly remarks, but *codicilli;* and Homer himself calls it *πίναξ πτυκτός.*" I do not comprehend the force of the learned person's argument; the point between him and his noble adversary was concerning the *thing*, not the *name;* but Pliny's observation, and his own, is concerning the *name*, not the *thing*. Let what *Bellerophon* carried be *πίναξ πτυκτὸς, small leaves of wood covered with wax, and written upon by a pen of metal*, yet was it essentially an *epistle*, if Cicero's definition of an *epistle* be a true one: *Hoc est*, says he, *Epistolæ proprium, ut is ad quem scribitur, de iis rebus quas ignorant, certior fiat.* Why Pliny said, this *πίναξ πτυκτὸς* was not an *epistle*, but a *codicil*, was because small leaves of wood covered with wax, when written on, were called by his countrymen *codicilli;* and a missive-paper, *epistola:* that this was his meaning appears from the account he gives of the pretended *paper epistle of Sarpedon* mentioned as a great rarity by Licinius Mucianus. [See the Dissert. mentioned above.]

P. 201. RR. By *sonos vocis* Cicero means *words:* It was impossible he could ever conceive that brute and inarticulate sounds were almost infinite. —See what is said on this matter below.

Long before this addition was made to the discourse on Hieroglyphic writing, one of the ablest Philosophers of this age, M. l'Abbé de Condillac, in his *Essai sur l'origine des connoissances humaines*, had the candour to say, that I had perfectly well discovered the progress by which men arrived to the invention of letters. "Cette section [De L'ecriture]," says he, "étoit presque achevée, quand l'Essai sur les Hieroglyphes traduit de l'Anglois de M. Warburton me tomba entre les mains: Ouvrage où l'esprit philosophique et l'erudition régnent egalement, &c. mes propres reflexions m'avoient aussi conduit à remarquer que l'écriture n'avoit d'abord été qu' une simple peinture: mais je n'avois point encore tenté de découvrir par quels progrès on étoit arrivé à l'invention des lettres, et il me paroissoit difficile d'y reussir. La chose a été parfaitement executée par M. Warburton, p. 178, sec. partie."—My own countrymen have been less candid: and to them the above addition is owing.

P. 204. SS. *Τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱερῶν γραμμάτων. περὶ τῶν ἐν Μερόῃ ἱερῶν γραμμάτων.* In Vit. Democr. Segm. xlix. lib. 9. But Reinesius and Menage, not apprehending there was any sacred mysterious writing out of Egypt and its confines, will have the *Babylon* here mentioned to be Babylon in Egypt; but they should have reflected how unlikely it was, if Democritus had chosen to write of the *sacred letters of the Egyptians*, that he should denominate his discourse from a place not at all celebrated for their use, when there were so many other that these characters had rendered famous.

P. 207. TT. I have the pleasure to find, that so sensible a writer as the celebrated Mr. Astruc, in his *Conjectures sur la Genese*, has espoused

this opinion, that *alphabetic writing* was in use amongst the Egyptians before the time of Moses: He has likewise adopted the arguments here employed in support of it, as well as this whole theory of *hieroglyphic writing*.

P. 207. UU. Exod. xxviii. 21. *And the stones shall be with the names of the children of* Israel, *twelve, according to their names;* LIKE THE ENGRAVINGS OF A SIGNET, *every one with his name shall they be, according to the twelve tribes.* And again, ver. 36. *And thou shalt make a Plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet,* HOLINESS TO THE LORD. Had letters been invented by MOSES, and unknown till then to the Israelites, would he not naturally have said, when he directed the workmen to engrave names and sentences on stones and gold,—*and in these engravings you shall employ the alphabetic characters which I have now invented and taught you the use of?* On the contrary, he gives them a very different direction; he refers them to a model in familiar use,—*like the engravings of a signet.* For the ancient people of the East engraved names and sentences on their seals, just as the Mahometan princes do at present.—Mr. Fleuri with great ingenuity confesses the high perfection of the arts at this time amongst the Israelites. "Ils sçavoient tailler et graver les pierres precieuses. Ils etoient Menuisiers, Tapissieurs, Brodeurs et Parfumeurs. Entre ces arts, il y en a deux que j'admire principalement: la taille des pierreries, et la fonte des figures, telles qu'étoient les Chérubins de l'Arche et le Veau d'or. Ceux qui ont tant soit peu connoissance des arts, sçavent combien il faut d'artifices et de machines pour ces ouvrages. Si des-lors on les avoit trouvées, on avoit déja bien raffiné, même dans les arts qui ne servent qu'à l'ornement; et si l'on avoit quelque secret pour faire les mêmes choses plus facilement, c'étoit encore une plus grande perfection, ce qui soit dit en passant, pour montrer que cette antiquité si eloignée n'etoit pas grossière et ignorante, comme plusieurs s'imaginent." *Mœurs des Israelites*, sect. 9.

P. 207. XX. A certain anonymous writer, quoted by Crinitus from an ancient MS, in his *de honesta disciplina*, is of this opinion. But I quote him chiefly for his pacific disposition to accommodate and compromise matters, by giving every nation its share in the glory of the invention; not, I mean, of the alphabetic *powers*, but of the various alphabetic *characters:*

> "Moses primus Hebraicas exaravit literas;
> Mente Phœnices sagaci condiderunt Atticas;
> Quas Latini scriptitamus, edidit Nicostrata;
> Abraham Syras, et idem repperit Chaldaicas;
> Isis arte non minore, protulit Ægyptiacas:
> Gulfila promsit Getarum, quas videmus, literas."

P. 213. YY. "Les Iroquois, comme les Lacedemoniens, veulent un discours vif et concis; leur Style est cependant figuré, et *tout metaphorique.*" *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains comparées aux Mœurs des premiers Temps, par Lafitau*, tom. i. p. 580, 4to. And of the various languages of all the people on that great continent in general, he expresseth himself thus, "La plûpart de ces Peuples Occidentaux, quoiqu'avec des Langues tres differentes, ont cependant à peu pres la même genie, la même façon de penser, et les même tours pour s'exprimer;" tom. ii. p. 481. *Condamine* gives pretty much the same account of the Savages of South America. Speaking of their languages he says, "plusieurs sont energiques et susceptibles d'eloquence," &c. p. 54. which can mean no other than that their terms are highly figurative. But this is the universal genius of the lan-

guage of Barbarians. *Egede*, in his *History of Greenland*, says, *the Language is very rich of words and sense; and of such* ENERGY, *that one is often at a loss, and puzzled to render it in Danish*, p. 165. This *energy* is apparently what the French Missionary calls *tout metaphorique*. Quintilian, speaking of *metaphors*, says, "Qua quidem cum ita est ab ipsa nobis concessa natura, ut indocti quoque ac non sentientes ea frequenter utantur," lib. viii. c. 6. which shews, by the way, that Quintilian did not apprehend their true cause or original.—By all this may be seen how much M. Bullet mistakes the matter, where, in his *Memoires sur la langue Celtique*, he says, "*Dans les pays chauds* une imagination ardente decouvre aisement la plus petite ressemblance qu'une chose peut avoir avec une autre. Elle voit d'abord, par exemple, la report qui se trouve entre un homme cruel et une bête feroce; et pour faire connoitre qu' elle apperçoit cette ressemblance elle donne à cet homme le nom de Tigre. *Voila l'origine du langage figuré et metaphorique.* Dans *les pays froides*, où l'imagination n'a pas une vivacité pareille, on se sert *de terms propres pour exprimer chaque chose*, ou appelle tout par son nom." Vol. i. p. 6. But we find the fact to be just otherwise.

P. 213. ZZ. Κατὰ δὲ τὰς ὁμιλίας βραχυλόγοι, καὶ αἰνιγματίαι, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αἰνιττόμενοι συνεκδοχικῶς· πολλὰ δὲ λέγοντες ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς.—p. 213. This being the nature and genius common to all the barbarous nations upon earth, I am almost tempted to believe *Geofry of Monmouth*, when he says, that he translated his worthy history of Britain from the Welch; of which, his original, he gives this character,—*Phallerata verba et ampullosæ dictiones.* If this was not so, one can hardly tell why he should mention a circumstance that neither recommended his copy nor his original. But the character of the ballads of the old Welch Bards fully supports Diodorus's account of the style of the ancient Gauls.

P. 214. AAA. But the important use to which the very learned the Abbé *de Condillac* has employed all that has been here said on this matter, may be seen in his excellent Essay on the origin of human Knowledge, Part ii. which treats of Language.

P. 214. BBB. Quintilian makes an objector to the *figurative style* argue thus,—"Antiquissimum quemque maxime secundum naturam dixisse contendunt; mox Poetis similiores extitisse, etiamsi parciùs, simili tamen ratione, falsa et impropria virtutes ducentes." On which he observes—"qua in disputatione non nihil veri est."—It is true, there is *something of truth* in it, and indeed, not much; for though the polishers of human speech did, as the objector says, turn the improprieties of speech into ornament, it is utterly false that the most ancient speakers used only simple and proper terms.

P. 217. CCC. So I thought: and so it has been generally thought. But M. de Beausobre, in his *Histoire de Manichée*, lib. iv. cap. 4. has made it probable, that the heretics had no hand in these *Abraxas*, but that they are altogether Pagan.

P. 217. DDD. This charm, which the Arabs called *Talisman* or *Tsalimam*, the later Greeks, when they had borrowed the superstition, called ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ; which shews of what house they supposed it to have come; στοιχεῖα being, as we have observed, the technical Greek name for *hieroglyphic* characters.

P. 217. EEE. The same error has made the half-paganized Marsilius Ficinus fall into the idle conceit, that the *Golden Calf* was only a *Talisman*:—"Hebræi quoque" (says he) "in Ægypto nutriti, struere vitulum aureum didicerant, ut eorundem astrologi putant, ad aucupandum veneris

lunæque favorem, contra Scorpionis atque Martis influxum Judæis infestum."—*De Vita Cœlit. Com.* l. iii. c. 13.

P. 218. FFF. This Discourse on the EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS hath had the same fortune abroad, that the Discourse on the BOOK OF JOB hath had at home: Like this, it hath been the occasion of much waste paper, and violation of common sense. For the Discourse on the Hieroglyphics having been well translated and well received in France, both the *subject* and the *author* became known enough to invite all *gentlemen scholars*, better able to entertain the Public, to oblige us with their ingenious conjectures; and many a French pen, even to that of a captain of grenadiers, hath been drawn, to shew that the nature of Hieroglyphics is yet as unknown as ever. A nameless dissertator, *sur l'Ecriture Hieroglyphique*, (who chuses to write, as he himself very truly says, in his title-page,—*sub luce maligna*) assures us, that Hieroglyphics were not a species of writing to convey intelligence to the reader, but a mere ornament upon stone, to entertain the eye of the spectator: So there is an end of the SUBJECT. The learned captain, who wheels in a larger circle, and takes in all the wisdom of Egypt, laments with much humanity, the superficiality and ignorance of all who have gone before him, and their utter incapacity of getting to the source of things: So there is an end of the AUTHOR. Indeed, the Journalist who recommends this important work to the public seems to have his doubts as to this point.—"N'est ce pas s'avancer un peu trop" (says he), "et peut-on dire que MARSHAM pour la Chronologie et l'Histoire, M. WARBURTON pour les Hieroglyphes, et d'autres sçavans ayent negligé de consulter les sources?"

To say the truth, these wonderful investigators of the learning of ancient Egypt, by the mere dint of modern ingenuity, had *provocation* enough to fall upon this unlucky Discourse, which no sooner appeared amongst them in the fine translation of a very learned French lawyer, than the celebrated writers of the Journal des Sçavans, of March, 1744, and of Trevoux of July, in the same year, announced it to the public in these terms. "Il regne" (says the first) "une si belle analogie dans le systeme de Mr. Warburton, et toutes ses parties tiennent les unes aux autres par un lien si naturel, qu'on est porté à croire que l'origine, et les progrès de l'ecriture et du language ont été tels qu'il les a decrits. Le public doit avoir bien de l'obligation au Traducteur de lui avoir fait connoitre un Ouvrage si curieux."—"M. Warburton" (says the other) "n'a pu sans une erudition profonde, une lecture murement digerée et des reflexions infinies traiter avec tant de precision, de justesse et de netteté, un sujet de lui même si difficile à mettre en œuvre. Les plus savans hommes se sont laissé seduire sur l'origine des Hieroglyphes; et la plupart ont regardé un effet du peu d'experience des Egyptiens comme un refinement de la plus mysterieuse sagesse. C'est cette erreur que M. Warburton s'applique particulierement à detruire dans la premiere partie. Il le fait de la maniere la plus naturelle. Ce n'est point un systeme fondé SUR DES IMAGINATIONS VAGUES. Ses raisonnemens, ses preuves, sont appuiées sur des FAITS, sur la NATURE des choses, et sur LES PRINCIPES LES PLUS LUMINEUX DU SENS COMMUN."

P. 219. GGG. Amongst the rest, the author of *Sacred and Profane History connected;* who says: "We have no reason to think that these hieroglyphics [namely, what we call the *curiologic*] were so ancient as the first letters:" This is his first answer to the opinion that hieroglyphics were more ancient. His second is in these words: "They would have been a very imperfect character; many, nay most occurrences, would be represented by them but by halves," vol. ii. p. 295. Now this to me

appears a very good argument why *hieroglyphics* were indeed the *first* rude effort towards recording the human conceptions; and still, a better, why they could not be the *second*, when men had already found out the more compleat method of alphabetic letters.

P. 220. HHH. What hath been said above of the reason why *Egypt* alone continued their *hieroglyphic* characters after the invention of *letters*, and why all other nations thenceforward left them off, will give an easy solution to what a curious traveller seems to think matter of some wonder, namely, that "the symbolic learning was the only part of Egyptian wisdom not translated into Greece." [*Dr. Shaw's Travels*, p. 391.]—But if this learned man meant not *hieroglyphic characters*, but only the *mode* of Egyptian wisdom employed therein, he raises a wonder out of his own mistake: that mode was *translated into Greece* with the rest; for the precepts of Pythagoras were a fantastic kind of *translation* of hieroglyphic pictures into verbal propositions; and on that account, doubtless, called SYMBOLS:—Μάλιστα (says Plutarch) δὲ οὗτος [ὁ Πυθαγόρας] ὡς ἔοικε, θαυμασθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀπεμιμήσατο τὸ συμβολικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστηριῶδες, ἀναμίξας αἰνίγμασι τὰ δόγματα· τῶν γὰρ καλουμένων γραμμάτων ἱερογλυφικῶν οὐθὲν ἀπολείπει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν παραγγελμάτων, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ Μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐπὶ δίφρου, μηδ' ἐπὶ χοίνικος καθῆσθαι, μηδὲ φοίνικα φυτεύειν, μηδὲ πῦρ μαχαίρῃ σκαλεύειν ἐν οἰκίᾳ. *De Is. et Os.* p. 632. Edit. Steph. 8vo. Αὐτίκα τῆς βαρβάρου (says Clemens Alex.) φιλοσοφίας, πάνυ σφόδρα ἐπικεκρυμμένης ἤρτηται τὰ Πυθαγόρια ΣΥΜΒΟΛΑ. παραίνει γοῦν ὁ Σάμιος χελιδόνα ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὴ ἔχειν, τουτέστι, λάλον καὶ ψίθυρον καὶ πρόγλωσσον ἄνθρωπον, &c. *Strom.* lib. v. p. 558. Edit. Colon. 1688, fol.

P. 221. III. The reader may now see how inconsiderately the learned W. Baxter pronounced upon the matter when he said, "The ἱέρα γράμματα of the *Egyptians* were *notæ sacræ* borrowed from the Onirocritics, and therefore divine." [App. to his *Gloss. Antiq. Rom.* pag. 414.] Nor does the more judicious Mr. Daubuz conclude less erroneously, when he supposes that both *onirocritic* and *hieroglyphics* stood upon one common foundation. But he was misled by Kircher, and certain late Greek writers, who pretended that the *ancient Egyptians* had I can't tell what notion of a close union between visible bodies in heaven, the invisible deities, and this inferior world, by such a concatenation from the highest to the lowest, that the affections of the higher link reached the lower throughout the whole chain; for that the intellectual world is so exact a copy and idea of the visible, that nothing is done in the visible, but what is decreed before and exemplified in the intellectual. [*Prelim. Discourse to his Comm. on the* REVELATIONS.] This was the senseless jargon of Jamblichus, Porphyry, Proclus, and the rest of that fanatic tribe of Pythagorean-Platonists; and this they obtruded on the world for old Egyptian wisdom; the vanity of which pretence has been confuted in the first volume. It is hard to say whether these Enthusiasts believed themselves, there is such an equal mixture of folly and knavery in all their writings: however, it is certain, Kircher believed them.

P. 222. KKK. But hieroglyphic writing, as we have observed, not only furnished rules of interpretation for their Onirocritics, but figures of speech for their Orators. So Isaiah expresseth the king of Assyria's invasion of Judea by the *stretching out of his* WINGS, *to fill the breadth of the land*:* And afterwards, prophesying against Egypt and Ethiopia, he says, *Wo to the land shadowing with* WINGS.† Most of the interpreters, indeed, explain

* Isai. viii. 8. † Isai. xviii. 1.

wings to signify the sails of their vessels on the Nile: but the expression evidently means, in general, the over-shadowing with a mighty power: of which *wings* in hieroglyphic language were the emblem.

P. 222. LLL. Thus Suidas on the word ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ· *αἱ εἰκόνες καὶ διαπλάσεις τῶν ὀνείρων αἱ δι' ὀλίγου ἢ πολλοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἔκβασιν ἔχουσαι.* Artemidorus tells us this was the *technical word* for the phantasms in dreams: *Ὄνειρός ἐστι, κίνησις ἢ πλάσις ψυχῆς πολυσχήμων· σημαντικὴ τῶν ἐσομένων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν· τούτου δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντος, ὅσα μὲν ἀποβήσεται μεταξὺ χρόνου διελθόντος, ἢ πολλοῦ, ἢ ὀλίγου, ταῦτα πάντα δι' εἰκόνων ἰδίων φυσικῶν τῶν καὶ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ καλουμένων, προαγορεύει ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον νομίζουσα ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι λογισμῷ διδασκομένους τὰ ἐσόμενα μαθεῖν. Oneir.* lib. i. cap. 2. And in his fourth book he begins a chapter which he entitles *περὶ* ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ in this manner: *Περὶ δὲ τῶν* ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ *πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφθόνως εἰρῆσθαι δοκοῦντας, οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἁρμόσει, ὅπως ἔχῃς ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατηθῇς ὑπὸ τῶν πλείονα λεγόντων εἶναι.* cap. 3.

P. 222. MMM. But the learned Daubuz, in consequence of his trusting to the fanatic notion of the late Greek philosophers, supposes that hieroglyphic marks were called Στοιχεῖα, because the first composers of them *used the heavenly bodies to represent the notions of their minds, there being, according to them, a mystic sympathetic union and analogy between heavenly and earthly things;* consequently that Στοιχεῖα, in this use, signifies the *host of heaven:* That it may do so, according to the genius of the Greek tongue, he endeavours to prove by its coming from στείχω, which is a military term, and signifies to *march in order.* [p. 10. of the *Prel. Disc.*] But this learned man should on this occasion have remembered his own quotation from the excellent Quintilian, p. 54. *that analogy is not founded upon reason, but example. Non ratione nititur analogia, sed exemplo; nec lex est loquendi, sed observatio: ut ipsam analogiam nulla res alia fecerit, quam consuetudo.* Inst. lib. i. cap. 10.

P. 222. NNN. Here perhaps I shall be told, with the candour I have commonly experienced, that I have applied the history of Pharaoh's *dream* in illustrating the old Pagan method of onirocritic for no other purpose than to discredit Joseph's prophetic interpretation of it: Therefore, though this matter be explained afterwards at large, I must here inform the reader, of what every one will be content to know, except such as these, who never think but to suspect and never suspect but to accuse, that when GOD pleases to deal with men by his ministers, he generally condescends to treat them according to their infirmities; a method which hath all the marks of highest wisdom as well as goodness. Phantasms in dreams were superstitiously thought to be *symbolical:* GOD, therefore, when it was his good pleasure to send dreams to Pharaoh, made the foundation of them two well-known symbols; and this, doubtless, in order to engage the dreamer's more serious attention: But then to confound the Egyptian *Onirocritics*, these dreams were so circumstanced with matters foreign to the principles of their art, that there was need of a truly divine Interpreter to decipher them.

P. 223. OOO. But if you will believe a late writer, *Animal-worship* was so far from coming from *Hieroglyphics*, that Hieroglyphics came out of Animal-worship. This is an unexpected change of the scene; but, for our comfort, it is only the forced consequence of a false hypothesis, which will be well considered in its place: "The *hieroglyphical* inscriptions of the Egyptians" (says he) "are pretty full of the figures of birds, fishes, beasts, and men, with a few letters sometimes between them; and this

alone is sufficient to *hint* to us, that they could not come into use before the animals, represented in inscriptions of this sort, were become by allegory and mythology capable of expressing various things by their having been variously used in the ceremonies of their religion." *Connect. of the Sacred and Profane History*, vol. ii. p. 294. But if this were the case, How came these animals to be *so capable* of expressing by *allegory* and *mythology*? or in other words, How came they to be the objects of worship? We are yet to seek; and it must be more than a *hint* that can supply us with a reason.

P. 226. PPP. As unanswerable a proof as this appears to be, that the *living Animal* was not yet worshiped in Egypt, (for if it were, what occasion for this trouble and expence?) yet a learned German, so oddly are men's heads sometimes framed, brings this circumstance to prove that the *living Animal* was at this time worshiped in Egypt.—"Eadem historia Mosaica cultus vivorum animalium in Ægypto, vestigia alia non inficienda, tum sæpe alias, tum vero omnium clarissime in VITULO AUREO nobis offert." *Jablonski, Pantheon Ægyptiorum Prolegom.* p. 85.

P. 228. QQQ. SIS, in the eastern languages, signified a *swallow;* under whose form, as this fable says, Isis concealed herself: and BUBASTE, which signifies a *cat*, was the Egyptian name of Diana, who lay hid under that shape. Hence the learned Bochart supposes, in his usual way, that the original of this fable was only an equivoque of some Greek story-teller, whose countrymen delighted in the marvellous. But 1. The fable was not of Greek invention, if we may believe Diodorus and Lucian; the latter of whom, speaking of the Egyptian account of it, says, *ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμέλει ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ἀπόκειται γραφέντα, πρὶν ἢ πρὸ ἑτῶν μυρίων, de sacrificiis.* 2. This only places the difficulty a step backward, without removing it: For one might ask, How came the Egyptian name of Diana to signify a *cat;* or the word Sis or Isis to signify a *swallow*? Can any other good reason be given, but that these Goddesses were expressed by such *symbols* in hieroglyphic writing? Agreeably to this, Horapollo tells us [lib. i. cap. 7.] that the *hieroglyphic* for the *soul* was a *hawk*, which in the Egyptian tongue was called *Baieth*, a word compounded of *Bai* and *Eth*, the first of which signified, in that language, the *soul;* the other the *heart:* for according to the Egyptians the heart was the enclosure of the soul. But if this were the case, what we have given above seems the more natural original of the story.

P. 230, RRR. *Ipsi, qui irridentur, Ægyptii, nullam beluam, nisi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ex ea caperent, consecraverunt.—Ita concludam tamen beluas a Barbaris propter beneficium consecratas.* Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 36. This, in the person of *Cotta the academic.* How ill it agrees with what the same Cotta says afterwards, I have shewn above: "*Omne ferè genus* Bestiarum Ægyptii consecraverunt." lib. iii. cap. 15. Now this being a fact, and the other but a speculation, we see the reason has no weight. The wonder is that Tully should not see it. But the notion was plausible, and antiquity seemed enamoured of it. When Plutarch [*Is. et Os.*] had said, the Jews worshiped swine; not content with this simple calumny, he invents a reason for it; and takes up this which lay so commodious for these occasions; namely, gratitude to that animal for having taught men to plow the ground.

P. 230. SSS. A passage in Eusebius strongly confirms our opinion of the origin of brute-worship; and, consequently, accounts for the adoration paid to *noxious* animals: Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς πάλιν περὶ τῶν Φοινίκων στοιχείων ἐκ τῶν Σαγχουνιαθῶνος μεταβαλὼν, δέα ὁποῖά φησι περὶ τῶν ἑρπυστικῶν καὶ ἰοβόλων θηρίων, ἃ δὴ χρῆσιν μὲν ἀγαθὴν ἀνθρώποις οὐδεμίαν συντελεῖ, φθορὰν δὲ καὶ

λύμην οἷς ἂν τὸν δυσαλθῆ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἰὸν ἐγχρίμψειεν ἀπεργάζεται· γράφει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὡρὸς λέξιν ὧδέ πως λέγων Τὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ Δράκοντος φύσιν καὶ τῶν Ὄφεων αὐτὸς ἐξεθείασεν ὁ Τάαυτος, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν αὖθις Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. [*Pr. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10.] *Consider again what he* [*Philo*] *says in his translation of Sanchoniatho's discourse of the Phœnician elements, concerning* certain reptiles and other venomous animals, *which not only bring no benefit to man, but convey certain mischief and destruction on whomsoever they shed their deadly venom. These are his very words. Taautus therefore* consecrated *the species of dragons and serpents, and the Phœnicians and Egyptians followed him in this superstition.* The quotation from Philo then goes on to shew, from the nature of the serpent-kind, why it was made a symbol of the Divinity. The discourse of Sanchoniathon here mentioned, as translated by Philo, was part of a larger work, which he wrote concerning the Phœnician and Egyptian wisdom and learning, and treated of *hieroglyphic characters*, as appears from the title of Φοινίκων ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ, which latter word I have shewn to be the technical term for *hieroglyphics:* but how a digression concerning the consecration of noxious animals should come into this discourse, unless the author understood *hieroglyphics* to be the origin of *brute-worship*, is difficult to conceive.

P. 234. TTT. And it is remarkable that this, which was done to hide the ignominy of *vulgar Paganism*, the advocates of the Church of Rome have lately revived to hide the ignominy of *vulgar Popery*, in their saint-worship: nothing having been of late more fashionable amongst the French Philologists than the contending against that most established doctrine of early Antiquity, that the greater Gods of Paganism were all dead men deified. "Il soit aisé de prouver" (says one of them) "que, de tous les Dieux du Paganisme, Hercule, Castor et Pollux sont les seuls qui aient eté veritablement des hommes." *Hist. de l'Academie Royale des Inscript. &c.* tom. xxiii. p. 17.

P. 235. UUU. Winckelman, in his *Histoire de l'Art chez les Anciens*, vol. i. p. 97, says I am mistaken, in supposing it to be made at Rome. And that this is an opinion I have adopted without any foundation—"il ne paroît avoir adopté cette opinion, destituée de fondement, que parce qu'elle cadre avec son systeme." That I told my opinion, because it quadrated with my system, is certain. But that it is not without *foundation* he might have understood by the very hint I gave of the *devotees of Isis in Rome.* These were very numerous, and had the liberty of celebrating their own country rites. And when they had this, it would be hard upon them not to permit a Roman Artificer to make them one of the proper implements of their worship, and decent furniture for their temple. The Jews at the same time had the like indulgence in Rome, and without doubt made the like use of it in directing Roman workmen to make them utensils like these, once employed in their Temple worship. Now should one of these chance to fall into the hands of an antiquarian of the size of Winckelman, he would say they could never have been made at Rome, but at Jerusalem, for that they were entirely different from the stile of the Roman school. And this wise remark Winckelman makes with regard to the *Bembine Table*—"les Hieroglyphes qui s'y trouvent, et qu'on ne voit sur aucun ouvrage *imité* par les Romains, en prouvent l'antiquité et refutent *d'avance* tous les sentimens qui pourroient y être contraires." But after all how does he know but that the Romans might be at one time as fond of *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* as we in England (whom he says have neither art nor taste) have lately been of *Chinese filigrane?* Would he therefore, because there is certainly as wide a difference between the Chinese and the

English stile as there was between the Egyptian and the Roman, deprive us of a fashion which we have been at so much pains to make our own? They seem to have been fond enough of Hieroglyphics when they were at so much cost and labour of transporting to Rome the gigantic Obelisques covered all over with them. And though the grandees procured these for their bulk, and not for their literature, the common people might mistake, and grow fond of these overbearing strangers, for the sake of their imputed learning, which they might take upon trust, and be ready to transcribe into smaller volumes, such as the *Bembine Table*. In a word, the good man, with all the advantage of eye-sight—"je n'ai parlé," says he, "que de ce que j'ai vu"—has not been able to distinguish between works which a Roman artificer was employed to make for a *Barbarian* customer, and those he made according to his own fancy, or on Grecian rules, to please the more elegant taste of his own countrymen.

P. 240. XXX. To this I shall be bold to add one or two more: For though Antiquity be full and clear in this matter, yet lest it should be said, that as the Greeks talk of things done long before their time, it might very well be that, for the credit of the God, tradition would pretend a very early deification, how short soever, in reality, of the age of the hero; lest this, I say, should be objected, I shall give an instance or two of the fact from contemporary evidence. God speaking by the Prophet to the king of Tyre says: *Thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man and not God.—Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am a God? but thou shalt be a man and no God, in the hand of him that slayeth thee,* Ezek. xxviii. 2—9. This I understand to denote a real worship paid to the living king of Tyre, by his idolatrous subjects: it is not unlikely but he afterwards became one of the *Greek Neptunes*. The Rabbins seem to have understood the text in this sense, when, as Jerom observes, they made him to have lived a thousand years. For the Egyptians taught (whose ceremonial of the *apotheosis* was followed by the rest of the nations) that their first God-Kings reigned a thousand or twelve hundred years a-piece. Μυθολογοῦσι (says Diodorus) δὲ καὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους βασιλεῦσαι ὥλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων ἐτῶν.—p. 15. We have already taken notice of Odin and his early consecration. But Tacitus assures us, it was a general custom amongst the Northern Barbarians to deify without loss of time: and this not in jest, like their contemporary Romans. For speaking of the German nations he says: *Ea virgo* [Velleda] *nationis Bructeræ late imperitabat:* VETERE *apud Germanos* MORE, *quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas, et* augescente superstitione, *arbitrentur* DEAS, lib. iv. hist. And again of the same heroine: *Vidimus* DIVO *Vespasiano* Velledam, *diu apud plerosque* NUMINIS LOCO *habitam. Sed et olim Auriniam, et complures alias venerati sunt,* NON ADULATIONE NEC TANQUAM FACERENT DEAS. Here the historian hints at the mock deifications in Rome, and insinuates, that these in Germany were of another nature, and believed in good earnest.

P. 245. YYY. This paradox, as we say, is advanced in defiance of Antiquity. The *Mysteries*, in their secret communications, taught that ALL THE NATIONAL GODS WERE DEAD MEN DEIFIED. Of this we are assured by the express testimony of the most learned ancients, both Gentile and Christian; Cicero, Julius Firmicus, Plutarch, Eusebius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, and St. Austin. See the first volume of the *Divine Legation*. And will this author pretend to say, that the institutors of the *Mysteries* did not know the true original of their national Gods? But we

have much more than their bare testimony; almost every rite in the ancient worship of these Gods declared them to be DEAD MORTALS: such as the solemn mournings and lamentations with which they began their celebrations; the custom of never coming to worship empty-handed, but with a present, as was the Eastern use when they approached their princes; the building sumptuous houses for their Gods, and setting meat before them for their refreshment; with a number of other domestic usages, too tedious to dwell upon. Thus the clearest facts and most creditable testimony concur to support this notorious truth; a truth, which they who most eagerly defended Paganism, and they who most maliciously undermined it; as well the ministers of the *Mysteries*, as Euhemerus and his followers, equally allowed. On what then is this author's paradox supported? On the common foundation of most modern philologic systems, ETYMOLOGIES; which, like fungous excrescencies, spring up from old Hebrew roots, mythologically cultivated. To be let into this new method of improving barren sense, we are to understand, that in the ancient oriental tongues the few *primitive* words must needs bear many different significations; and the numerous *derivatives* be infinitely equivocal. Hence any thing may be made of Greek proper names, by turning them to Oriental sounds, so as to suit every system, past, present, and to come. To render this familiar to the reader by example: M. Pluche's system is, that the Gentile Gods came from *Agriculture:* All he wants then, is to pick out (consonant to the Greek proper names) Hebrew words which signify a *plow, tillage*, or *ears of corn;* and so his business is done. Another comes, let it be Fourmont, and he brings news, that the Greek Gods were *Moses* or *Abraham;* and the same ductile sounds produce, from the same primitive words, a *chief*, a *leader*, or a *true believer;* and then, to use his words, *Nier qu'il s'agisse ici du seul Abraham, c'est être aveugle d'esprit et d'un aveuglement irremediable.* A third and fourth appear upon the scene, suppose them, Le Clerc and Bannier; who, prompted by the learned Bochart, say, that the Greek Gods were only *Phenician voyagers;* and then, from the same ready sources, flow *navigation, ships*, and *negociators.* And when any one is at a loss in this game of crambo, which can never happen but by being duller than ordinary, the kindred dialects of the Chaldee and Arabic lie always ready to make up their deficiencies. To give an instance of all this in the case of poor distressed OSIRIS, whom hostile Critics have driven from his family and friends, and reduced to a mere vagabond upon earth. M. Pluche derives his name from *Ochosi-erets, domaine de la terre;* Mr. Fourmont from *Hoscheiri, habitant de Seir*, the dwelling of Esau, who is his Osiris; and Vossius from *Sicher* or *Sior*, one of the scripture names for the Nile. I have heard of an old humourist, and a great dealer in etymologies, who boasted, *That he not only knew whence Words came, but whither they were going.* And indeed, on any system-maker's telling me his Scheme, I will undertake to shew *whither all his old words are going:* for in strict propriety of speech they cannot be said to be *coming from*, but *going to* some old Hebrew root.—There are certain follies (of which this seems to be in the number) whose ridicule strikes so strongly, that it is felt even by those who are most subject to commit them. Who that has read M. Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica*, would have expected to see him satirise, with so much spirit, the very nonsense with which his own learned book abounds? "Le veritable usage de la connoissance des langues étant perdu, l'abus y a succédé. On s'en est servi pour ETYMOLOGISER—on veut trouver dans l'Hebreu et ses dialectes le source de tous les mots et de toutes les langues, toutes les barbares et étranges

qu'elles puissent être—Se presente-t-il un nom de quelque Roi d'Ecosse ou de Norvége, on se met aux champs avec ses conjectures; on en va chercher l'origine dans la Palestine. A-t-on de la peine à l'y rencontrer? On passe en Babylone. Ne s'y trouve-il point, l'Arabie n'est pas loin: et en un besoin même on pousseroit jusqu'en Ethiopie, plutot que de se trouver court d'ETYMOLOGIES: et l'on bat tant de païs qu'il est impossible enfin qu'on ne trouve un mot qui ait quelque convenance de lettres et de son avec celui, dont on cherche l'origine.—Par cet art on trouve dans l'Hebreu ou ses dialectes, l'origine des noms du Roi Artur, et tous les Chevaliers de la Table ronde; de Charlemagne, et des douze pairs de France; et même en un besoin de tous les Yncas du Perou. Par cet art, un Allemand que j'ai connu, prouvoit que Priam avoit été le même qu'Abraham; et Æneas le même que Jonas."—*Lettre au Bochart.* On such subjects as these, however, this trifling can do no great harm. But when, by a strange fatality of the times, it is transferred from matters of profane Antiquity, to such important questions as the redemption of mankind, and faith in the Messiah, we are ready to execrate a Caballistic madness which exposes our holy religion to the scorn and derision of every unbeliever, whose bad principles have not yet deprived him of all remains of common sense.

P. 260. ZZZ. As Sir Isaac's own words seem so much to shake his system, I shall quote them at length: "The lower part of Egypt being yearly overflowed by the Nile, was scarce inhabited before the invention of corn, which made it useful: and the king, who by this invention first peopled it and reigned over it, perhaps the king of the city Mesir, where Memphis was afterwards built, seems to have been worshiped by his subjects after death, in the ox or calf, for this benefaction," p. 197, 198.

P. 260. AAAA. I apprehend such mistakes were pretty general in the traditional accounts of nations, concerning their early times. Garcillasso's history of the YNCAS affords us just such another instance. "Ils pretendent" (says the French translator) "qu'un de leur Rois fût un grand *Legislateur.* Ils disent de plus, qu'il fût un excellent capitaine, qui *conquit un grand nombre de Provinces et de Royaumes.* Mais pour le tirer de ce Labyrinte, ils *attribuent au premier Ynca tous ces choses,* tant pour ce qui est de leurs Loix, que du fondement de leur Empire." Vol. i. p. 150.

P. 263. BBBB. Julius Cæsar had so little doubt of this matter, that speaking of the Gauls, he says, *Deum maximè* Mercurium *colunt—Post hunc,* Apollinem et Martem et Jovem et Minervam. *De his eandem ferè, quam reliquæ gentes, habent opinionem.* De Bell. Gall. l. vi. sect. 15. The reason he gives is, that the several Gods of Gaul had attributes correspondent to those of Greece and Rome. Hence he, and most other writers, concluded them to be the same. So Tacitus observes of the Germans, that they worshiped Mercury, Hercules, and Mars, "deorum maxime Mercurium colunt—Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant." [*De Mor. Ger.* c. ix.] and speaking of the Æstii, a nation of the Suevians, he says, they worshiped the *mother of the Gods.—Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris littore Æstiorum gentes adluuntur: quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior.* Matrem Deûm venerantur. [c. 45.] But this *Mother of the Gods* was, as we learn from the ancient Northern Chronicles, an idol peculiar to those people, called Solotta Babba, or *the golden woman.* Yet as she most resembled the *Mother of the Gods,* she is called so by Tacitus without any hesitation: who yet, in another place, speaking of the worship paid to Castor and Pollux amongst this people, gives us to understand by his expression that no more was meant than that the Germans had a couple of Gods whose attributes and relation to one another bore a resemblance to the

Greek and Roman *Dioscuri*. "Præsidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed Deos, *interpretatione Romana*, Castorem Pollucemque memorant." [c. 43.] But what greatly confirms our opinion is, that, when these people were converted from Paganism to the Christian faith, their Convertists, who had the best opportunities and fittest occasion to enquire thoroughly into the state of their superstition, found neither Greek nor Roman Gods amongst them; but Idols of their own growth only. And though, indeed, the vulgar herd of Antiquarians, misled by the Classic writers, are wont to speak after them, in this matter, yet the most learned investigators of the history of this people expressly affirm the contrary. Of whom I need only mention the celebrated Saxo Grammaticus, who says, "Eos qui a nostris colebantur non esse quos Romanorum vetustissimi Jovem Mercuriumque dixere, vel quibus Græci Latiumque plenum superstitionis obsequium exsolverunt, ex ipsa liquidò feriarum appellatione colligitur." *Hist. Dan.* l. vi. But Tacitus has recorded a circumstance which fully evinces the mistake of this supposed identity. For when he had told us that the Germans worshiped Mercury, Hercules, Mars, &c. he immediately adds, that they did not worship their Gods in Temples, nor under a Human figure. "Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur." [c. ix.] I quote the words for the *fact*. The *reason* seems to be a conjecture of his own. Now if the Germans had borrowed their Mercury, Hercules, and Mars, from Greece and Rome, they probably would have worshiped them in Temples; most certainly, under a Human form. And, what is strangest of all, Tacitus himself afterwards, in the case of the Naharvali, seems to be sensible of this; for having told us that they worshiped two young Brother-Gods, which the Romans conjectured to be Castor and Pollux, he makes the following observation, as seeming to dissent from them. "Nulla SIMULACRA, nullum peregrinæ superstitionis vestigium," c. xliii.

A celebrated French author, M. Freret, has borrowed and adopted this system. He holds with me, that the Gods of these Barbarians were not the same with the Greek and Roman Gods; and that the mistake arose from the resemblance between their attributes, which he shews, in the manner I have done (and I suppose from the observations I had made) must needs be alike. "Chaque Dieu dans toute religion Polytheiste avoit son district, ses occupations, son caractere, &c. Le partage avoit été réglé sur les passions et sur les besoins des hommes: et comme leurs passions et leurs besoins sont les mêmes par tout, les départemens des Dieux barbares avoient necessairement du rapport avec ceux des divinités de la Grèce. Il falloit par tout une intelligence qui gouvernât le ciel, et qui lancât le tonnerre. Il en falloit d'autres pour gouverner les élémens, pour présider à la guerre, au commerce, à la paix, &c. La conformité des emplois entraînoit une ressemblance d'attributs: et c'étoit sur ce fondement, que les Grecs et les Romains donnoient les noms de leurs Dieux aux divinités des Barbares."—Voiez *M. de la Bleterie, ses remarques sur la Germanie de Tacit.* p. 135.

In conclusion; the learned reader will remark, that this is a species of that general *conformity* which I had observed is commonly ascribed to *imitation*, when in truth its source is in our common nature, and the similar circumstances in which the partakers of it are generally found. Here again I have the pleasure of finding this M. Freret agree with me in this general principle, as before in the particular system of polytheism here advanced. "Il seroit utile, dit M. Freret, de rassembler les conformités qui se trouvent entre des nations qu'on sait n'avoir jamais eu de commerce ensemble. Ces

exemples pourroient rendre les critiques un peu moins hardis à supposer qu'une nation a emprunté certains opinions et certains coûtumes d'une autre nation, dont elle étoit séparée par une très-grande distance, et avec qui l'on ne voit point qu'elle ait jamais eu la moindre communication." See *M. de la Bleterie*, p. 168. and compare it with what I had said many years before at the end of the last section of this IVth Book. When I reflect upon the honours of this kind, which several writers of this *humane* nation have done me in silence, it puts me in mind of what Muret says of Macrobius on the like occasion,—"ut appareat eum factitasse eandem artem, quam plerique hoc sæculo faciunt, qui ita humani a se nihil alienum putant, ut alienis æquè utantur ac suis."

P. 264. CCCC. It is remarkable, that though Herodotus tells us, these Pelasgians, before their knowledge or admission of the *Egyptian names*, sacrificed to their Gods, [Ἔθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἵδε Πελασγοὶ], yet when they had admitted these *names*, he gives the matter of sacrificing as one change which this admission had introduced; *from that time*, says he, *they sacrificed* [ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυον]. A passage in Julius Cæsar will explain this difficulty: After he had given an account of the Gods of the Gauls, who, living under a civil policy, worshiped Hero-gods; he goes on to those of the uncivilized Germans, which, he tells us, were only the celestial Luminaries and Elements. *Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum opibus apertè juvantur;* Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam. *Reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.* De Bell. Gall. l. vi. sect. 19. The very Gods, as we observed, of all the uncivilized idolaters upon earth. Now of these Barbarians he adds, *Neque* Druides *habent, qui rebus divinis præsint; neque* SACRIFICIIS STUDENT. They were not nice and exact in the matter of *sacrificing:* and no wonder, for he tells us, they had no Priests. Now Herodotus, speaking of his Barbarians, informs us of the same thing, though in other words, and on a different occasion. *They sacrificed*, says he, *every thing without distinction;* this was the *neque sacrificiis student* of Cæsar. But when they came to use the *names* of the Egyptian Gods, then ἔθυον, *they sacrificed*, i. e. made a *study* of it, had a large Ritual concerning it, and no longer sacrificed without distinction. For these *names* being expressive of each God's peculiar nature, qualities, and dispositions, soon introduced a distinction of sacrifices, according to the imaginary agreement or disagreement between the *subject* and the *object*.

P. 265. DDDD. This *communication of names* (from whence the men we are arguing against inferred, that the Grecian Gods were originally Egyptian) made another party, such as Bochart, Huet, and Fourmont, conclude they were originally Jewish. Thus the last of these writers in one place says, *Par tout ce discours il est clair, que les Romains, les Grecs, les Phrygiens, les Thraces, les Getes, les autres Scythes, et en general tous les peuples Guerriers ont adoré* MARS sans le connoître, *et que c'etoit un Dieu originaire-ment Phenicien, comme les autres grands Dieux.* [*Refl. Crit.* vol. i. p. 103.] And in another place, *Mais en voilà assez sur ce Dieu ou Heros, qui, comme l'on voit, avoit été fort illustre* SANS ETRE CONNU. [p. 156.] For, according to these Critics, a pagan Hero was never *known* till his pedigree had been traced up into the Holy family.

P. 269. EEEE. But, besides the Greek and Egyptian, there was certainly an *Indian* BACCHUS: whose existence and history the learned Mr. Shuckford has well disembarrassed. I shall quote his words, and this with more pleasure than I have yet done on most occasions. "There have been several persons called by the name of *Bacchus;* at least one in *India*, one in *Egypt*, and one in *Greece;* but we must not confound them one with the

other, especially when we have remarkable hints by which we may sufficiently distinguish them. For, 1. The Indian Bacchus was the first and most ancient of all that bore that name. 2. He was the first that pressed the grape and made wine. 3. He lived in these parts before there were any cities in India. 4. They say he was twice born, and that he was nourished in the thigh of *Jupiter*. These are the particulars which the Heathen writers give us of the Indian Bacchus; and from all these hints it must unquestionably appear that he was NOAH, and no other. Noah being the first man in the *post-diluvian* world, lived early enough to be the most ancient Bacchus; and Noah, according to Moses, was the first that made wine. Noah lived in those parts as soon as he came out of the ark, earlier than there were any cities built in India; and as to the last circumstance of Bacchus being twice born, and brought forth out of the thigh of Jupiter, Diodorus gives us an unexpected light into the true meaning of this tradition; he says, *that Bacchus was said to be twice born, because in Deucalion's flood he was thought to have perished with the rest of the world, but* GOD *brought him again as by a second nativity into the sight of men, and they say, mythologically, that he came out of the thigh of Jupiter.*" Connection, vol. ii. p. 49, 50.

P. 273. FFFF. Τὴν δὴ μετεξέτεροι φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιος ἑταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι. *Herod.* l. ii. c. 134. Their handle for this was a story the Egyptian priests told of their king Cheops, the great builder of Pyramids, That, having exhausted his revenues, he raised a new fund for his expences by the prostitution of his DAUGHTER: By which the priests, in their figurative way of recording matters, only meant, as I suppose, that he prostituted JUSTICE. This interpretation is much confirmed by the character they give of his son *Mycerinus*, δίκας δέ σφι πάντων βασιλήων δικαιοτάτας κρίνειν. [See *Herod.* l. ii. c. 126, 129.] However the Greeks took it literally.

P. 274. GGGG. Plutarch, in Theseus, tells us, that when the daughter of Pitheus bore Theseus of Ægeus, her father gave out that the infant was begot by Neptune.

P. 280. HHHH. That Homer collected his materials from the old Songs and Poems of his predecessors, I conclude from this circumstance; In those things wherein he might be instructed by the records of poesy, we find him calling upon the MUSES to inform him: But when he relates what happened amongst the Gods, which he could only learn by poetical inspiration, he goes boldly into his story, without invoking the *Muses*, at all. Thus when he speaks of the squabbles between Jupiter, and his wife Juno, he tells them with as little preparation as if they had been his next door neighbours. But when he comes to give a catalogue of the Grecian forces which went to the siege of Troy, the likeliest of all subjects to be found in the old poems of his Ancestors, he invocates the Muses in the most solemn and pompous manner: which therefore I understand as only a more figurative intimation (to give the greater authority to what followed), that he took his account from authentic records, and not from uncertain tradition. And these old poems being, in his time, held sacred, as supposed to be written by a kind of divine impulse, an invocation to them, under the name of the Goddesses, who were said to have inspired them, was an extreme natural and easy figure:

> Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι·
> Ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστε τε πάντα,
> Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν·
> Οἵτινες ἡγεμόνες—Ιλ. β. ver. 484.

" Say, Virgins, seated round the throne divine,
All-knowing Goddesses! immortal nine!
Since Earth's wide regions, Heaven's unmeasured height,
And Hell's abyss hide nothing from your sight,
We wretched mortals lost in doubt below,
But guess by rumour, and but boast we know,
Oh, say what Heroes."—Mr. POPE.

Which, put into a plain dress, is no more than this, *That as the old records of the poets had preserved a very circumstantial account of the forces warring before Troy, he chose rather to fetch his accounts from thence than from uncertain and confused tradition.*

This observation will help to explain another particular in Homer, and as remarkable; namely, his so frequently telling us, as he is describing persons or things, that they bore one name amongst the Gods, and another amongst Mortals. Which, we may now collect, means no more than that, in those old poems, they were called differently from what they were in the time of Homer. Thus speaking of Titan he says,

Ὣχ' Ἑκατόγχειρον καλέσασ' ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον,
Ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι Θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες
Αἰγαίων'.—Ιλ. α. ver. 402.

" Then call'd by thee, the monster Titan came,
Whom Gods, Briareus, men Ægeon name."—Mr. POPE.

So again,

Ἔστι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλεως αἰπεῖα κολώνη,
Ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπάνευθε, περίδρομος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·
Τὴν ἤτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν,
Ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης. Ιλ. β. ver. 811.

" Amidst the plain in sight of Ilion stands
A rising mount, the work of human hands,
This for Myrinnè's Tomb th' immortals know,
Tho' call'd Bateïa in the world below."—Mr. POPE.

And again,

Ἄντα δ' ἄρ' Ἡφαίστοιο μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης,
Ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον. Ιλ. ὑ. ver. 73.

" With fiery Vulcan last in battle stands
The sacred flood that rolls on golden sands;
Xanthus his name with those of heav'nly birth,
But call'd Scamander by the sons of earth."—Mr. POPE.

Now supposing these names were not taken by Homer from the old poems, no reasonable account can be given for his so particular an information of this circumstance. But allow them to be taken thence, and the reason is evident. It was to remind the reader, from time to time, that he still kept their own venerable records in his eye; which would give weight and authority to what he delivered. The old names are called by Homer, the *Names used by the immortals*, on these three accounts: 1. As they were the names employed in the old sacred poems. 2. As they were in use in the first heroic ages. And 3. As they were of barbarous and Egyptian original; from whence came the mythologic history of the Gods. Two lines of the pretended Chaldaic oracles, collected by Patricius, explain this whole matter well, as they shew the great reverence of the Ancients for the *Religion of Names:*

Ὀνόματα βάρβαρα μήποτ' ἀλλάξῃς,
Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὀνόματα παρ' ἑκάστοις θεόσδοτα.

Never change barbarous Names; for every nation hath Names which it received from God.

P. 283. IIII. The late bishop Sherlock supposed, that "the divine original of the Law might be inferred from this prohibition of the use of

Cavalry: for that nothing but a divine command could have prevailed with Moses *to forbid the princes of his country the uses of Horses and Chariots for their defence.*" [4th Dissert. p. 329. Ed. 4.] But I chuse not to insist on this, as the use of Cavalry could not be necessary for their defence after they were in possession of the country.

P. 288. KKKK. It is true Diodorus supposes, the principal reason was to cover and secure the flat country from hostile incursions: τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους ἀχυρὰν καὶ δυσέμβολον ἐποίησε τὴν χώραν, p. 36. But sure he hath chosen a very unlikely time for such a provision. The return of Sesostris from the conquest of the habitable world would hardly have been attended with apprehensions of any evil of this kind.

P. 291. LLLL. The reader may not be displeased to see Homer's ideas of this matter: who supposes the science of architecture to be arrived at great perfection in the time of the Trojan war. For speaking of the habitation of Paris (whom, as his great translator rightly observes, Homer makes to be *a bel-esprit and a fine genius*) he describes it, in this manner:

> Ἕκτωρ δὲ πρὸς δώματ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο βεβήκει
> ΚΑΛΑ, τά ῥ' αὐτὸς ἔτευξε σὺν ἀνδράσιν, οἳ τότ' ΑΡΙΣΤΟΙ
> Ἦσαν ἐνὶ Τροίῃ ἐριβώλακι ΤΕΚΤΟΝΕΣ ἄνδρες,
> Οἵ οἱ ἐποίησαν ΘΑΛΑΜΟΝ, καὶ ΔΩΜΑ, καὶ ΑΥΛΗΝ.—Ιλ. ζ. 313.

Here, we see a magnificent palace, built by profest architects, with all its suits of apartments; as different from the description of Hector's dwelling, as the character of the masters from one another; of which last he only says, it was a commodious habitation.

> Αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκανε δόμους ΕΥ ΝΑΙΕΤΑΟΝΤΑΣ
> Ἕκτορος.—Ibid. 497.

P. 299. MMMM. In the history of the acts of Hezekiah, king of Judah, it is said, that, "He removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brasen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it: and he called it NEHUSHTAN." [2 Kings xviii. 4.] The historian's care to record the *name* which the king gave to the brasen serpent, when he passed sentence upon it, will appear odd to those who do not reflect upon what hath been said, about the superstition of NAMES. But that will shew us the propriety of the observation. This idol, like the rest, had doubtless its *name of honour*, alluding to its sanative attributes. Good Hezekiah, therefore, in contempt of its title of deification, called it NEHUSHTAN, which signifies A THING OF BRASS. And it was not out of season either to nickname it then, or to convey the mockery to posterity: For the NAME of a demolished God, like the shade of a deceased Hero, still walked about, and was ready to prompt men to mischief.

P. 302. NNNN. A learned writer [Mr. Fourmont—*Reflexions Critiques sur les Histoires des anciens Peuples*] hath followed a system which very well accounts for this unconquerable propensity to Egyptian superstitions. He supposeth that the Egyptian, and consequently the Jewish idolatry, consisted in the worship of the dead Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c. The mischief is, that this should have the common luck of so many other learned Systems, to have all Antiquity obstinately bent against it. Not more so, however, than its Author is against Antiquity, as the reader may see by the instance I am about to give him. Mr. Fourmont, in consequence of his system, having taken it into his head, that Cronos, in Sanchoniatho, was ABRAHAM; notwithstanding that fragment tells us, that Cronos rebelled against his father, and cut off his privities; buried his brother alive, and murdered his own son and daughter; that he was an

idolater; and a propagator of idolatry, by consecrating several of his own family; that he gave away the kingdom of Athens to the Goddess Athena; and the kingdom of Egypt to the God Taaut; notwithstanding all this, so foreign and inconsistent with the history of Abraham, yet, because the same fragment says, that Cronos, in the time of a plague, sacrificed his only son to appease the shade of his murdered father; and circumcised himself and his whole army; on the strength of this, and two or three cold, fanciful etymologies, this great Critic cries out, *Nier qu'il s'agisse ici du seul Abraham, c'est être* AVEUGLE D'ESPRIT, ET D'UN AVEUGLEMENT IRREMEDIABLE. Liv. ii. sect. 3, c. 3.

P. 309. OOOO. Fornication, adultery, whoredom, are the constant figures under which the Holy Spirit represents the idolatries of the Israelites: consequently, by this character of the *Egyptians being great of flesh*, and in another place, *their flesh was as the flesh of asses, and their issue like the issue of horses*, Ezek. xxiii. 20. we are given to understand that Egypt was the grand origin and incentive of idolatry, and the propagator of it amongst the rest of mankind: which greatly confirms our general position concerning the antiquity of this Empire.

P. 313. PPPP. Yet this evasive reasoning a systematic writer, who has therefore often fallen in our way, would seem to insinuate in an argument designed to make short work with Spencer's learned volumes. His words are these—"It is remarkable that some learned writers, and Dr. Spencer in particular, have imagined, that the resemblance between the ancient Heathen Religions, and the *ancient Religion which was instituted by* GOD, was in many respects so great, that they thought that GOD *was pleased to institute the one in imitation of the other*. This conclusion is indeed a very wrong one, and it is the grand mistake which runs through all the works of the very learned author last mentioned." "The ancient Heathen Religions do indeed in many particulars agree with the institutions and appointments of that Religion, *which was appointed to* Abraham *and to his family, and which was afterwards revived by* Moses; not that these were derived from those of the Heathen nations, but much more evidently the Heathen religions were copied from them; for there is, I think, ONE OBSERVATION, which, as far as I have had opportunity to apply it, will fully answer every particular that Dr. Spencer has offered, and that is this; He is able to produce no one ceremony or usage, practised both *in the religion of* Abraham *or* Moses, and in that of the Heathen nations, but that it may be proved, that it was used by *Abraham* or *Moses*, or by some other of the true worshippers of GOD earlier than by any of the Heathen nations." *Sacred and Prof. Hist. Connected*, vol. i. 2d ed. p. 316, 317. This writer, we see, seems here to suppose a palpable falshood; which is, that there is an impalpable difference between the *Mosaic* and *Patriarchal* Religions. But this was not the principal reason of my quoting so long a passage. It was to consider his ONE OBSERVATION, which is to do such wonders. Now I cannot find that it amounts to any more than this; That the Bible, in which is contained the account of the Jewish Religion, is a much older book than any other that pretends to give account of the national Religions of Paganism. But how this discredits Dr. Spencer's opinion I cannot understand. I can easily see indeed the advantage this learned writer would have had over it, had there been any ancient books which delivered the *origin of Gentile religions* in the same circumstantial manner that the Bible delivers this of the *Jewish;* and that, on a proper application of this ONE OBSERVATION, it appeared that Dr. Spencer, with all his labour, *was able to produce no one ceremony or usage practised both in true and false*

religion, but that it might be proved it was used first in the true.· But as things stand at present, what is it this learned writer would be at? The Bible is, by far, the oldest book in the world. It records the history of a Religion given by GOD to a people who had been long held in a state of slavery by a great and powerful empire. The ancient historians, in their accounts of the religious rites and manners of that monarchy, deliver many which have a surprising relation to the Jewish ritual; and these rites, these manners, were, they tell us, as old as the monarchy. Thus stands the evidence on the present state of things. So that it appears, if, by *it may be proved*, the learned writer means to confine his proof to contemporary evidence, he only tells us what the reader knew before, *viz.* That the Bible is the oldest book in the world.· But if, by *it may be proved*, he means proved by such arguments as the nature of the thing will admit, then he tells us what the reader knows now to be false. Sir Isaac Newton hath given us much the same kind of paralogism in his account of the original letters. *There is no instance*, says he, *of letters for writing down sounds being in use before the days of David in any other nation besides the posterity of Abraham.* [Chron. p. 209.] So that what hath been said above in answer to the other will serve equally against this. I would only remark, that the learned writer seems to have borrowed his ONE OBSERVATION from a chapter of Witsius's *Ægyptiaca*, thus intitled, *Nullius Historici sufficienti Testimonio probari posse, ea quæ in Religione laudabilia sunt apud Ægyptios, quam apud Hebræos antiquiora fuisse*, lib. iii. c. 1. to which, what I have here said is, I think, a full answer.—The learned writer will forgive me, if, before I leave this passage, I take notice of an expression which seems to reflect on that good man, and sincere believer, Dr. Spencer; but I suppose not designedly, because it seems a mere inaccuracy. The words are these: *they thought* [i. e. Dr. *Spencer* and others] *that* GOD *was pleased to institute the one in imitation of the others.* Now this neither Dr. Spencer nor any believer ever thought. They might indeed suppose that he *instituted one in reference to the other*, i. e. that part of its Rites were in direct opposition to the customs of the idolaters; and part, out of regard to the people's prejudices, in conformity to such of their customs as could not be abused to superstition. But this is a very different thing from *instituting one religion in imitation of another.* As no believer could suppose GOD did this; so neither, I will add, could any unbeliever. For this opinion, *That the Jewish religion was instituted in imitation of the Heathen*, is what induces the unbeliever to conclude, that GOD was not its author.

P. 313. QQQQ. The parenthesis seems odd enough. It may not therefore be unseasonable to explain the admirable reasoning of our divine Master on this occasion. JESUS, being charged by the Jews as a transgressor of the law of Moses, for having cured a man on the sabbath-day, thus expostulates with his accusers. "Moses therefore gave unto you circumcision, not because it is of Moses, but of the Fathers, [οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Μωσέως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατέρων] and ye on the sabbath-day circumcise a man. If a man on the sabbath-day receive circumcision, that the law of Moses should not be broken, are ye angry at me, because I have made a man every whit whole on the sabbath-day?" That is, "Moses enjoined you to observe the Rite of Circumcision, and to perform it on the eighth day: but if this day happen to be on the sabbath, you interrupt its holy rest by performing the Rite upon this day, because you will not break the law of Moses, which marked out a day certain for this work of charity. Are you therefore angry at me for performing a work of equal charity on the sabbath-day? But you will ask, why was it so ordered by the Law,

that either the precept for Circumcision, or that for the sabbatical-rest, must needs be frequently transgressed? I answer, that though Moses, as I said, gave you Circumcision, yet the Rite was not originally of Moses, but of the Fathers. Now the Fathers enjoined it to be performed on the eighth day; Moses enjoined the seventh day should be a day of rest; consequently the day of rest and the day of Circumcision must needs frequently fall together. Moses found Circumcision instituted by a previous covenant which his *law could not disannul.** But had he originally instituted both, 'tis probable he would have contrived that the two Laws should not have interfered."—This I take to be the sense of that very important parenthesis, *not because it is of Moses, but of the Fathers.*

P. 313. RRRR. No one ever yet mistook *Circumcision* for a natural duty; while it has been esteemed a kind of impiety to deny the *sabbath* to be in that number. There are two circumstances attending this latter institution, which have misled the Sabbatarians in judging of its nature.

1. The first is, *that* which this positive institution and a natural duty hold in common, namely, the setting apart a certain portion of our time for the service of Religion.—Natural reason tells us, that that Being, who gave us all, requires a constant expression of our gratitude for the blessings he has bestowed, which cannot be paid without some expence of time: and this time must first be set apart before it can be used. But things of very different natures, may hold some things in common.

2. The second circumstance is this, that Moses, the better to impress upon the minds of his People the observance of the sabbath, acquaints them with the early institution of it; that it was enjoined by God himself, on his finishing the work of creation. But these Sabbatarians do not consider, that it is not the time when a command was given, nor even the author who gave it, that discover the class to which it belongs, but its *nature* as discoverable by human reason. And the sabbath is as much a positive institution when given by God to Adam and his posterity, as when given by Moses, the messenger of God, to the Israelites and to their posterity. To judge otherwise, is reducing all God's commands to one and the same species.

Having thus far cleared the way, I proceed to shew that the Jewish sabbath is a mere positive institution,

1. From the account the Prophet Ezekiel gives of it—*Moreover also I gave them my* SABBATH, *to be a* SIGN *between me and them.*† A *sign* of what? A sign of a *covenant.* And so was *circumcision* called by God himself—*And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your fore-skin, and it shall be a* TOKEN [or *sign*] OF THE COVENANT *between me and you.*‡ Now nothing but a Rite by institution of a POSITIVE LAW could serve for a *sign* or *token of a covenant* between God and a particular selected People; for besides it's use for a *remembrance* of the covenant, it was to serve them as a *partition-wall* to separate them from other nations: And this a Rite by positive institution might well do, though used before by some other people, or even borrowed from them. But a natural duty has no capacity of being thus employed: because a practice observed by *all* nations would obliterate every tract of a sign or token of a covenant made with *one.* Indeed, where the Covenant is with the whole race of mankind, and so, the *sign of the covenant* is to serve only for a *remembrance,* there, the sign may be either a *moral duty* or a *natural phœnomenon.* This latter was the case in GOD's promise or covenant, not to destroy the earth any more by water. Here the Almighty, with equal marks of wisdom, made a natural and beautiful phœnomenon,

* See Gal. iii. 17. † Ezek. xx. 12. ‡ Gen. xvii. 11.

seen over the whole habitable earth, the *token* of that covenant. *And* GOD *said, This is the* TOKEN OF THE COVENANT. *I do* SET *my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a Covenant between me and the earth,* Gen. ix. 12, 13. Yet it is wonderful to consider how this matter has been mistaken. Perhaps the word *set* did not a little contribute to it: the expression being understood absolutely; when it should have been taken in the relative sense, of *set for a token.* And in this sense, and only in this sense, the *bow* was then FIRST *set in a cloud.* However, Dr. Burnet of the Charter-house, who had a visionary theory to support, which made it necessary for him to maintain that the phenomenon of the Rain-bow did not exist before the flood, endeavours to countenance that fancy from the passage above, by such a kind of reasoning as this, "That, had there been a Rain-bow before the flood, it could not have been properly used as a *token* of GOD'S *Covenant,* that he would no more drown the earth, because, being a common appearance, it would give no extraordinary assurance of security." And to this reasoning Tindal, the author of *Christianity as old as the Creation,* alludes. *Perhaps* (says he) *the not knowing the natural cause of the rain-bow, occasioned that account we have in Genesis of its institution,* page 228, 229. Its *institution!* The expression is excellent. GOD'S appointing the rain-bow to be a *token* or memorial, *for perpetual generations,* of his covenant with mankind, is called, *his institution of the rain-bow.* But ill expression is the homage to nonsense, for the privilege of Freethinking. However, his words shew, he took it for granted that Moses represents GOD as then FIRST *setting his bow in the clouds.* And it is the reasoning which we are at present concerned with. Now this, we say, is founded in gross ignorance of the nature of *simple* compacts and promises: in which, the *only security* for performance is the known good faith of the Promiser. But, in the case before us, the most novel or most supernatural appearance could add nothing to their assurance, which arose from the evidence of GOD'S veracity. As, on the contrary, had the children of Noah been ignorant of this attribute of the Deity, such an extraordinary phenomenon could have given no assurance at all. For what then served the rain-bow? For the wise purpose so well expressed by the sacred writer, for THE TOKEN OF THE COVENANT. That is, for a memorial or remembrance of it throughout all generations. A method of universal practice in the contracts of all civilized nations. Indeed, had this remnant of the human race been made acquainted with GOD'S Covenant or promise by a third person, and in a common way, there had then been occasion to accompany it with some extraordinary or supernatural appearance. But for what? Not to give credit to GOD'S veracity; but to the veracity of the messenger who brought his Will. Now GOD revealed this promise *immediately* to the children of Noah. But here lies the mistake: Our Deists have put themselves in the place of those Patriarchs, when a much lower belonged to them; and, the promise being revealed to them only by a third hand, and in a common way, they refuse to believe it, because not accompanied with a miracle. In the mean time they forget the condition of the Patriarchs when this covenant was made with them; filled with terror and astonishment at the past, and with the most disquieting apprehensions of a future Deluge, they needed some superior assurance to allay their fears. Had not that been the case, a particular Covenant had not been made with them; and had their posterity all along continued in the same condition, we may certainly conclude, from the uniformity of GOD'S dealings with mankind, that he would, from time to time, have renewed this Covenant, in the way it was first given; or have secured the truth of the tradition by a supernatural appearance. But those

fears soon wore out: and Posterity, in a little time, became no more concerned in this particular promise, than in all the other instances of divine goodness to mankind. But *Moses*, as this great philosopher concludes, *had no knowledge of the natural cause of the rain-bow.* It may be so: because I know of no use that knowledge would have been to his Mission. But he was acquainted with the *moral cause*, and the *effects* too, of COVENANTS, which was more to the purpose of his office and character; and which this freethinking DOCTOR OF LAWS should not have been so ignorant of.

2. But secondly, if the Jewish Prophets cannot convince our Sabbatarians, that the Mosaic day of rest was *a positive institution;* yet methinks the express words of Jesus might, who told the Sabbatarians of that time, the Pharisees, That *the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.* Mark ii. 27. Now were the observation of the Sabbath a natural duty, it is certain, *man was made for the Sabbath*, the end of his creation being for the observance of the MORAL LAW,—the worship of the Deity, Temperance and Justice: nor can we by natural light conceive any other end. On the contrary, all positive institutions *were made for man*, for the better direction of his conduct in certain situations of life; the observance of which is therefore to be regulated on the end for which they were instituted: for (contrary to the nature of moral duties) the observance of them may, in some circumstances, become hurtful to man, for whose benefit they were instituted; and whenever this is the case, God and nature grant a dispensation.

3. Thirdly, the primitive Christians, on the authority of this plain declaration of their blessed Master, treated the Sabbath as a positive Law, by changing the day dedicated to the service of Religion from the seventh to the first day, and thus abolished *one* positive Law, THE SABBATH instituted in memory of the *Creation*, and, by the authority of the Church, erected another, properly called THE LORD'S DAY, in memory of the Redemption.

P. 318. SSSS. The author of the *Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* says—"They [the Pagans] learnt the art [divination] in schools, or under discipline, as the Jews did *prophesying* in the *Schools* and *Colleges of the Prophets.* [For which *Wheatly's Schools of the Prophets* is quoted] where the learned Dodwell says, the candidates for prophecy were taught the rules of divination practised by the Pagans, who were skilled therein, and in possession of the art long before them." P. 28.

P. 318. TTTT. Dr. Mead, in his *Medica Sacra*, cap. iii. p. 25. observes that *what is said of the spirit of the Lord is not to be understood literally.* He did not reflect that the Vicegerent of the Theocracy is here spoken of. Otherwise, surely, he could not but acknowledge that if there was any such thing as the SPIRIT OF THE LORD existing in that administration, it must needs reside in the supreme Magistrate.

P. 319. UUUU. There is a difficulty in the history of *David*, in which SPINOZA much exults, as it supports him in his impious undertaking on Sacred Scripture. It is this, in the xvith chapter of the first book of Samuel, we find David sent for to Court, to sooth Saul's melancholy with his harp. On his arrival, he gave so much satisfaction, that the distempered Monarch sent to his father to desire he might *stand before him*, ver. 22. that is, remain in his service. David hath leave; and becomes Saul's *Armour-bearer*, [ver. 21.] Yet in the very next chapter, viz. the xviith (which relates an incursion of the Philistines, and the defiance of Goliah), when David goes to Saul for leave to accept the challenge, neither the king, nor the captain of his host, know any thing of their champion or of his lineage. This is the difficulty, and a great one it is. But it would

soon become none, in the usual way Critics have of removing difficulties, which is by supposing, that whatever occasions them is *an interpolation;* and some blind manuscript is always at hand to support the blinder Criticism. But had more time been employed in the study of the *nature of Scripture History*, and somewhat less in *collations* of manuscripts, those would have found a nearer way to the wood, who now cannot see wood for trees. In a word, the true solution seems to be this: David's adventure with Goliah was prior in time to his solacing Saul with his music. Which latter story is given by way of anticipation in chap. xvi. but very properly and naturally. For there the historian having related at large how GOD had rejected Saul, and anointed David, goes on, as it was a matter of highest moment in a RELIGIOUS HISTORY, to inform us of the effects both of one and the other; though we are not to suppose them the instantaneous effects. The effect of Saul's rejection was, he tells us, the departure of GOD's spirit from him, and his being troubled with an evil spirit [ver. 14.]: this leads him, naturally, to speak of the effect of David's election, namely, his being endowed with many divine graces; for Saul's malady was only to be alleviated by David's skill on the harp. When the historian had, in this very judicious manner, anticipated the story, he returns from the 14th to the 23d verse of the xvith chapter, to the order of time, in the beginning of the xviith chapter. So that the true chronology of this part of David's life stands thus: He is anointed by Samuel—he carries provisions to his brethren, incamped against the Philistines, in the valley of Elah—he fights and overcomes Goliah—is received into the king's court—contracts a friendship with Jonathan—incurs Saul's jealousy—retires home to his father—is, after some time, sent for back to court, to sooth Saul's melancholy with his harp—proves successful, and is made his armour-bearer—and, again, excites Saul's jealousy, who endeavours to smite him with his javelin. This whole history is to be found between the first verse of the xvith, and the tenth of the xviiith chapter. Within this, is the anticipation above-mentioned, beginning at the fourteenth verse of the xvith chapter, and ending at the twenty-third verse. Which anticipated history, in order of time, comes in between the 9th and 10th verses of the xviiith chapter, where, indeed, the breach is apparent. For in the 9th verse it is said, *And Saul eyed David from that day forward.* He had just begun, as the text tells us, to entertain a jealousy of David from the women's saying in their songs, *Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands.*—"*From that day forward Saul eyed David,*" *i. e.* watched over his conduct. Yet, in the very next verse, it says, *And it came to pass on the* MORROW, *that the evil spirit from* GOD *came upon Saul—And David played with his hand—And Saul cast the javelin.* This could never be on the *morrow* of that day on which he first began to entertain a jealousy; for the text says, *from that day forward* he began to watch over his conduct, to find whether his jealousy was well grounded. Here then is the breach, between which, in order of time, comes in the relation of the evil spirit's falling upon Saul; his sending for David from his father's house, &c. For when Saul began first, on account of the songs of the women, to grow jealous of David, and to watch his behaviour, David, uneasy in his situation, asked leave to retire; which we may suppose was easily granted. He is sent for again to court: Saul again grows jealous: but the cause, we are now told, was different: *And Saul was afraid of David,* BECAUSE *the Lord was* WITH HIM, *and was* DEPARTED FROM SAUL, ver. 12. This plainly shews, that the departing of GOD's spirit from Saul was after the conquest of Goliah: consequently, that all between ver. 14 and 23 of the xvith

chapter is an anticipation, and, in order of time, comes in between ver. 9 and 10 of the xviiith chapter, where there is a great breach discoverable by the disjointed parts of distant time. Thus the main difficulty is mastered. But there is another near as stubborn, which this solution likewise removes. When David is recommended by the courtiers for the cure of Saul's disorder, he is represented as a *mighty valiant man, a man of war and prudent in matters, and that the Lord was with him*, chap. xvi. 18. *i. e.* a soldier well versed in affairs, and successful in his undertakings. Accordingly he is sent for; and preferred to a place which required valour, strength, and experience; he is made Saul's *armour-bearer*. Yet when afterwards, according to the common chronology, he comes to fight Goliah, he proves a raw unexperienced stripling, unused to arms, and unable to bear them; and, as such, despised by the Giant. I will not mispend the reader's time, in reckoning up the strange and forced senses the critics have put upon these two passages, to make them consistent; but only observe, that this reformation of the chronology renders all clear and easy. David had vanquished the Philistine; was become a favourite of the people; and, on that account, the object of Saul's jealousy; to avoid the ill effects of which, he prudently retired. During this recess, Saul was seized with his disorder. His servants supposed it might be alleviated by music; Saul consents to the remedy, and orders an artist to be sought for. They were acquainted with David's skill on the harp, and likewise with Saul's indisposition towards him. It was a delicate point, which required address; and therefore they recommend him in this artful manner—*The son of Jesse is cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters, and a comely person*:—That is, "as you must have one constantly in attendance, both at court, and in your military expeditions, to be always at hand on occasion, the son of Jesse will become both stations well: he will strengthen your camp, and adorn your court; for he is a tried soldier, and of a graceful presence. You have nothing to fear from his ambition, for you saw with what prudence he went into voluntary banishment, when his popularity had incurred your displeasure."—Accordingly Saul is prevailed on: David is sent for, and succeeds with his music. This dissipates all former umbrage; and, as one that was to be ever in attendance, he is made his *armour-bearer*. This sunshine continued, till David's great successes again awakened Saul's jealousy; and then the lifted javelin was, as usual, to strike off all court-payments. Thus we see how these difficulties are cleared up, and what light is thrown upon the whole history by the supposition of an anticipation in the latter part of the xvith chapter, an anticipation the most natural, proper, and necessary for the purpose of the historian. The only reason I can conceive of its lying so long unobserved is, that, in the xviith chapter, ver. 15. it is said, *But David went, and returned from Saul, to feed his father's sheep at Beth-lehem*. Now this being when the Israelites were encamped in Elah against the Philistines, and after the relation of his going to court to sooth Saul's troubled spirit with his music, seems to fix the date of his standing before Saul in quality of musician in the order of time in which it is related. But the words, *David went and returned from Saul*, seem not to be rightly understood: they do not mean, David left Saul's Court where he had resided, but that he left Saul's Camp to which he had been summoned. The case was this: A sudden invasion of the Philistines had penetrated to Shochoh, *which belonged to Judah*. Now on such occasions, there always went out a general summons for all able to bear arms, to meet at an appointed rendezvous; where a choice being made of those most fit for

service, the rest were sent back again to their several homes. To such a rendezvous, all the tribes at this time assembled. Amongst the men of Beth-lèhem, came Jesse and his eight sons; the three eldest were enrolled into the troops, and the rest sent home again. But of these, David is only particularly named; as the history related particularly to him. *Now David was the son of that Ephrathite of Bethlehem-Judah, whose name was Jesse, and he had eight sons: and the man went amongst men for an old man in the days of Saul. And the three eldest sons of Jesse went and followed Saul to the battle—And David was the youngest, and the three eldest followed Saul. But David went, and returned from Saul, to feed his father's sheep at Beth-lehem*, i. e. he was dismissed by the captains of the host, as too young for service. And in these sentiments, we find, they continued, when he returned with a message from his father to the camp.—I have only to add, that this way of anticipation is very frequent with this sacred historian.—In the xviiith chapter, ver. 11. it is said, *And Saul cast the javelin; for he said, I will smite David even to the wall with it: and David avoided out of his presence* TWICE. But one of these times relates to a second casting of the javelin, a considerable time after the first, here spoken of, which is recorded in chap. xix. 10. So again the historian telling us in the xth chapter, how Saul, when he was first anointed by Samuel, prophesied amongst the Prophets, says, *And it came to pass, when all that knew him beforetime saw, that behold, he prophesied among the prophets; then the people said one to another, What is this that is come unto the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?—Therefore it became a proverb, Is Saul also among the prophets?* ver. 11, 12. But it is evident, that the original of the proverb, was his second prophesying amongst the prophets at *Naioth*, recorded chap. xix. both for the reasons given above, and for these: 1. Saul was not at this time known to the people; and, 2. The original of the proverb is said to arise from this second prophesying, ver. 24. Therefore the account of the proverb in the xth chapter is given by way of anticipation.

P. 320. XXXX. A malignant and very dull buffoon, who appears to have had little idea of this matter, and less inclination to be better instructed, lately published a large and virulent invective against the personal character of DAVID; his pretended provocation was as extraordinary; it was a pulpit parallel; of which he ironically complains, as injurious to a modern character of great name, who is complimented with a likeness to the King of Israel. He was answered as he deserved.—But, if Divines think they can manage infidel cavils by the aid of sums and systems, instead of studying to acquaint themselves with the nature and genius of the Jewish dispensation, as it lies in the Bible, unbelievers will have little to apprehend, how bad soever be the cause which a low vanity has put them upon supporting.

P. 328. YYYY. There were no sort of men more averse to the system here defended of Jewish customs borrowed from Egypt, than those Puritans. Yet when they could serve a turn by adopting it, they made no scruple of so doing. Thus, in order to disgrace the *surplice*, they venture to say, in the *Declaration of the Ministers of London*, published 1566, That *the surplice, or white linen garment, came from the* EGYPTIANS *into the Jewish church.*

P. 332. ZZZZ. For, with regard to *every thing's being exactly prescribed; from which direction it was not lawful to make the least deviation*, Spencer acknowledges this as fully as Witsius himself. "Nihil enim cultum divinum spectans verbis obscuris aut incerti sensus a Mose traditum, nil cæco vel præcipiti zelo, nihil prurienti Judæorum ingenio, vel

naturæ humanæ rerum novarum in sacris avidæ, relictum fuit. Nempe lex de minimis plerisque curavit. Ipsi arcæ annuli, &c." *De Leg. Rit. Heb.* l. i. c. 10. sect. 5. And it is remarkable, that he employs this very circumstance, with great weight as well as ingenuity, to inforce the opposite conclusion; namely, that God admitted some rites in use amongst the Gentile nations in compliance to the people's prejudices:—"Ipse ritus Mosaïcos instituendi modus huic sententiæ non parum præsidii præbet. Deus enim non tantum eorum materiam, sed et locum, tempus, ipsum etiam corporis situm quandoque quo præstari debebant, aliasque minoris notæ circumstantias, accurate præscripsit. Et postquam Deus minimas quasque circumstantias rituum singulorum tradidisset, præcepto cautum est, Deut. iv. 2, ne quid e ceremoniis nempe vetitis iis adderetur; aut quicquam e ceremoniis nempe præceptis adimeretur. Nemo vero qui judicio valet, opinari potest Deum horum rituum minutias accurate adeo præscripsisse, ex ullo quo ipse eorum amore vel desiderio tangebatur. A ratione multo minus abest, gentium et Hebræorum ritus haud paucos (si materiam eorum vel substantiam spectemus) proximam inter se similitudinem et affinitatem habuisse, IDEOQUE lege curatum fuisse, ne eodem modo peragerentur, sed ut circumstantiis quibusdam peculiaribus et a Deo præscriptis ab invicem discernerentur. Nam Israëlitæ ritus suos omnes e Dei præscripto peragentes, se in Jehovæ [non dei alicujus ethnici] honorem sacra sua præstare testarentur; et ratio temporum exegit, ut cultus Deo præstitus quandam ἰδιότητα retineret, nec ad ritus gentium nimis accedere, vel ab iis plusquam par erat abire videretur. Mosis ætate res in loco tam lubrico et ancipiti sitæ sunt, quod summa tantum sapientia limites eos definire nôrat, quos ultra citrave non potuit consistere Dei veri cultus." Lib. iii. cap. 2. sect. 1.

P. 333. AAAAA. I cannot therefore agree with Mr. Whiston in the high value he sets upon a passage of Manetho—*This* (says he) *is a very valuable testimony of Manetho's, that the laws of Osarsiph or Moses were not in compliance with, but in opposition to, the customs of the Egyptians.* Translat. of Josephus, p. 993. However, though this fairy treasure vanish, it is some comfort that we do not want it.

P. 351. BBBBB. That very able interpreter of Scripture, father Houbigant, understands these words of the Prophet as spoken of the *Jewish Law.* "Itaque in præceptis *non bonis* intelligendæ veniunt ejusmodi leges quæ ad pœnam propositæ erant, non ad mercedem; quales erant leges de suppliciis, de aquis ab uxore suspectæ pudicitiæ bibendis, de leprosis ab hominum cœtu arcendis, et aliæ quædam, quæ ab irato Legislatore proficisci videbantur." *In loc.* This learned person was too well versed in the style of Scripture, in the subject of the Prophecy, and in the history of the Jews, to imagine, when God speaks in the character of Legislator, of *giving Statutes and Judgments*, that he meant the general permission of divine Providence to suffer a people to fall into a number of senseless and idolatrous practices. Indeed, a little to soften the character given of *Statutes not good*, he supposes they were thus qualified on account of their being *penal Laws:* and so makes what I understand to be a representation of the moral genius of the ritual Law in general, only the physical quality of some particular Rites. But the very words of the Prophecy evince that a body of laws was meant; and the character of the Speaker shews, that the subject is of *moral*, not of *physical* good and evil.

P. 351. CCCCC. Speaking of MARSHAM and SPENCER, he says: "In omnium nunc fere eruditorum manibus versatur Nobilissimi Viri Johannis Marshami CANON CHRONICUS. Opus quantivis pretii; quod uti Authori

suo multa lectione, accurata meditatione, plurimisque lucubrationibus stetit, ita Lectori per salebrosos obscurissimæ Antiquitatis recessus viam non paullo faciliorem expeditioremque effecit. Sed ut in humanis rebus nihil omni ex parte beatum esse solet, ita nec pulcherrimo huic corpori suos deesse nævos videas—Eandem sententiam magno nuper animo atque apparatu tuitus est Johannes Spencerus in Dissertatione *de Urim et Thummim*. Ubi ita vir doctissimus instituit, *&c.*—Multa a viris doctissimis congesta sunt, quibus huic suæ assertioni fidem faciant. Ea autem quum plurimum reconditæ contineant eruditionis, non videntur Clarissimi Authores sua laude, uti nec studiosi lectores jucunditate atque utilitate, quæ exinde percipi potest, fraudandi esse. Super omnibus denique ἐπίκρισιν meam subjungam, eo argumentorum robore quod suscepti negotii ratio patitur firmandam. Nequaquam ea mente ut doctissimorum virorum laboribus detraham; sed ut me et Lectores meos in investiganda veritate exerceam, si forte detur curva corrigere et egregio inspersos abstergere corpore nævos," p. 1—4. This candour was the more extraordinary, as Sir J. Marsham had given but too many marks of disaffection to revealed Religion. And though that great and good man Dr. Spencer was entirely free from all reasonable suspicion of this kind; yet, it must be owned, that too intent on a favourite argument, he was apt to express himself somewhat crudely. He had a bright and vigorous imagination, which, now and then, got the better of his judgment; and the integrity of his heart made him careless in giving it the reins; sometimes in a dangerous road. Thus, for instance, in his fine discourse *concerning Prodigies*, speaking of a certain quality in the soul, which, as he says, makes it *greatly impressive to the persuasion of parallels, equalities, similitudes, in the frame and government of the world*, he goes on in this strange manner: "This general temper of the soul easily inclines it to believe great and mighty changes in states, usher'd with the solemnity of some mighty and analogous changes in nature, and that all terrible evils are prefac'd or attended with some prodigious and amazing alterations in the creation—Hence, perhaps, it is that we generally find great troubles and judgments on earth described, especially by persons *ecstatical, Prophets and Poets* (whose speeches usually rather follow the easy sense of the soul than the rigid truth of things) by all the examples of horror and confusion in the frame of the creation. The prophet David describes GOD's going out to judgment thus," *&c.* p. 71, 72, 2d ed. Dr. Spencer seems to have been misled in this philosophic solution by a greater Master, who, however, talks still more grosly of what he seems to have understood as little. "In matters of faith and religion" (says lord Verulam) "we raise our imagination above our reason: which is the cause why Religion sought ever access to the mind by similitudes, types, parables, visions, dreams." *Adv. of learning*, b. 2d. The serious christian reader cannot but be offended at this injurious representation of the holy Prophets. Such remarks as these are altogether unworthy these two excellent men. It is false in fact that Prophetic figures were enthusiastic or fantastic visions raised by, and then represented to, the imagination. I have shewn that the images, which the Prophets employed, composed the common phraseology of their times; and were employed by them because this figurative language was well understood, and still better relished by the People. [See p. 185, of this vol.]—But is it therefore fitting that such writers should be treated, by every dirty scribbler, as Libertines, Deists, and secret propagators of Infidelity, for inadvertencies, which a man like the candid Witsius would only call *nævi in pulcherrimo corpore?*

P. 353. DDDDD. Let me here observe how this very circumstance in Moses's conduct, acquits him of all suspicion of that kind of FRAUD so much in use amongst the best human Lawgivers of Antiquity. The Mosaic Dispensation had been treated by our Freethinkers with great liberties. It was therefore offered by the late learned and ingenious Dr. Middleton, as a means to rescue it from their contempt, and to solve the difficulties which attend it, without hurting the authority whereon it stands, to suppose SOME DEGREE OF FICTION in certain cases, in the Mosaic writings. And this he endeavoured to make credible, from the practice of the ancient Lawgivers. Now I think this supposition neither true nor probable. 1. If we consider what it was that induced the ancient Lawgivers to employ *fiction*, we shall find it arose, in part, from their false pretences to a divine Mission; and, in part, from the imaginary necessity of propagating Polytheism. As to the first, Moses's pretensions to a divine mission are here allowed. And it is notorious that he preached up the one true GOD, the Creator, in opposition to all kinds of Polytheism. No occasion therefore remained for the use of *fiction*. And we can hardly think he would employ it without occasion. What we have then to shew is, that the only cause why the ancient sages employed *fiction* (besides the support of a false mission) was to hide the absurdities of Polytheism. This indeed hath been already done for other purposes, in several places of this Work: So that I shall here confine myself to one single proof. Macrobius assures us, that the ancient sages did not admit the fabulous in all their disputations; but in those only which related to the SOUL, to the HEAVENLY BODIES, and to the HERO-GODS. "Sciendum est tamen non in omnem disputationem philosophos admittere *fabulosa* vel *licita*, sed his uti solent cum vel de animâ, vel de AERIIS ÆTHERIISVE POTESTATIBUS, vel de CETERIS DIS loquuntur." [in Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 2.] On the contrary, when they discoursed of the FIRST CAUSE, then every thing was delivered exactly agreeable to the truth. "Ceterum cum ad SUMMUM ET PRINCIPEM OMNIUM DEUM—tractatus se audet attollere—NIHIL FABULOSUM penitus attingunt." [*id. ib.*] The reason of their using *fiction* or fable, in treating of their false Gods, was to hide the absurdities attendant on their Worship; a Worship thought to be necessary. Hence, as hath been shewn elsewhere, [vol. ii. of the Div. Leg. b. iii. sect. 6,] they were led from the *absurdity* and the *necessity* together, to conclude *that utility, and not truth, was the end of Religion;* and from another mistake there mentioned, *that utility and truth do not coincide.* From these two principles necessarily arose a third, *that it was expedient and lawful to deceive for the Public good.* And, on this last, was founded the practice of *fiction* above mentioned. Now the whole Religion of Moses being established on that very doctrine, in the handling of which the ancient Sages neither needed nor used *fiction;* and at the same time directly opposing that very superstition, for the sake of which, the *fiction* was employed; we conclude, with certainty, that Moses employed NO DEGREE OF FICTION in the composition or in the propagation of the Jewish Religion. But 2. That which he had no occasion to use, we think it impossible he should use, if his pretensions were (as is here allowed) real. We have, indeed, in order to display the wisdom of GOD's Dispensation, endeavoured to shew that he employed, in the contrivance of it, all those arts (though in an infinitely more perfect degree) which human Lawgivers are wont to use, in the legitimate exercise of civil Government: for that, without forcing the Will, no other method was sufficient to accomplish the end designed. But this, we presume, is as different from *fiction* as truth is from falshood. Thus far, we think, GOD,

in his dispensations to men, would chuse to do, rather than to force the Will. But could we suppose a People, favoured with a divine Revelation, so absurdly circumstanced as to be incapable of being worked upon by common means, without the use of *some degree of fiction*, we should then conclude GOD would rather chuse miraculously to overrule the Will: because we conceive *divine Revelation* with *human fiction* to be a mixture of things utterly incompatible; that there can be no alliance between GOD and Belial; nor any union between the Spirit of Truth, and the Father of Lies.

P. 353. EEEEE. "Suppose" (says Dr. Stebbing) "a Deist should alledge that the Israelites learned this doctrine in Egypt where Moses himself also might have learnt it, *How would you prove the contrary?*" Examination, p. 33, 34.

Should a *Deist allege this*, as making any thing *against* my argument, or *for* his own cause, I should say he knew as little either of one or the other as Dr. Stebbing himself does: For my argument being addressed to the Deist, supposes that Moses and the Israelites might have learnt the doctrine in Egypt; and on that supposition, defies them to find a reason, exclusive of the *extraordinary Providence;* why Moses did not make so useful and necessary a doctrine (in favour of which his People were much prejudiced) the Sanction of his Laws. Their acquaintance with the doctrine in Egypt, I supposed: This acquaintance my argument required me to suppose: and yet this Answerer of my Book knew so little of its contents, as to ask, How I WOULD PROVE THE CONTRARY? If the learned Doctor had any pertinent drift in this question, you can discover it only by supposing him to go upon this ridiculous assumption, that what the Jews once learned they could never either *unlearn* or forget, and therefore if they had learned the doctrine of a future state in Egypt, they could not be so ignorant of it as, I say, they were. But to clear up his conceptions in this matter he may have recourse, if he pleases, to the latter division of the fifth section of the fifth Book, of the Divine Legation.

P. 355. FFFFF. This was the character it bore even so late as the time of Jeremiah, who tells us, that the rebellious Israelites, frightened at the power of the king of Babylon, refused to stay any longer in Judea, *saying, No, but we will go into the land of Egypt, where we shall see no war, nor hear the sound of the trumpet, nor have hunger of bread, and there will we dwell.* chap. xlii. 14.

P. 359. GGGGG. This famous book (as is the fortune of all which bring new proofs for Revelation in a new way) hath undergone many heavy censures both from Jews and Christians. Those blame him for attempting to assign reasons for the Ceremonial ordinances; These for explaining Scripture on the principles of Aristotle. But both, as usual, expose their own ignorance and prevention. In this work, the excellent author studied the real honour of GOD, together with the good of those to whom his discourse was addressed. And because its end and design appears to be little understood, and depends on a curious piece of history, neglected by his editors and translators, I shall give the Reader a short account of it. In the first flourishing times of the Saracene Empire, (as we learn from William of Paris in his book *De Legibus*) a great number of Jews, devoting themselves to the study of the Aristotelian philosophy, (then cultivated by the Arabs with a kind of scientific fanaticism) and thereby contracting not only an inquisitive but a disputatious habit, set themselves to examine into the REASONS OF THE JEWISH LAWS; which being unable to discover, they too hastily concluded them to be useless,

absurd, and of human invention; and so apostatized, in great numbers, from the Religion of their Fathers.—"Postquam autem Chaldæis sive Babyloniis et genti Arabum commixti sunt, et miscuerunt se studiis eorum et philosophiæ; et secuti sunt opiniones philosophorum; nescientes legis suæ credulitates et Abrahæ fidem contra disputationes eorum et rationes defendere: hinc est quod facti sunt in lege erronei, et in fide ipsius Abrahæ hæretici; maxime postquam regnum SARACENORUM diffusum est super habitationem eorum. Exinde enim æternitatem mundi et alios Aristotelis errores secuti sunt multi eorum. Hincque pauci veri Judæi (hoc est, qui non in parte aliquâ credulitatis suæ Saraceni sunt, aut Aristotelicis consentientes erroribus) in terrâ Saracenorum inveniuntur, de his qui inter philosophos commorantur. Dedit enim occasionem non levem apostasiæ hujusmodi ea quæ videtur multorum mandatorum absurditas vel inutilitas: dum enim apparet in eis absurditas et inutilitas, nulla autem præceptionis aut inhibitionis earum ratio, nulla observantiarum utilitas, non est mirum si ab eis receditur: sed tanquam onera supervacanea projiciuntur." fol. 18. In these times and under this Empire, our Author wrote. So that nothing could be more useful than to shew his apostatizing brethren that the SCRIPTURES might be defended, nay, even explained on the principles of ARISTOTLE, and that the precepts of the CEREMONIAL LAW were founded in the highest reasonableness and convenience—Maimonides, where, in his preface, he gives his reasons for writing this discourse, plainly hints at that apostasy—*Vertiginosos vero quod attinet, quorum cerebrum est pollutum et vanis futilibusque ac falsis opinionibus repletum, quique sibi imaginantur se magnos esse* PHILOSOPHOS, *ac theologos, illos scio fugituros a multis, contra multa etiam objectiones moturos.—Deus vero benedictus novit, quantoperè timuerim conscribere ea, quæ explicare et consignare volui in hoc libro. Nam quia talia sunt de quibus nullus ex gente nostra in hac captivitate quicquam scripsit hactenus, quâ ratione primus ego prodire in hac palæstra audeo? Verum suffultus sum duobus principiis; primo, quod de istius modi negotio dictum sit, Tempus est faciendi Domino:* IRRITAM FECERUNT LEGEM TUAM, *&c. secundo, eo quod sapientes nostri dicunt, Omnia opera tua fiant ad gloriam Dei.*

P. 360. HHHHH. The learned author of the elegant and useful *Letter from Rome* has here taken to himself what was meant in general of the numerous writers on the same subject; and so has done it the honour of a confutation, in a postscript to the last edition of that *Letter*. But the same friendly considerations which induced him to end the postscript with declaring his unwillingness to enter further into controversy with me, disposed me not to enter into it at all. This, and neither any neglect of him, nor any force I apprehended in his arguments, kept me silent. However, I owe so much both to myself and the public, as to take notice of a misrepresentation of my argument; and a change of the question in dispute between us: without which notice the controversy (as I agree to leave it where it is) can scarce be fairly estimated.—"A paragraph in Mr. Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses* obliges me" (says Dr. Middleton) "to detain the reader a little longer, in order to obviate the prejudices which the authority of so celebrated a writer may probably inject, to the disadvantage of my argument.—I am at a loss to conceive what could move my learned friend to pass so severe a censure upon an argument which has hitherto been espoused by all protestants; admitted by many papists; and evaded rather than contradicted by any. But whatever was his motive, which, I persuade myself, was no unfriendly one, he will certainly pardon me, if, pursuing the full conviction of my mind, I attempt to defend an

established principle, confirmed by strong and numerous facts, against an opinion wholly new and strange to me; and which, if it can be supposed to have any force, overthrows the whole credit and use of my present work.—He allows that the writers, who have undertaken to *deduce the rites of popery from paganism, have shewn an exact and surprising likeness between them in a great variety of instances.* This" (says he) "one would think, is allowing every thing that the cause demands: it is every thing, I dare say, that those writers desire." * That it is *every thing those writers desire*, I can easily believe, since I see, my learned friend himself hath considered these two assertions, 1. *The religion of the present Romans derived from that of their Heathen ancestors;* and, 2. *An exact conformity, or uniformity rather of worship between popery and paganism:* He hath considered them, I say, as convertible propositions: for, undertaking, as his title-page informs us, to prove *the religion of the present Romans derived from that of their Heathen ancestors;* and having gone through his arguments, he concludes them in these words, "But it is high time for me to conclude, being persuaded, if I do not flatter myself too much, that I have sufficiently made good WHAT I FIRST UNDERTOOK TO PROVE, an exact conformity, or uniformity rather, of worship between popery and paganism." † But what he *undertook to prove*, we see, was, *The religion of the present Romans derived from their Heathen ancestors:* That I have therefore, as my learned friend observes, *allowed every thing those writers desire*, is very likely. But then whether I have *allowed every thing that the cause demands*, is another question: which I think can never be determined in the affirmative, till it be shewn that no other probable cause can be assigned of this *exact conformity between Papists and Pagans*, but a borrowing or derivation from one to the other. And I guess, that now this is never likely to be done, since I myself have actually assigned another probable cause, namely, the same spirit of superstition operating in the like circumstances.

But this justly celebrated writer goes on—"This question according to his [the author of *The Divine Legation*] notion is not to be decided by facts, but by a principle of a different kind, *a superior knowledge of human nature.*" ‡ Here I am forced to complain of a want of candour, a want not natural to my learned friend. For, whence is it, I would ask, that he collects, *that, according to my notion, this question is not to be decided by facts, but a superior knowledge of human nature?* From any thing I have said? Or from any thing I have omitted to say? Surely, not from any thing I have said (though he seems to insinuate so much by putting the words *a superior knowledge of human nature* in Italic characters as they are called) because I leave him in possession of his *facts*, and give them all the validity he desires; which he himself observes; and, from thence, as we see, endeavours to draw some advantage to his hypothesis:—Nor from any thing I have omitted to say; for, in this short paragraph where I deliver my opinion, and, by reason of its evidence, offer but one single argument in its support, that argument arises from a FACT, *viz.* that the *superstitious customs in question were many ages later than the conversion of the imperial city to the Christian faith:* whence I conclude, that the ruling Churchmen could have no motive in borrowing from Pagan customs, either as those customs were then fashionable in themselves, or respectable for the number or quality of their followers. And what makes this the more extraordinary is, that my learned friend himself immediately afterwards quotes these words; and then tells the reader, that *my argument consists of an*

* Postscript, p. 228. † Letter, p. 224. ‡ Postscript, p. 228.

HISTORICAL FACT, *and of a consequence deduced from it.* It appears therefore, that, according to my notion, the question *is* to be decided by *facts*, and not by a *superior knowledge of human nature.* Yet I must confess I then thought, and do so still, that a *superior knowledge of human nature* would do no harm, as it might enable men to judge better of *facts* than we find they are generally accustomed to do. But will this excuse a candid representer for saying, that the *question, according to my notion, was not to be decided by facts, but a superior knowledge of human nature?* However, to do my learned friend all justice, I must needs say, that, as if these were only words of course, that is, words of controversy, he goes on, through the body of his postscript, to invalidate my argument from *fact;* and we hear no more of a *superior knowledge of human nature* than in this place where it was brought in to be laughed at.

As to the argument, it must even shift for itself. It has done more mischief already than I was aware of: and forced my learned friend to extend his charge from the *modern* to the *ancient church of Rome.* For my argument, from the low birth of the superstitions in question, coming against his hypothesis, after he had once and again declared the purpose of his letter to be the exposing of the Heathenish idolatry and superstition of the PRESENT *church of Rome;* he was obliged, in support of that hypothesis, to shew that even the early ages of the church were not free from the infection. Which hath now quite shifted the subject with the scene, and will make the argument of his piece from henceforth to run thus, *The religion of the present Romans derived from their early Christian ancestors; and theirs, from the neighbouring Pagans.* To speak freely, my reasoning (which was an argument *ad hominem*, and, as such, I thought, would have been reverenced) reduced the learned writer to this dilemma; either to allow the fact, and give up his hypothesis; or to deny the fact, and change his question. And he has chosen the latter as the lesser evil. As to the fact; that the Churches of the first ages might do that on their own heads, which Moses did upon authority, i. e. indulge their Pagan converts with such of their customs as could not be easily abused to superstition, may be safely acknowledged. My learned friend has produced a few instances of such indulgence, which the censure of some of the more scrupulous of those times hath brought to our knowledge. But the great farraginous body of Popish rites and ceremonies, the subject of my learned friend's *Letter from Rome*, had surely a different original. They were brought into the Church when Paganism was in part abhorred and in part forgotten; and when the same spirit of sordid superstition which had overspread the Gentile world, had now deeply infected the Christian.

THE

DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES

DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK V.

SECTION I.

HAVING now examined the CHARACTER of the Jewish People, and the TALENTS of their Lawgiver, I come next to consider the NATURE of that Policy, which by his ministry was introduced amongst them. For in these two enquiries I hope to lay a strong and lasting foundation for the support of the third general proposition, *That the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is not to be found in, nor did make part of the Mosaic Dispensation.*

We find amongst this people a Policy differing from all the Institutions of mankind; in which the two Societies, civil and religious, were perfectly incorporated, with GOD ALMIGHTY, AS A TEMPORAL GOVERNOR, at the head of both.

The peculiar administration attending so singular a frame of Government hath always kept it from the knowledge of superficial observers. Christian writers, by considering Judaism as a Religious policy only, or a Church; and Deists, as a Civil policy only, or a State; have run into infinite mistakes concerning the reason, the nature, and the end of its laws and institutions. And, on so partial a view of it, no wonder that neither have done justice to this amazing Œconomy. Let us suppose, the famous picture of the female centaur by Zeuxis, where two different Natures were so admirably incorporated, that the passage from one to the other, as Lucian tells us,* became insensible; let us, I say, suppose this picture to have been placed before two competent judges, yet in such different points of view, that the one could see only the *brutal*, the other the *human* part; would not the first have thought it a beautiful horse, and the second, as beautiful a

* Τὴν δήλειαν δὲ ἵππου γε τῆς καλλίστης, οἷαι μάλιστα αἱ Θετταλαί εἰσιν, ἀδμῆτες, ἔτι καὶ ἄθατοι· τὸ δ' ἄνω ἡμίτομον, γυναικὸς, πάγκαλον,—καὶ ἡ μίξις δὲ, καὶ ἡ ἁρμογὴ τῶν σωμάτων, καθὸ συνάπτεται καὶ συνδεῖται τῷ γυναικείῳ τὸ ἱππικὸν, ἠρέμα, καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόως μεταβαίνουσα, καὶ ἐκ προσαγωγῆς τρεπομένη, λανθάνει τὴν ὄψιν ἐκ θατέρου, εἰς τὸ ἕτερον ὑπαγομένη.—*Zeuxis*, cap. vi. tom. i. p. 843, edit. Reitzii, Amst. 4to, 1743.

woman; and would not each have given the creature supposed to be represented such functions as he judged proper to the species in which he ranked it? But would not both of them have been mistaken; and would not a sight of the whole have taught them to rectify their wrong judgments? as well knowing that the functions of such a compounded animal, whenever it existed, must be very different from those of either of the other, singly and alone. From such partial judges of the LAW therefore, little assistance is to be expected towards the discovery of its true nature.

Much less are we to expect from the Jewish Doctors: who, though they still keep sheltered, as it were, in the ruins of this august and awful Fabric; yet patch it up with the same barbarity of taste, and impotence of science, that the present Greeks are wont to hide themselves amongst the mouldering monuments of Attic power and politeness. Who, as our travellers inform us, take a beggarly pride in keeping up their claim to these wonders of their Ancestors' magnificence, by white-washing the Parian marble with chalk, and incrusting the porphyry and granate with tiles and potsherds.

But least of all shall we receive light from the fantastic visions of our English *Cocceians;* * who have sublimed the crude nonsense of the Cabalists, so long buried in the dull amusement of picking Mysteries out of letters, into a more spiritual kind of folly; a quintessence well defecated from all the impurities of sense and meaning.

Therefore, to understand the nature of the Jewish Œconomy, we must begin with this truth, to which every page of the five books of Moses is ready to bear witness, *That the separation of the Israelites was in order to preserve the doctrine of the* UNITY, *amidst an idolatrous and polytheistic World.* The necessity of this provision shall be shewn at large hereafter.† At present we only desire the Deist would be so civil as to suppose there might possibly be a sufficient cause.

But now, because it is equally true, that this *separation* was fulfilling the promise made to ABRAHAM their Father; these men have taken occasion to represent it as made for the sake of a FAVOURITE PEOPLE.‡ And then again, supposing such a partial distinction to be inconsistent with the divine attributes, have ventured to arraign the LAW itself of imposture.

But this representation of the fact is both unjust and absurd. They cannot deny but it might be GOD'S purpose, at least, that it became his goodness, to preserve the doctrine of the UNITY amidst an idolatrous world. But this (we know by the event) could never be effected but by a *separation* of one part from the rest. Nor could

* The followers of Hutchinson. † In the ninth book. ‡ See the first volume of "the Divine Legation."

such a separation be made any otherwise than by bringing that part under GOD's peculiar protection: The consequence of which were GREAT TEMPORAL BLESSINGS. Now as some one People must needs be selected for this purpose, it seems most agreeable to our ideas of divine Wisdom, which commonly effects many ends by the same means, to make the *blessings* attendant on such a *selection*, the reward of some high exalted virtue in the progenitors of the chosen People. But therefore to object that they were chosen as FAVOURITES, is both unjust and absurd. The *separation* was made for the sake of Mankind in general; though one People became the honoured instrument, in reward of their Forefathers' virtues. And this is the language of those very Scriptures which, as they pretend, furnish the objection. Where God, by the Prophet Ezekiel, promises to restore the Israelites, after a short dispersion through the Countries, to their own land, he declares this to be the end of their separation: "Therefore say unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the LORD GOD, I DO NOT THIS FOR YOUR SAKES, O HOUSE OF ISRAEL, BUT FOR MINE HOLY NAME'S SAKE, which ye have profaned among the heathen, whither ye went. And I will sanctify my great name which was profaned amongst the heathen, which ye have profaned in the midst of them; and the heathen shall know that I am the LORD, saith the LORD GOD, when I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes." * What GOD himself says of the PEOPLE, St. Paul says of their LAW: "Wherefore then serveth the Law? IT WAS ADDED BECAUSE OF TRANSGRESSIONS; till the seed should come, to whom the promise was made." † *It was added*, says the Apostle. To what? To the patriarchal Religion of the UNITY.‡ To what end? *Because of transgressions*, i. e. the transgressions of polytheism and idolatry; into which, the rest of mankind were already absorbed, and the Jews at that time, hastening apace; and from which, there was no other means of restraining them, than by this ADDITION; an addition that kept them separate from all others, and preserved the doctrine of the UNITY till the *coming of the promised seed*.

But another thing offends the Deists: they cannot understand, let the end of this choice be what it would, why GOD should prefer so perverse and sottish a People, to all others. One reason hath been given already; that it was for the sake of their Forefathers, and to fulfill the promise made to the Patriarchs. But others are not wanting; and those very agreeable to the ideas we have of infinite Wisdom; such, for instance, as this, That the EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, by which they were blessed and protected, might become the more visible and illustrious. For had they been endowed with the

* Ezek. xxxvi. 22, 23. † Gal. iii. 19. ‡ See note A, at the end of this book.

shining qualities of the more polished nations, the effects of that providence might have been ascribed to their own power or wisdom. Their impotence and inability, when left to themselves, is finely represented in the Prophet Ezekiel, by the similitude of the vine-tree: *Son of man, what is the vine-tree more than any tree, or than a branch which is amongst the trees of the forest? Shall wood be taken thereof to do any work? or will men take a pin of it to hang any vessel thereon?—Therefore thus saith the Lord God, As the vine-tree amongst the trees of the forest," &c.** For as the vine, which, with cultivation and support, is the most valuable of all trees, becomes the most worthless, when left neglected in its own natural state: so the Jews, who made so superior a figure under the particular protection of GOD, when, for their sins, that protection was withdrawn, became the weakest and most contemptible of all tributary nations.

The Poet VOLTAIRE indeed has had a different revelation. "The pride of every individual amongst the Jews" (says he) "is interested in believing, that it was not their DETESTABLE POLICY, their ignorance in the arts, and their unpoliteness, which destroyed them; but that it is GOD's anger which yet pursues them for their idolatries." † This DETESTABLE POLICY (for so, with the free insolence of impiety, characteristic of these times, he calls the MOSAIC INSTITUTION) was a principle of independency: this *ignorance in the arts* prevented the entrance of luxury; and this *unpoliteness* hindered the practice of it. And yet parsimony, frugality, and a spirit of liberty, which naturally preserve other States, all tended, in the ideas of this wonderful Politician, to destroy the Jewish. Egypt was long lost for want of a spirit of independency; Greek sunk by its knowledge in the arts; and Rome was ruined by its politeness: yet Judæa suffered for the want of all these causes of destruction. Is not this more than a thousand topical arguments, to prove, that they were ruined by nothing but by their idolatries, which brought down GOD's vengeance upon them? But any contrivance will serve a Poet, any argument will satisfy a Freethinker, to keep a GOD and his providence at a distance. And that the PEOPLE were as DETESTABLE as their POLICY, the same Poet, the virtuous Voltaire assures us—"We do not find" (says he) "throughout the whole annals of the HEBREW PEOPLE one generous action. They are utter strangers both to hospitality, to beneficence, and to clemency. Their sovereign-good is the practice of Usury, with all but their own nation. And this disposition, the principle of all baseness, is so inrooted in their hearts, that *Usury* is the constant object of the figures they employ in that species of eloquence which

* Ezek. xv. 2, 3, 6. † "L'orgueil de chaque Juif est intéressé à croire que ce n'est point sa DETESTABLE POLITIQUE, son ignorance des arts, sa grossiereté, qui l'a perdu; mais que c'est la colere de Dieu qui le punit."—*Rem. ix. sur les Pensées de Pascal.*

is peculiar to them. *Their glory is to lay waste with fire and sword, such paltry villages as they were just able to storm: They cut the throats of the old men and children, and reserve from slaughter only the marriageable virgins. They assassinate their masters when they are slaves. They are incapable of pardoning when they conquer.* THEY ARE THE FOES OF ALL MANKIND." *

Such is the strong colouring of our MORAL PAINTER. He has dipt his pencil in sulphur to delineate with horns and tails, these chosen instruments of God's vengeance on a devoted Nation, overrun with UNNATURAL LUST and brutish Idolatry; for to their destruction, the murders, the rapine, and the violations here charged upon the *Hebrew People*, allude. For the rest, it is so much below all criticism, that one is almost ashamed to touch upon it. Otherwise, we might observe, that, in his rage, he hath confounded the character of the ancient HEBREWS with that of the modern JEWS, two people as much unlike as the ancient Franks to modern Frenchmen.—We might be merry with the nonsense, of *Usury's being the object of their figures of eloquence;* which yet is not more ridiculous in the thought than absurd in the expression: his meaning, I suppose, being, that their figures of eloquence are formed from, and alluded to, the circumstances attending their practice of *Usury*.

But the affair grows more serious, as we proceed with our *General Historian;* and we shall find that this unhappy People, however they may stand with their *God*, certainly, at present; for some reason or other, lye under the *Poet's curse*. And from his uncommon knowledge of their *Usury* and their *eloquence*, I should suspect, he had lately been transacting some money-matters with them, and had been not only out-witted but out-talked too into the bargain.

As to their HATRED OF ALL MANKIND, (the chopping-block of infidelity) we have it over again, and more at large, in another place. "You are" (says he to his reader) "struck with that hatred and contempt, which all people have always entertained for the Jewish Nation. It is the unavoidable consequence of THEIR LEGISLATION; which reduced things to the necessity, that either the Jews must enslave the whole world, or that they, in their turn, must be crushed and destroyed. IT WAS COMMANDED THEM to hold all other People in abhorrence, and to think themselves polluted if they had eat in the

* "On ne voit dans toutes les Annales du peuple Hebreu aucune action généreuse. Ils ne connaissent ni l' hospitalité, ni la liberalité, ni la clémence. Leur souverain bonheur est d'exercer l'usure avec les étrangers; et cet esprit de l'usure, principe de toute lacheté, est tellement enraciné dans leurs cœurs, que c'est l'object continuel des figures, qu'ils employent dans l'espece d'eloquence, qui leur est propre. Leur gloire est de mettre à feu et à sang les petits villages, dont ils peuvent s'emparer. Ils égorgent les vieillards et les enfans; ils ne réservent que les filles nubiles; ils assassinent leurs Maitres quand ils sont esclaves; ils ne savent jamais pardonner quand ils sont Vainqueurs; ILS SONT LES ENNEMIS DU GENRE HUMAIN."—*Addit. à l'Hist. Generale*, p. 30.

same dish which belonged to a man of another religion. BY THE VERY LAW ITSELF, they at length found themselves the natural enemies of THE WHOLE RACE OF MANKIND." *

I believe it will not be easy to find, even in the dirtiest sink of Freethinking, so much falshood, absurdity, and malice heaped together in so few words. He says, *There was an inevitable necessity, arising from the very genius of the Law itself, either that this people should enslave the whole world, or that they, in their turn, should be crushed and destroyed.*

It might be thought unreasonable to expect that a Poet should read his Bible: but one might be allowed to suppose that he had heard at least of its general contents. If he ever had, could he, unmasked, and in the face of the sun, have said, "That the MOSAIC LAW directed or encouraged the Jewish people to attempt extensive conquests?" That very LAW, which not only assigned a peculiar and narrow district for the abode of its followers; but, by a number of Institutions, actually confined them within those limits: Such as the stated division of the land to each Tribe; the prohibition of the use of horses; the distinction of *meats* into clean and unclean; the yearly visit of each individual to Jerusalem, with many others. The Poet, who appears throughout his whole history to be a much better Mussulman than a Christian, was surely, when he said this, in some pious meditation on the ALCORAN; which indeed, by *the inevitable consequence of its Legislation,* must either set the Saracens upon enslaving all mankind, or all mankind on extirpating so pernicious a crew of miscreants.

But *the Jews,* he tells us, were COMMANDED *to hold all other People in abhorrence.* If he had said, *to hold their* IDOLATRIES *in abhorrence,* he had said *true;* but that was saying nothing. To tell the world that *the Jews were commanded to hold the* PERSONS *of Idolaters in abhorrence,* was done like a Poet.

But when he goes on to say, that *The Jews found,* BY THE VERY CONSTITUTION OF THE LAW ITSELF, *that they were the* NATURAL ENEMIES *of all mankind,* this was not like a Poet, being indeed a transgression of the PROBABLE; for by the *constitution of the Law itself,* every Jew that could read, found all mankind to be his BRETHREN. For Moses, to prevent any such estrangement, which some other parts of his Institution, if abused, might occasion, was careful to acquaint the chosen Family with the origin of the human

* "Vous êtes frappés de cette haine et de ce mepris que toutes les nations ont toujours eu pour la Nation Juive. C'est la suite inevitable de LEUR LEGISLATION; il falloit, ou que ce Peuple subjuguât tout, ou qu'il fût ecrasé. Il lui fut ordonné d'avoir les nations en horreur, et de se croire souillés s'ils avaient mangé dans un plat, qui eût appartenu à un homme d'une autre Loi—ils se trouvèrent PAR LEUR LOI MEME enfin Ennemis naturels du GENRE HUMAIN."—*Add. à l'Hist. Generale,* p. 174.

race, and of their descent from one man and woman; and, in order to impress this salutary truth more strongly on their minds, he draws out an exact genealogy from Adam, not only of the direct line which was to inhabit the land of Judea, but of all the collateral branches by which the whole earth was peopled.

So that were our Poet to turn *Lawgiver*, (which he might as well do, as GENERAL HISTORIAN) and sit down to contrive a method by which brotherly love and affection might be best established amongst the sons of men, one might defy him, with all his poetical or historical invention, to hit upon any more efficacious than that which Moses has here employed. St. Paul, when he would enlarge the affections of the Athenians (to whom all other nations, as well as the Jews, were become BARBARIANS) to that extent which Christian benevolence requires, employed no other topic than this, that GOD HAD MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN: and from thence inferred, that they all stand in the relation of BRETHREN to one another.

But it may be asked, What are we then to think of that ODIUM HUMANI GENERIS, with which the ancient Pagans charged the Jews? I have shewn, in the first volume of this work, that there was not the least shadow from *fact* to support this calumny; and that it was merely an imaginary consequence, which they drew from the others' declared hate and abhorrence of the Idols of Paganism, and firm adherence to the sole worship of the *one true God*. But besides this original, the *Principles and Doctrine*, there was another, the *Rites and Ceremonies* of the Mosaic Religion; either of them sufficient alone to perpetuate this wretched calumny amongst ignorant and prejudiced men. That the *Doctrine* was worthy of its original, the enemies of Revelation confess; That the establishment of the *Ceremonies*, as they were necessary to support the *Doctrine*, were of no less importance, I shall now shew our Poet.

To separate one people from all others, in order to preserve the doctrine of the *Unity*, was a just purpose.

No separation could be made but by a ceremonial Law.

No ceremonial Law could be established for this purpose, but what must make the Gentiles be esteemed unclean by the separated People.

The consequence of an estimated *uncleanness*, must be the avoiding it with horror: which, when observed by their enemies, would be maliciously represented to arise from this imaginary *odium humani generis*. What idea then must we needs entertain, I will not say of the Religion, but of the common honesty of a modern Writer, who, without the least knowledge of the Jewish Nation or their Policy, can repeat an old exploded calumny with the assurance of one who had

discovered a newly acknowledged truth? But the Pagans were decent when compared to this rude Libertine. They never had the insolence to say, that this pretended *hate of all mankind* was COMMANDED BY THE LAW ITSELF. They had more sense as well as modesty. They reverenced the great Jewish Lawgiver, who, they saw, by his account of the origin of the human race, had laid the strongest foundation amongst his people of brotherly love to all men. A foundation, which not one of the most celebrated Lawgivers of Antiquity had either the wit to enforce, or the sagacity to discover.

Well, but if the Jews were indeed that DETESTABLE *People* which the Poet Voltaire represents them to be, they were properly fitted however with a *Law*, which, he assures us, was full as DETESTABLE. What pity is it that he did not know just so much of his Bible however, as might serve to give some small countenance at least to his impieties! We might then have had the *Prophet* to support the *Poet*, where, speaking in the name of God, he says,— *I gave them Statutes that were not good, and Judgments whereby they should not live.** But to leave this to his maturer projects; and go on with him, in his pious design of *eradicating* this devoted People; for he assures us, we see, that unless they be rooted out, their DETESTABLE POLICY will set them upon enslaving all mankind.

He hath shewn the PEOPLE to be *detestable*, and their LAW to be *detestable;* and well has he provided for the reception of both, a most *detestable* COUNTRY. You may, if you please, suppose all this done in vindication of the good providence of the God of Israel; for a *People* so bad, certainly deserved neither a better *Government* nor *Habitation*. No, he had a nobler end than this; it was to give the lye to the Legate of the God of Israel, who promised to them in his Master's name, *A land flowing with milk and honey, the glory of all lands.* Having gotten Moses at this advantage, by the assistance of Servetus and his followers, (for he always speaks from good authority) he draws this delightful picture of the HOLY LAND.—"All of it which is situated towards the south, consists of DESERTS OF SALT SANDS on the side of the Mediterranean and Egypt; and of HORRID MOUNTAINS all the way to Esiongaber, towards the Red-Sea. These sands, and these rocks, at present possessed by a few straggling Arabian Robbers, were the ancient patrimony of the Jews."†

Now admitting this account to be true: 1. In the first place, we may inform our Poet, that, from the face of a country lying desert, there is no safe judgment to be made of the degree of its fertility

* Ezekiel. See book iv. sect. vi. p. 335, *et seq.* † "Tout ce qui est situé vers le midi consiste en desertes de sables salés du côté de la Mediterranée et de l'Egypte, et en montagnes affreuses jusqu' à Esiongaber vers la Mer Rouge. Ces sables, et ces rochers, habités aujourd'hui par quelques Arabes Voleurs, sont l'ancienne patrie des Juifs."—*Add. à l'Hist. Generale*, p. 83.

when well cultivated; especially of such a one as is here described, consisting of rugged mountains and sandy plains, which, without culture, indeed, produce nothing, but which, by human industry in a happy climate, may be made to vie with soils naturally the most prolific. 2. It appears from the vast numbers which this country actually sustained, in the most flourishing times of the Theocracy, that it well answered the character their Lawgiver had bestowed upon it, *of a land flowing with milk and honey.* 3. The Israelites, when they took possession of it, certainly found it to come up to the character which Moses had given them, of a place where they should find *great and goodly Cities which they had not builded, houses full of good things which they had not filled, wells digged which they had not digged, and vineyards and olive trees which they had not planted.** If, I say, they had not found it so, we should soon have heard of it, from the most turbulent and dissatisfied people upon earth. And it was no wonder they found it in this condition, since they had wrested it from the hands of a very numerous and luxurious People, who had carried arts and arms to some height, when they, in any sense, could be said to have *Cities fenced up to Heaven.* But the Poet has a solution of this difficulty; for to the Israelites, just got out of their forty years captivity in the Wilderness, this miserable country must needs appear a paradise, in comparison of the Deserts of Param and Cadish Barnea.† Now it is very certain, that no *Desert* thereabout, could be more horrid or forbidding than that of Judea, as the Poet has here drawn the landscape. But does he think they had quite forgot the fertile plains of Egypt all this time? And if they *compared* the promised Inheritance to the Wilderness on the one hand, would they not be as apt to *compare* it to Egypt on the other? And what Judea gained by the first, it would lose by the second. But he will say, *that Generation* which came out of Egypt, *fell in the Wilderness.* What if they did? they left their fondness for its flesh-pots behind them, as we are sufficiently informed from the excessive attachment of their posterity for Egyptian luxury of every kind. 4. But let us admit his account of the sterility of the promised Land, and then see how the pretensions of the Mosaic Mission will stand. We will consider this sterility in either view, as *corrigible,* or as *incorrigible.*

If *corrigible,* we cannot conceive a properer region for answering the ENDS of Providence, as Moses has delivered them unto us, with regard to this People. The first great blessing bestowed on mankind, was to be particularly exemplified in the posterity of Abraham, which was to be *like the sand on the sea-shore for multitude:* and yet they were to be confined within the narrow limits of a single district: so that some

* Deut. vi.—viii. † "Ce pais fut pour eux une terre delicieuse en comparaison des Déserts de Param et de Cades-Barné."—*Add. à l'Hist. Generale,* p. 83.

proportionate provision was to be made for its numerous Inhabitants. Affluence by commerce they could not have; for the purpose of their separation required, that Idolaters should no more be permitted to come and pollute them, than that they should go amongst Idolaters to be polluted by them: And accordingly, a sufficient care was taken, in the framing of their Laws, to hinder this communication at either end. Thus the advantages from commerce being quite cut off, they had only agriculture to have recourse to, for subsistance of their multitudes. And the natural sterility of the land would force them upon every invention to improve it. And artificial culture produces an abundance, which unassisted nature can never give to the most fruitful soil and most benignant climate. Add to this, that a People thus sequestered, would, without such constant attention to the art, and application to the labour, which the meliorating of a backward soil requires, soon degenerate into barbarous and savage manners; the first product of which has been always seen to be a total oblivion of a God.

But if we are to suppose what the Poet would seem to insinuate, in discredit of the Dispensation, that the soil of Judea was absolutely *incorrigible;* a more convincing proof cannot be given of that EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE which Moses promised to them. So that if the *corrigibility* of a bad soil perfectly agreed with the END of the Dispensation, which was a separation, the *incorrigibility* of it was as well fitted to the MEAN, which was an *extraordinary Providence.* For the fact, that Judea did support those vast multitudes, being unquestionable, and the natural incapacity of the country so to do being allowed, nothing remains but that we must recur to that *extraordinary Providence,* which not only was promised, but was the natural consequence of a *Theocratic* form of government. But I am inclined to keep between the two contrary suppositions, and take up the premisses of the one, and the conclusion of the other: to hold that the sterility of Judea was very corrigible; but that all possible culture would be inadequate to the vast numbers which it sustained, and that therefore its natural produce was still further multiplied by an *extraordinary blessing* upon the land.

To support this system, we may observe, that this extraordinary assistance was bestowed more eminently, because more wanted, while the Israelites remained in the *Wilderness.* MOSES, whose word will yet go as far as our *General Historian's,* says, that when God took Jacob up, to give him his LAW, he *found him indeed in a desert Land, and in the waste howling wilderness;* but it was no longer such, when now God had the leading of him. "*He led him about,*" [i. e. while he was preparing him for the conquest of the promised Land] "*He instructed him,*" [i. e. by the LAW, which he there gave him] "*He kept him as the apple of his eye,*" [i. e. he preserved him there by his

extraordinary Providence;] the effects of which he describes in the next words,—"He made him ride on the high places of the earth," [i. e. he made the Wilderness to equal, in its produce, the best cultivated places] "that he might eat the increase of the fields; and he made him to suck honey out of the Rock, and oil out of the flinty Rock: Butter of kine, and milk of sheep, with fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Bashan" [i. e. as large as that breed] "and goats, with the fat of kidneys of wheat," [i. e. the flour of wheat] "and thou didst drink the pure blood of the Grape."

That this was no fairy-scene, appears from the effects.—"Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked: thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness; then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation," &c.* This severe reproof of Moses certainly did not put the Israelites in an humour, to take the wonders in the foregoing account on his word, had the facts he appeals to been the least equivocal.

On the whole, we can form no conception how God could have chosen a People, and assigned them a land to inhabit, more proper for the display of his almighty Power, than the People of Israel and the land of Judea. As to the People, the PROPHET in his *Parable* of the Vine-tree, informs us, that they were naturally, the weakest and most contemptible of all nations: and as to the land, the POET, in his *great Fable*, which he calls a General History, assures us, that Judea was the vilest and most barren of all countries. Yet somehow or other this *chosen People* became the Instructors of mankind, in the noblest office of humanity, the science of true Theology: and the *promised Land*, while made subservient to the worship of one God, was changed, from its native sterility, to a region *flowing with milk and honey;* and, by reason of the incredible numbers which it sustained, deservedly entitled the GLORY OF ALL LANDS.

This is the state of things which SCRIPTURE lays before us. And I have never yet seen those *strong reasons*, from the schools of Infidelity, that should induce a man, bred up in any school at all, to prefer their logic to the plain facts of the Sacred Historians.

I have used their testimony to expose one, who, indeed, renounces their authority: but in this I am not conscious of having transgressed any rule of fair reasoning. The *Freethinker* laments that there is no contemporary Historian remaining, to confront with the Jewish Lawgiver, and detect his impostures. However, he takes heart, and boldly engages his credit to confute him from his own history. This is a fair attempt. But he prevaricates on the very first onset. The Sacred History, besides the many *civil* facts which it contains, has many of a *miraculous* nature. Of these, our Freethinker will allow the first only

* Deut. xxxii. 10, et seq.

to be brought in evidence. And then bravely attacks his adversary, who has now one hand tied behind him: for the civil and the miraculous facts, in the Jewish Dispensation, have the same, nay, a nearer relation to each other, than the two hands of the same body; for these may be used singly and independently, though to disadvantage; whereas the civil and the miraculous facts can neither be understood nor accounted for, but on the individual inspection of both. This is confessed by one who, as clear-sighted as he was, certainly did not see the* consequence of what he so liberally acknowledged. "The miracles in the Bible" (says his philosophic Lordship) "are not like those in Livy, detached pieces, that do not disturb the civil History, which goes on very well without them. But the miracles of the Jewish Historian are intimately connected with all the civil affairs, and make a necessary and inseparable part. The whole history is founded in them; it consists of little else; and if it were not an history of them, it would be a history of nothing."†

From all this, I assume that where an Unbeliever, a Philosopher if you will, (for the Poet Voltaire makes them convertible terms) pretends to shew the falshood of Moses's mission from Moses's own history of it; he who undertakes to confute his reasoning, argues fairly when he confutes it upon facts recorded in that history, whether they be of the miraculous or of the civil kind: since the two sorts are so inseparably connected, that they must always be taken together, to make the history understood, or the facts which it contains intelligible.

SECTION II.

ALLOWING it then, to have been GOD'S purpose to perpetuate the knowledge of himself amidst an idolatrous World, by the means of a separated People; let us see how this design was brought about, when the Family, he had chosen, was now become numerous enough to support itself under a *separation*; and Idolatry, which was grown to its most gigantic stature,‡ was now to be repressed.

The Israelites were, at this time, groaning under the yoke of Egypt; whither the all-wise providence of God had conducted them, while they were yet few in number, and in danger of mixing and confounding themselves with the rest of the Nations. In this distress, one of their own brethren is sent to them with a message from GOD, by the name and character of the GOD OF THEIR FATHERS, whose virtues GOD had promised to reward with distinguished blessings on their Posterity. The message, accompanied with *signs and wonders*, denounced their speedy deliverance from Egyptian bondage, and their certain possession of the land of Canaan, the scene of all the promised

* See the "View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy," vol. vi. p. 732, of the quarto edition. † BOLINGBROKE'S "Posthumous Works," vol. iii. p. 279. ‡ See note B, at the end of this book.

blessings. The People hearken, and are delivered. They depart from Egypt; and in the third month from their departure, come to Mount Sinai. Here GOD first tells them by their Leader, MOSES, that, *if they would obey his voice indeed, and keep his Covenant, then they should be a* PECULIAR TREASURE *to him above all people, for that the* WHOLE EARTH *was his.** Where we see an example of what hath been observed above, that whenever an Institution was given to this People, in compliance with the notions they had imbibed in Egypt, a corrective was always joined with it to prevent the abuse. Thus God having here told them, that if they would *obey his voice* they should be *his peculiar treasure above all people,* (speaking in the character of a *tutelary God;)* to prevent this compliance from falling into abuse, as the division of the several regions of the earth to several celestial rulers was inseparably connected with the idea of a *tutelary Deity,* he adds, as a reason for making this People his Peculiar, a circumstance destructive of that pagan notion of tutelary Gods—*for that the* WHOLE EARTH *was his.* Well. The people consent;† and God delivers the Covenant to them, in the words of the two Tables.‡

But this promise, of their being received for GOD'S *peculiar treasure,* could be visibly performed no otherwise than by their separation from the rest of mankind. As on the other hand, their separation could not have been effected without this visible protection. And this, Moses observes in his intercession for the people: *For wherein shall it be known here, that I and thy people have found grace in thy sight? Is it not in that thou* GOEST WITH US? *So shall we be* SEPARATED, *I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth.*§ The better, therefore, to secure this separation, GOD proposes to them to become their KING. And, for reasons that will be explained anon, condescends to receive the Magistracy, on their free choice.—*And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests,*|| *and an holy nation.*—*And all the people answered together and said, All that the Lord hath spoken we will do.*¶ GOD then delivers them a Digest of their civil and religious Laws, and settles the whole Constitution both of Church and State. Thus the Almighty becoming their KING, in as real a sense as he was their GOD, the republic of the Israelites was properly a THEOCRACY; in which the two Societies, civil and religious, were of course intirely incorporated. A thing neither attended to nor understood. The name indeed is of familiar use: but how little men mean by it, is seen from hence, that those who, out of form, are accustomed to call it a *Theocracy,* yet, in their reasonings about it, consider it as a mere Aristocracy under the Judges; and as a mere Monarchy under the Kings:

* Exod. xix. 5. † Verse 8. ‡ Exod. xx. § Exod. xxxiii. 16.
|| For where *God* is *King,* every *subject* is, in some sense or other, a *priest;* because in that case, civil obedience must have in it the nature of religious ministration.
¶ Exod. xix. 6—8.

whereas, in truth, it was neither one nor the other, but a real and proper THEOCRACY, under both.

Thus was this famous SEPARATION made. But it will be asked, Why in so extraordinary a way? A way, in which the sagacious Deist can discover nothing but the marks of the Legislator's fraud, and the People's superstition.—As to what a mere human Lawgiver could gain by such a project, will be seen hereafter. At present, it will be sufficient, for the removal of these suspicions, to shew, that a THEOCRACY WAS NECESSARY, as the *separation* could not be effected any other way.

It appears, from what hath been shewn above, that the Israelites had ever a violent propensity to mix with the neighbouring Nations, and to devote themselves to the practices of idolatry: this would naturally, and did, in fact, absorb large portions of them. And the sole human means which preserved the remainder, was the severity of their civil Laws against idolatry.* Such Laws therefore were necessary to support a *separation*. But penal Laws, inforced by the ordinary Magistrate, for matters of opinion, are manifestly unjust. Some way therefore was to be contrived to render these Laws equitable. For we are not to suppose GOD would ordain any thing that should violate the rule of natural justice. Now these penal Laws are equitable only in a Theocracy: therefore was a THEOCRACY NECESSARY.

That the punishment of opinions, by civil Laws, under a THEOCRACY, is agreeable to the rules of natural justice, I shall now endeavour to prove.

Unbelievers and intolerant Christians have both tried to make their advantage of this part of the Mosaic institution. The one using it as an argument against the divinity of the Jewish Religion, on presumption that such Laws are contrary to natural equity; and the other bringing it to defend their intolerant principles by the example of Heaven itself. But they are both equally deceived by their ignorance of the nature of a *Theocracy*: which, rightly understood, clears the Jewish Law from an embarrassing objection, and leaves the rights of mankind inviolate.

Mr. Bayle, in an excellent treatise for Toleration, when he comes to examine the arguments of the Intolerants, takes notice of that which they bring from the example in question. "The fourth objection" (says he) "may arise from hence, that the Law of Moses gives

* "If there be found amongst you, within any of thy gates which the LORD thy GOD giveth thee, man or woman that hath wrought wickedness in the sight of the LORD thy GOD in transgressing his covenant, and hath gone and served other Gods, and worshipped them, either the sun, or the moon, or any of the host of heaven, which I have not commanded; and it be told thee, and thou hast heard of it, and inquired diligently, and behold it be true, and the thing certain, that such abomination is wrought in Israel; then shalt thou bring forth that man or that woman (which have committed that wicked thing) unto thy gates, even that man or that woman, and shalt stone them with stones till they die." (Deut. xvii. 2—5.)

no toleration to idolaters, and false prophets, whom it punishes with death; and from what the Prophet Elijah did to the Priests of Baal, whom he ordered to be destroyed without mercy. From whence it follows, that all the reasons I have employed, in the first part of this *commentary*, prove nothing, because they prove too much; namely, that the literal sense of the Law of Moses, as far as relates to the punishment of opinions, would be impious and abominable. Therefore, since GOD could, without violating the eternal order of things, command the Jews to put false prophets to death, it follows, evidently, that he could, under the Gospel also, command orthodox believers to inflict the same punishment upon heretics.

"I am not, if I rightly know myself, of that temper of mind, so thoroughly corrupted by the contagion of Controversy, as to treat this objection with an air of haughtiness and contempt; as is the way when men find themselves incapable of answering to the purpose. I ingenuously own the objection to be strong; and that it seems to be a mark of GOD'S sovereign pleasure, that we should not arrive at certainty in any thing, seeing he hath given exceptions in his holy word to almost all the common notices of reason. Nay I know some who have no greater difficulties to hinder their believing that GOD was the author of the Laws of Moses, and of all those Revelations that occasioned so much slaughter and devastation, than this very matter of intolerance, so contrary to our clearest ideas of natural equity." *

Whether Mr. Bayle himself was one of these backward believers, as by some of his expressions he gives us reason to suspect, is not material. That he dwelt with pleasure on this circumstance, as favouring his beloved scepticism, is too evident. But sure he went a little too far when he said, GOD'S *word contains exceptions to almost all the common notices of reason.*† I hope to shew, before I have done with Infidelity, that it contains exceptions to none.‡ Our excellent countryman Mr. LOCKE, who wrote about this time on the same subject, and with that force and precision which is the character of all his writings, was more reasonable and modest in his account of this matter. *As to the case* (says he) *of the Israelites in the Jewish Commonwealth, who being initiated into the Mosaical rites, and made citizens of the commonwealth, did afterwards apostatize from the worship of the* GOD *of Israel; these were proceeded against as traitors and rebels, guilty of no less than high treason. For the commonwealth of*

* "Voions présentement cette iv. objection. On la peut tirer de ce que la loi du Moïse," &c.—*Commentaire Philosophique*, part ii. chap. 4. ** † "Par les exceptions qu'il a mises dans sa parole à presque toutes les notions communes de la raison."

‡ [In the fourth edition of 1765, the two following sentences occur:—"But the solution of the difficulty was above his strength, had he been ever so willing to reconcile Scripture to Reason. Judea was a *terra incognita* to this great Adventurer." For the omission of them in the editions of 1788 and 1811, I can assign no reason.—J. N.]

the Jews, different, in that, from all others, was an absolute THEOCRACY; *nor was there, nor could there be, any difference between the Commonwealth and the Church. The Laws established there concerning the worship of the one invisible Deity were the civil Laws of that people, and a part of their political Government, in which* GOD *himself was the Legislator.** This he said; but it being all he said,

I shall endeavour to support his solution by such other reasoning as occurs to me. It will be necessary then to observe, that GOD, in his infinite wisdom, was pleased to stand in two *arbitrary* relations towards the Jewish People, besides that *natural* one, in which he stood towards them and the rest of mankind in common. The first was that of a *tutelary Deity, gentilitial* and *local;* the GOD of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who was to bring their posterity into the land of Canaan, and to protect them there, as his peculiar People. The second was that of *supreme Magistrate and Lawgiver.* And in both these relations he was pleased to refer it to the people's free choice, whether or no they would receive him for their GOD and KING. For a tutelary Deity was supposed by the Ancients to be as much matter of election as a civil Magistrate. The People, therefore, thus solemnly accepting him, these necessary consequences followed from the HOREB CONTRACT.

I. First, that as the national GOD and civil Magistrate of the Jews centered in one and the same object, their civil Policy and Religion must be intimately united and incorporated;† consequently, their religion had, and very reasonably, A PUBLIC PART, whose subject was the Society as such: though this part, in the national pagan Religions, which had it likewise, was extremely absurd, as hath been shewn more at large in the first volume.‡

II. Secondly, as the two Societies were thoroughly incorporated, they could not be distinguished; but must stand or fall together. Consequently the direction of all their civil Laws must be for the equal preservation of both. Therefore, as the renouncing him for King was the throwing him off as God; and as the renouncing him for God was the throwing him off as King; idolatry, which was the rejecting him as GOD, was properly the "crimen læsæ majestatis;" and so justly punishable by the civil Laws. But there was this manifest difference in these two cases, as to the effects. The renouncing GOD as civil Magistrate might be remedied without a total dissolution of the Constitution; not so, the renouncing him as tutelary GOD: because, though he might, and did § appoint a deputy, in his office of

* "Letter concerning Toleration," p. 37, ed. 1689. † Such a kind of union and incorporation was most absurdly affected by MAHOMET in imitation of the *Jewish* Œconomy; whence, as might be expected, it appears that neither he nor his assistants understood any thing of its true nature. ‡ See "Divine Legation," book ii. sect. i. vol. i. p. 171, *et seq.* § The kings of *Israel* and *Judah* being, as we shall shew, indeed no other.

KING, amongst the Jewish tribes; yet he would have no substitute, as GOD, amongst the pagan Deities. Therefore, in necessity as well as of right, idolatry was punishable by the civil Laws of a THEOCRACY; it being the greatest crime that could be committed against the State, as tending, by unavoidable consequence, to dissolve the Constitution. For the one GOD being the supreme Magistrate, it subsisted in the worship of that GOD alone. Idolatry, therefore, as the renunciation of one GOD alone, was in a strict philosophic, as well as legal sense, the crime of lese-majesty. Let us observe farther, that as, by such INCORPORATION, religious matters came under civil consideration, so likewise civil matters came under the religious. This is what Josephus would say, where, in his second book against Apion, speaking of the Jewish Theocracy, he tells us that Moses did not make *Religion a part of Virtue, but Virtue a part of Religion.** The meaning is, that, as in all human Societies, obedience to the Law is moral Virtue; under a THEOCRACY, it is Religion.

III. The punishment of Idolatry, by Law, had this farther circumstance of equity, that it was punishing the rebellion of those who had chosen the Government under which they lived, when freely proposed to them. Hence, in the Law against idolatry, the crime is, with great propriety, called the TRANSGRESSION OF THE COVENANT.†

Thus we see, the Law in question stands clear of the cavils of Infidels, and the abuse of Intolerants.‡

But to this, the defender of *the common rights of subjects* may be apt to object, "that these penal laws were unjust, because no contract to give up the rights of conscience can be binding."

To which I reply, with a plain and decisive fact, That none of all the idolatrous worship the Jews ever fell into, from the time of giving the Law to the total dissolution of the Republic, was MATTER OF CONSCIENCE; but always of convenience; such as procuring some temporal good, which they wantonly affected, or averting some temporal evil, which they servilely feared. The truth of which appears from hence, that, in the midst of all their idolatries, the GOD of their Fathers, as we shall see, was ever owned to be the Creator and first Cause of all things; and the Religion taught by Moses, to be a Revelation from heaven.

But it may be asked, What if their commission of idolatry had, at any time, proved matter of conscience; i. e. such an action as they thought they were obliged in duty to perform?

I reply, the question would have weight, had the Law in dispute

* Αἴτιον δ' ὅτι καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς νομοθεσίας πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον πάντων ἀεὶ πολὺ διήνεγκεν· οὐ γὰρ μέρος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐποίησε τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτης τὰ μέρη τἄλλα συνεῖδε καὶ κατέστησε· λέγω δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τὴν καρτερίαν, τὴν σωφροσύνην, τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἅπασι συμφωνίαν.—P. 483, Havercampi ed. † Deut. xvii. 2. ‡ See note C, at the end of this book.

been of human institution. But as it was given by GOD, who knows the future equally with the past and present, and saw the case would not happen, it is altogether impertinent. The Question, indeed, points out to us, the danger and absurdity in any human legislature to make penal Laws for restraining the exercise of Religion, on any pretence whatsoever.

Thus it is seen, that a *separation*, so necessary to preserve the Unity, could not have been supported without PENAL LAWS against idolatry; and, at the same time, seen that such penal laws can never be equitably instituted but under a Theocracy. The consequence is, that A THEOCRACY WAS NECESSARY.

But this form of Government was highly convenient likewise. The Israelites, on their leaving Egypt, were sunk into the lowest practices of idolatry. To recover them, therefore, by the discipline of a *separation*, it was necessary that the idea of GOD and his attributes should be impressed upon them in the most *sensible* manner. But this could not be done, commodiously, under his character of GOD of the Universe: under his character of KING of Israel it well might. Hence it is, we find him in the Old Testament so frequently represented with affections analogous to human passions. The Civil relation, in which he stood to these people, made such a representation natural; the grossness of their conceptions made the representation necessary; and the guarded manner in which it was always qualified, prevented it from being mischievous. Hence, another instance of the wisdom of this Œconomy; and of the folly of Spinoza, and others, who would conclude from it, that Moses and the Prophets had themselves gross conceptions of the Deity. Nor should the indiscretion of those Divines pass uncensured, who have taught that GOD, in the Old Testament, looks on man with a less gracious and benign aspect, than in the New. An error, which at one time gave birth to the most absurd and monstrous of the ancient heresies; and hath at all times furnished a handle to infidelity.* But GOD, whenever he represents himself under the idea of Lord of the Universe, makes one uniform revelation of his nature, throughout all his Dispensations, *as gracious and full of compassion; as good to* ALL, *and whose tender mercies are* OVER ALL HIS WORKS: yet condescending to become the tutelary God, and civil Magistrate of the Jews, it cannot but be, that he should be considered as having his peculiar inspection attached to this People, and as punishing their transgressions with severity.

These appear to me the true reasons of the *Theocratic* form of government. With such admirable wisdom was the Jewish Œconomy

* *It must be owned* (says Tyndal) *that the same spirit (I dare not call it a spirit of cruelty) does not alike prevail throughout the Old Testament: the nearer we come to the times of the Gospel, the milder it appeared.*—"Christianity as old as the Creation," p. 241. See too LORD BOLINGBROKE'S "Posthumous Works" throughout.

adapted, to effect the ends it had in view! Yet, notwithstanding the splendour of divinity which shines through every part of this Theocratic form, Mr. Foster, a dissenting preacher, tells us roundly, that it is all an idle dream; and that he will undertake to defend the Law, which punishes idolatry with death, "not on *dark and imaginary*, but on *clear and solid* principles; I therefore add," (says he) "supposing the THEOCRATIC form of government amongst the Jews to be a point incontestable, it *seems scarce* capable of affording a *full and satisfactory* answer to the objection raised against the Hebrew Law for devoting idolaters to death. For when the people of Israel, fond of novelty, and of imitating the customs of other nations, were stubbornly and inflexibly resolved, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the Prophet Samuel to the contrary, to have a visible and mortal King; God upon this occasion declared, that they had *rejected him that he should not reign over them:* and as his former political reign is founded on a supposed compact between the Almighty Sovereign and his people, that *original compact* being now solemnly renounced on the part of the people, there must of course be a dissolution or end of the Theocracy."*

He begins with calling the Theocracy *a dark principle*. And yet, the account he gives of it shews, that he did not find it *dark;* and, what was worse, could not, with all his endeavours, make it so. He calls it *imaginary;* and yet the very History he quotes to prove its short duration, shews, even by his own proof, it was *not imaginary*, but real.

Indeed, if that civil Government, which is founded on ORIGINAL COMPACT, were dissolvable at pleasure, that is, as soon as one of the contracting parties was grown weary of it (which this Decider on Government and Laws expressly says it is), then Government, on its most legitimate foundation, would be the most *dark and imaginary* of all things. When the Parliament rose up in arms against Charles I. they wanted just such a Preacher as this (and yet they had many precious ones), to assure them, that *their renouncing* the King's Authority had fairly dissolved the Monarchy, and brought it to a lawful end. For the Leaders of that body, it is plain, knew nothing of this secret, and were therefore at a great deal of pains to prove, and at last could hardly get themselves believed, that Charles himself had broken the *original Compact*. But unless this *Compact* stands upon a different footing from all other compacts in the world, we may safely pronounce, that a bargain or agreement, which has been made between two parties, can never be dissolved but by the consent of both of them; or by a fundamental misdemeanour in one; if the other party chuses to exact the forfeiture. Now, in the case of the

* "Sermons," vol. iii. pp. 373, 374.

Jews under Samuel, there was a *renunciation*, it is true, on the part of the People, or, in plainer English, a REBELLION. But GOD did not give way to it; he would not (as on the principles of civil justice he might) exact the forfeiture; which was, the withdrawing his protection. All this will be proved at large in its place. The *Theocracy*, therefore, still continued under their Kings; which were indeed no other than the *anointed*, or the Viceroys of GOD.—Such is our Preacher's success in attempting to shew Mr. Locke's principle to be *dark and imaginary*. Let us see next whether he has better fortune in proving his own to be *clear and solid*.

Now his way of justifying the Law, which punished idolatry with death, without the aid of the *theocratic principle*, is this.—"As the end for which the civil constitution of the Jews was formed, *viz.* to prevent their being over-run with idolatry, (which, as it prevailed amongst the neighbouring nations, corrupted their internal sense of the difference of good and evil, and banished humanity and decency, and many of the most considerable and important of the social virtues, by introducing shameful impurities and human sacrifices, quite detestable to nature) as the end, I say, for which the civil constitution of the Jews was formed, appears, when thus explained, and abstracted from all consideration merely religious, to be wise and gracious in itself; and as the judicial Laws in that scheme of Government were admirably adapted to subserve and advance this wise and gracious end; it necessarily follows, that idolatry, which would have frustrated the whole design of the Constitution, and have entirely dissolved and destroyed it, must, upon the same reasons that are allowed to be just in all other Policies, have deserved capital punishment."*

Here we see our Preacher approves himself just as skilful in the *end* of Civil-government, as he did before, in its *nature and essence*. He appears not to know (what he might have seen proved in the first volume of this work) that civil Society must have one particular, distinct, and appropriated end; and that this end can be no other than security to the temporal liberty and property of man; because (as is there shewn) all other ends may be attained without civil Society. This then is the only proper end of Government. Yet our Preacher falls into that exploded conceit, which makes any attainable end, so it be a good one, the legitimate business of civil Society, as such: which confounds this Society with all others, there being no way to keep the Civil distinct but by assigning it an end peculiar to itself. But his subject happening to be the *Jewish government*, it secured his reasoning from the glare of the absurdity. And his false and fallacious account of the *end* of its institution, with which he intro-

* Pp. 375, 376.

duces his reasoning, gave a certain plausibility to the nonsense which followed. It is in these words, *The end for which the civil constitution was formed, was to prevent their being over-run with idolatry.* Now, by *civil constitution*, a fair reasoner should mean (where the question is concerning the efficacy of a *mere* civil Government, in contradistinction to the Religious) the civil constitution of the Jews as it was so distinguished. But, in this sense, the *end* of the *civil constitution* of the Jews was the same with all other, namely, security to men's temporal liberty and property. It is true, if by their *civil constitution*, he meant both civil and religious, which here indeed was incorporated, and went under the common name of LAW; then indeed its *end was to prevent idolatry;* but then this is giving up the point, because that incorporation was the consequence of the *Theocratic* form of Government, or, to speak more properly, it was the THEOCRACY itself. Thus he comes round again to the place on which he had turned his back; and, before he knows where he is, establishes the very doctrine he would confute. In a word, our Preacher was got out of his depth; and here I shall leave him to sink or swim; only observing, that this great advocate of religious liberty has done his best (though certainly without design) to support a principle the most plausible of any that Persecutors for opinions can catch hold on, to justify their iniquitous practice; namely, *that civil government was ordained for the procuring all the good of all kinds, which it is even accidentally capable of advancing.* And to make sure work, he employs that adulterate gloss, which They so artfully put upon their wicked practice; *viz.* that it is *for the support of morality:* for who is so purblind that he cannot spy *immoralities* lurking in all heretical opinions? And thus it is that our Preacher defends civil Government, in punishing opinions: *The idolatry of the neighbouring nations* (says he) *corrupted their internal sense of the difference of good and evil, and banished humanity and decency, and many of the most considerable and important of the social virtues.* A reason constantly in the mouths, whatever hath been in the hearts of Persecutors, from St. Austin to St. Dominic.*

II.

We come, in the next place, to shew, that this THEOCRACY, as it was NECESSARY, so it would have an easy reception; being founded on the flattering notion, at that time universally entertained, of TUTELARY DEITIES, *Gentilitial and Local.* Thus, to carry on his great purpose, the Almighty very early represented himself to this chosen race, as a *Gentilitial* Deity, The GOD of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob:† Afterwards, when he preferred Judea to all other countries

* See note D, at the end of this book. † See Jer. x. 16, and li. 19.

for his personal residence (on this account called HIS LAND),* he came under their idea of a *Local* Deity: which notion was an established principle in the Gentile world, as we have shewn above, from Plato. It was originally EGYPTIAN; and founded in an opinion that the earth was at first divided by its Creator, amongst a number of inferior and subordinate Divinities. The Septuagint translators appear to have understood the following passage, in the song of Moses, as alluding to this opinion;—*When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people* ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL. *For the Lord's portion is his people: Jacob is the lot of his inheritance:*† For, instead of, *according to the number of the children of Israel* (which if they found in the text, they understood no more than later critics) they wrote κατὰ ἀριθμὸν Ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ, ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF THE ANGELS OF GOD. Which at least is intelligible, as referring to that old notion, original to the country where this translation was made. And Justin Martyr tells us,‡ that in the beginning, GOD had committed the government of the world to angels, who, abusing their trust, were degraded from their regency. But whether he learnt it from this translation, or took it from a worse place, I shall not pretend to determine.

The Land, thus selected by GOD for his personal residence, he bestows upon his chosen People. *Behold* (says he) *the land of Canaan which I give unto the children of Israel for a possession.*§ This too was according to the common notions of those times. Thus Jephthah, who appears to have been half paganized by a bad education, speaks to the King of the Ammonites, *Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy* GOD *giveth thee to possess? So, whomsoever the Lord our* GOD *shall drive out from before us, them will we possess.*‖

It was no wonder, therefore, when GOD was thus pleased, for the wise ends of his providence, to be considered, by a prejudiced people, in this character, that all the pagan nations round about should regard the GOD OF ISRAEL no otherwise than as a local tutelary Deity; too apt, by their common prejudices, to see him only under that idea. Thus he is called the GOD *of the Land,*¶—*the* GOD *of the Hills,*** *&c.* And it is expressly said, that *they spoke against the* GOD *of Jerusalem, as against the Gods of the people of the earth, which were the work of the hands of man.*†† By which is meant, that they treated him as a local tutelary Deity, of a confined and bounded power: for it was not the old pagan way to speak against one

* Lev. xxv. 23; Deut. xi. 12; Psalm x. 16: Isai. xiv. 25; Jer. ii. 7; xvi. 18; Ezek. xxxv. 10; xxxvi. 5, 20; xxxviii. 16; Wisd. of Sol. xii. 7. † Deut. xxxii. 8, 9.
‡ *Apologet.* i. § Deut. xxxii. 49. ‖ Judges xi. 24. ¶ 2 Kings xvii. 26; xviii. 33, et seq. ** 1 Kings xx. 23. †† 2 Chron. xxxii. 19.

another's Gods, in discredit of their Divinity: and this circumscribed dominion was esteemed, by them, no discredit to it: But, by the Jews, the worshipers of the true GOD, it was justly held to be the greatest. Therefore, to call the GOD of Israel *the God of the hills, and not of the plain,* was *speaking against him.*

For, here again we must observe, that when GOD, agreeably to the whole method of this Dispensation, takes advantage of, or indulges his people in, any habituated notion or custom, he always interweaves some characteristic note of difference, to mark the institution for his own. Thus in this indulgence of their prejudices concerning a tutelary GOD,

1. He first institutes, upon it, a *Theocracy;* a practice just the reverse of Paganism: for there Kings became Gods; whereas here GOD condescended to become King.*

2. Secondly, he forbids all kind of community or intercourse between the GOD of Israel and the Gods of the Nations, either by joining their worship to his, or so much as owning their Divinity. Thus were the Israelites distinguished from all other people in the most effectual manner; for, as we have often had occasion to observe, there was a general intercommunity amongst the Gods of paganism: They acknowledged one another's pretensions; they borrowed one another's titles; and, at length, entered into a kind of partnership of Worship. All the Pagan nations, we see, owned the GOD of Israel for a tutelary Deity.† But His followers were not permitted to be so complaisant. There was to be no fellowship between GOD and Belial; though a good understanding always subsisted between Belial and Dagon.

But, amidst a vast number of characteristic circumstances proving the origin of the MOSAIC RELIGION to have been different from that of every other nation, there is none more illustrious than this, *That the Mosaic religion was built upon a former,* namely, the PATRIARCHAL: whereas the various Religions of the Pagan world were all unrelated to, and independent of, any other.‡

And yet the famous Author of *The grounds and reasons of the Christian Religion* hath been hardy enough to employ one whole chapter to prove, that *this method of introducing Christianity into the world, by building and grounding it on the Old Testament, is agreeable to the common method of introducing new Revelations, whether real or* PRETENDED, *or any changes in religion; and also the nature of things.*§ "For if" (says he) "we consider the various revolutions and changes in religion, whereof we have any tolerable history, in their beginning, we shall find them, for the most part, to be grafted

* See note E at the end of this book. † 2 Kings xviii. 25; Jer. iv. 2, 3.
‡ See vol. i. book i. § "Grounds and Reasons," &c. p. 20.

on some old stock, or founded on some preceding revelations, which they were either to supply, or fulfil, or retrieve from corrupt glosses, innovations, and traditions, with which by time they were incumbered: and this, which MAY SEEM MATTER OF SURPRISE TO THOSE, WHO DO NOT REFLECT on the changeable nature of all things, hath happened; though the old revelations, far from intending any change, ingraftment, or new dispensation, *did for the most part declare they were to last for ever*, and did forbid all alterations and innovations, they being the last dispensation intended." *

Here are two things asserted: 1. That the building new Religions and new Revelations upon old was agreeable to the common method of the ancient world. 2. That it was agreeable to the nature of things. These are discoveries one would little have expected.

I. Let us first examine his FACTS.—But to judge truly of their force, we must remember, that the observation is made to discredit what Believers call true Revelation, by shewing that all false Religions have taken the same method of propagation.

1. His first point is, *That this method was agreeable to the common practice of the ancient world.* Would not one expect now an instance of some confessedly false Religion, between the time of ABRAHAM and CHRIST, which pretended to be built on some preceding Revelation? Without doubt: If it were only for this, that there is no other way of proving the proposition. Besides, to say the truth, such an instance would be well worth attending to, for its extreme curiosity. But he could not give the reader what was not to be had: and therefore he endeavours to make up this deficiency of *fact*, by shewing, 1. That the JEWISH Religion, like the CHRISTIAN, pretended to be built on a preceding. "Thus the mission of Moses to the Israelites" (says he) "supposed a former revelation of God (who from the beginning seems to have been constantly giving a succession of dispensations and revelations) to their ancestors; and many of the religious precepts of Moses were borrowed, or had an agreement with the religious rites of the heathens, with whom the Israelites had correspondence, and particularly with the religious rites of the Egyptians, (who upon that account seem confounded with the Israelites by some pagans, as both their religious rites were equally, and at the same time, prohibited by others) to whose religious rites the Israelites seem to have been *Conformists* during their abode in Egypt."† Go thy way, for a good Reasoner!—To prove that false revelations had the same pretensions of dependency on a preceding, as the true have had, he shews that all the true had these pretensions. But this is but half the atchievement. The best part is still behind. 'Tis a rarity; a blunder ingrafted on a sophism. He was not content to say that

* Page 21. † Page 22.

Moses founded his Religion on the Patriarchal: He must needs go on, —*And many of the religious precepts of Moses were borrowed, or had an agreement with the religious rites of the Heathens, with whom the Israelites had correspondence, and particularly with the religious Rites of the Egyptians.* Now, how it comes to pass that Moses's borrowing from the religious Rites of the Egyptians, whose religion he formally condemned of falshood, should be metamorphosed into an example of one Religion's being founded upon, or receiving its authority from, another, I confess, I cannot comprehend. If he were not at the head of the FREETHINKERS, I should suspect some small confusion in his ideas: and that this great Reasoner was unable to distinguish between, *a Religion's supporting itself on one preceding, which is acknowledged to be true:* and *a Religion's complying, for the sake of inveterate prejudices, with some innocent practices of another religion, which it was erected to overthrow, as false.*

2. He shews next, that those false religions which came AFTER the Jewish and the Christian, and are confessed to mimick their peculiarities, pretended to be built on preceding revelations.—"The mission of Zoroaster to the Persians supposed the religion of the Magians; which had been, for many ages past, the antient national religion of the Medes as well as Persians. The mission of Mahomet supposed Christianity; as that did, Judaism." * This is still better. The design of his general observation, *That it was the common method for new revelations to be built and grounded on preceding revelations,* was to shew that the revelations, which we call true, imitated the false. And he proves it,—by shewing that the false imitated the true. That Mahomet's did so, is agreed on all hands. And those bewildered men who would have us credit the story of a *late* Zoroaster, do, and must suppose that he borrowed from Judaism. But the truth is, the whole is an idle tale, invented by Persian writers under the early Califs. However, though the Zoroaster of Hyde and Prideaux be a mere phantom, yet the Religion called by his name, was a real thing, and started up in the first ages of Mahometism, with a Bible to support its credit, in imitation of, and to oppose to, the Alcoran. But this neat device unluckily detects the whole imposture: For in the Age of Mahomet, and in the time of the first Commentators on the Alcoran, the Persians were esteemed by them as Idolaters, and without a Bible; (and they had good Opportunity, by their constant commerce thither, to be well informed:) Which is agreeable to every thing that the earlier and the later Greek Writers unanimously deliver of the Persian Religion. But that, on the appearance of Mahometanism, the Persians should do what the Greeks did on the first appearance of Christianity, refine their old idolatrous worship,

* Page 23.

till they brought it to what Hyde and Prideaux observe it is at this day, amongst the remainder of the Magian sect in Persia and India, is nothing strange. The wonder is, that these learned men should have swallowed so gross a cheat, on the testimony of later Mahometan Writers; who had so many motives to support it, and so slender abilities to detect it; whose propensity to fabling is so great as even to discredit any truth that rests on their authority; and whose talents in the art of lying are so little proportioned to their inclination to exercise it, that they never fail of defeating their own impositions. This argument, therefore, was in all respects worthy the Author of *The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion.*

3. Lastly, he tells us, that "the Siamese and Brachmans both pretend that they have had *a succession of incarnate deities* amongst them, who at due distances of time have brought new Revelations from heaven; each succeeding one depending on the former; and that religion is to be conveyed on, in that way, for ever." *—He promised to prove a succession of Religions in the ancient world, the later founded and depending on the preceding: And he proves—*a succession of incarnate deities,* talked of amongst the MODERN pagans of India and Siam; and, from this succession concludes for a succession of DEPENDING RELIGIONS, of which they have no kind of notion. Nor are these extravagancies, which their priests do indeed talk of, any other than late inventions of their priests, to oppose to Mahometan and Christian Missionaries. But a *succession of incarnate deities* was so arch a ridicule on the mysteries of our holy faith, that it was to be brought in at any rate. But now the joke is over, let me tell him, he need not have gone so far for it. Were not Cœlus, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, &c. *a succession of incarnate deities?* yet were any of the Religions, which had those Gods for their author or object, FOUNDED OR DEPENDENT on (though they succeeded to) one another? Here again, our sagacious Freethinker was at a fault; and, with all his logic, could not distinguish between *one Religion's being built upon another,* and *one Religion's simply succeeding another.*

II. He comes next to the NATURE OF THINGS. The reader has seen how short he falls of his reckoning from *fact:* But let him fairly make up his accounts, and we shall not differ with him about his way of payment; but willingly receive his deficiencies of Fact, in Reason.—"If we consider" (says he) "the *nature of things,* we shall find that it must be difficult, if not impossible, to introduce amongst men (who in all civilized countries are bred up in the belief of some revealed religion) a revealed religion wholly new, or such as has no reference to a preceding one: for that would be to combat all men in too many respects, and not to proceed on a sufficient number

* Page 23.

of principles necessary to be assented to by those, on whom the first impressions of a new religion are proposed to be made." *

Here his head was full of the theologic ideas of modern times; where one Religion is maintained and propagated on the destruction of all the rest. And that indeed would be *combating all men in too many respects*, without good evidence in the Religion thus proposed. But had he had the least knowledge of Antiquity, he would have known that the Gentile religions of those times were founded on different principles, and propagated on different practices. Not one of those numerous Religions ever pretended to accuse another of falshood; and therefore was never itself in danger of being so accused. They very amicably owned one another's pretensions; and all that a new Religion claimed, was to be let into partnership with the rest, whose common practice was to trade in shares.† Yet, according to this great Philosopher, *it was difficult, if not impossible —it was combating all men in too many respects—It was not proceeding on a sufficient number of principles necessary to be assented to, &c.* But he can make Men, as well as Religions, change their natures when he wants them for some glorious mischief. It is his more usual way, and so it is of all his fellows, to make the People (the gross body of mankind) run headlong into Religion, without the least inquiry after evidence. But here we are told it *is very difficult, if not impossible*, to induce them to think well of a Religion which hath not the most plausible evidence for its support: That the not giving them this, is *not proceeding on a sufficient number of principles*, but *combating all men in too many respects, &c.*

And this is all we can get out of him, FROM THE NATURE OF THINGS. But as he has raised a curiosity which he knew not how to gratify, I shall endeavour to supply his ignorance; and from this *nature of things*, shew the reader, 1. How the Religions of MOSES and JESUS must NECESSARILY SUPPOSE a *dependency* on some preceding. 2. How the ancient Religions of paganism must NECESSARILY NOT SUPPOSE any such *dependency*; and 3. How it came to pass, that more modern impostors, risen since the coming of Christianity, imitated the true, rather than the false Religions of ancient times, in this pretence to *dependency*.

I. The PATRIARCHAL, the JEWISH, and the CHRISTIAN Religions, all professed to come from the only one GOD, the Creator of all things. Now as the whole race of mankind must be the common object of its Creator's care, all his Revelations, even those given only to a part, must needs be thought ultimately directed to the interest of the whole: consequently every later Revelation must suppose the TRUTH of the preceding. Again, when several successive Revelations

* Pp. 23, 24. † See the first volume, book ii. vol. i. p. 361, *et seq.*

are given by him, some less, some more extensive, we must conclude them to be the parts of ONE ENTIRE DISPENSATION; which, for reasons best known to infinite Wisdom, are gradually enlarged and opened: consequently every later must not only suppose the TRUTH of every preceding Revelation, but likewise their mutual RELATION and DEPENDENCY. Hence we see, there may be weighty reasons, why *God, from the beginning, should have been constantly giving a succession of Dispensations and Revelations;* * as this Author, with a lewd sneer, seems to take a pleasure in observing. If therefore, what we call the true Revelation came from GOD, these Religions must needs be, and profess to be, dependent on one another.

II. Let us see next how the case stood in the ancient Pagan world. Their pretended Revelations were not from the ONE GOD; but all from local tutelary Deities; each of which was supposed to be employed in the care of his own Country or People, and unconcerned in every Other's department. Consequently, between earlier and later Revelations of this kind, there could be no more dependency, than there was opposition: But each stood on its own foundation, single, unrelated, and original.

III. But when, by the propagation of the Gospel, the knowledge of the ONLY ONE GOD was spread abroad over the whole earth, and the absurdities of Polytheism fully understood by the people, an Impostor, who would now obtrude a new Religion on the world, must of necessity pretend to have received it from that *only one God.* But the probability of his giving a Revelation now, being seen greatly to depend on his having given one before, our Impostor would be forced to own the truth of those preceding Religions, which professed to come from that GOD. And as the credit of the new Religion was best advanced by its being thought a finishing part of an incomplete Dispensation, he would, at the same time, bottom it on the preceding. Besides, as an Impostor must needs want that necessary mark of a divine Mission, the power of Miracles, he could cover the want no otherwise than by a pretended relation to a Religion which had well established itself by Miracles. And thus, in fact, MAHOMET framed the idea of his imposture. He pretended his new Religion was the completion of Christianity, as Christianity was the completion of Judaism; for that the world not being to be won by the mild and gentle invitations of Jesus, was now to be *compelled to enter in* by Mahomet. And so again, to complete the imitation, this last and greatest Prophet, as his followers believe him to be, is pretended to be foretold in the New Testament, as the Messiah was in the Old.

Thus this notable observation, from whence the Author *of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* endeavoured to deduce

* Page 22.

so discrediting a likeness between all *false* religion, and what we believers hold to be the *true*, comes, we see, just to nothing.

But he has yet another flagrant mark of *likeness*, in reserve: And thus he goes on, from discovery to discovery.—*In building thus upon* PROPHECY (says he) *as a principle, Jesus and his Apostles had the concurrence of all sects of Religion amongst the Pagans.* Is it possible? Yes. *For the Pagans universally built their Religion on* DIVINATION.* As much as to say, the people of Amsterdam, in building their town-house upon piles, had (in the mode of laying a foundation) the concurrence of all the cities in England; who built theirs upon stone, or clay, or gravel. In the Jewish writings there are Prophecies of a future and more perfect Dispensation; which, Jesus claiming to belong to HIS, his Religion was properly built upon PROPHECIES. The Heathens made Gods of their dead benefactors, and then consulted them at their shrines, as Oracles; they inspected the entrails of beasts; they observed the flight of birds; they interpreted dreams and uncommon phænomena; and all these things they called DIVINATION. But what likeness is there between these things and Prophecies, the Prophecies on which Jesus founded his Religion? Just as much as there is between TRUTH and what these men call FREE-THINKING. But he has found a device to bring them related. 'Tis a master-piece; and the Reader shall not be robbed of it. *They* [the Pagans,] says he, *learnt that art* [Divination] *in schools, or under discipline, as the Jews did prophesying in the schools and colleges of the Prophets; where, the learned Dodwell says, the candidates for prophecy were taught the rules of divination practised by the Pagans, who were skilled therein, and in possession of the art long before them.*† This idle whimsy of the *learned Dodwell* concerning the schools of the Prophets has been exposed, as it deserves, already.‡ But for the sake of so extraordinary an argument (an *impiety*, grafted on its proper stock an *absurdity*), it deserves to be admitted, though it be but for a moment. The reasoning then stands thus: Divination was an art learnt in the schools; so was one kind of Prophecy, or the Jewish art of Divination: those who learnt this Jewish art of divination were taught the rules of pagan divination: THEREFORE pagan divination and ANOTHER kind of Prophecy, such as foretold the coming of the Messiah, were things of the same kind. Incomparable reasoner! and deservedly placed at the head of modern Free-thinking! But his learning is equal to his sense, and his premisses just as true as his conclusion: *The Pagans universally built their Religion on divination.* I believe there are few school-boys, who would not laugh at his blunder, and tell him it was just otherwise,

* "Grounds and Reasons," &c. pp. 27, 28.
† See vol. ii. book iv. sect. 6.
‡ Ibid.

that the Pagans universally built divination on their Religion. All that was ever *built on divination* was now and then a Shrine or a Temple. To return:

III.

But these prejudices, concerning local tutelary Deities, which made the introduction of a Theocracy so easy, occasioned as easy a defection from the Laws of it.

1. For these tutelary Deities owning one another's pretensions, there was always a friendly intercourse of mutual honours, though not always of mutual worship. For at first, each God was supposed to be so taken up with his own people, as to have little leisure or inclination to attend to the concerns of others.—Now this prejudice was the *first* source of the Jewish idolatry.

2. But the pretensions of these Gods being thus reciprocally acknowledged: and Some, by the fortunate circumstances of their followers, being risen into superior fame, the Rites used in their Worship were eagerly affected. And this was the *second* source of the Israelites' idolatry; exemplified in the erection of the GOLDEN CALF, and their fondness for all Egyptian superstitions in general.

3. But of these tutelary deities there being two sorts, GENTILITIAL and LOCAL; the one ambulatory, and the other stationed; the latter were fixed to their posts, as a kind of *heir-loom*, which they who conquered and possessed the country were obliged to maintain in their accustomed honours. And whatever *gentilitial* Gods a People might bring with them, yet the *local* God was to have a necessary share in the religious Worship of the new Comers. Nay it was thought impiety, even in foreigners, while they sojourned only in a strange Country, not to sacrifice to the Gods of the place. Thus Sophocles makes Antigone say to her father, that a stranger should both venerate and abhor those things which are venerated and abhorred in the city where he resides.* Celsus gives the reason of so much complaisance.—"Because" (says he) "the several parts of the world were, from the beginning, distributed to several powers, each of which has his peculiar allotment and residence." † And those who were loth to leave their paternal Gods when they sought new settlements, at least held themselves obliged to worship them with the Rites, and according to the usages of the Country they came to inha-

* Τόλμα, ξεῖνος
Ἐπὶ ξείνης, ὦ τλᾶμον, ὅ, τι
Καὶ πόλις τέτροφεν ἄφιλον
Ἀποστυγεῖν καὶ τὸ φίλον σέβεσθαι.—*Œdip. Colon.* act. i.

† Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι, ὡς εἰκὸς, τὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄλλα ἄλλοις ἐποπταῖς νενεμημένα καὶ κατά τινας ἐπικρατείας διειλημμένα, ταύτῃ καὶ διοικεῖται. καὶ δὴ τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις ὀρθῶς ἂν πράττοιτο ταύτῃ δρώμενα, ὅπῃ ἐκείνοις φίλον, παραλύειν δὲ οὐχ ὅσιον εἶναι τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τόπους νενομισμένα.—ORIGENES *Contra Celsum*, lib. v. p. 247. See the passage, from Plato, pp. 230, 231.

bit. Against this more qualified principle of Paganism, Moses thought fit to caution his People, in the following words: *When the Lord thy* GOD *shall cut off the nations from before thee, whither thou goest to possess them, and thou succeedest them and dwellest in their land; take heed to thyself that thou be not snared by following them, after that they be destroyed from before thee, and that thou* ENQUIRE NOT AFTER THEIR GODS, *saying,* HOW *did these nations serve their Gods! even* SO WILL I DO *likewise.** But the adoption of these new GODS, as well as of their Rites, was so general, that David makes his being unjustly driven into an idolatrous land, the same thing as being forced to serve idolatrous Gods. For thus he expostulates with his persecutor, "Now therefore I pray thee let my lord the king hear the words of his servant: If the Lord have stirred thee up against me, let him accept an offering: but if they be the children of men, cursed be they before the Lord; for they have driven me out this day from abiding *in the inheritance of the Lord, saying,* GO SERVE OTHER GODS." † To the same principle Jeremiah likewise alludes, in the following words, *Therefore will I cast you out of this land, into a land that ye know not, neither ye nor your fathers: and* THERE SHALL YE SERVE OTHER GODS *day and night, where I will not shew you favour.*‡ By which is not meant that they should be *forced,* any otherwise than by the superstitious dread of divine vengeance for a slighted worship: for at this time civil restraint in matters of religion was very rare.

But the imaginary vengeance which the tutelary GOD was supposed to take on those, who, inhabiting his Land, yet slighted his Worship, was at length really taken on the Idolatrous Cutheans, when they came to cultivate the land of Israel. For the Almighty having, in condescension to the prejudices of the Israelites, assumed the title of a TUTELARY LOCAL GOD, and chosen Judea for his peculiar regency; it appeared but fit that he should discharge, in good earnest, the imaginary function of those tutelary GODS, in order to distinguish himself from *the lying Vanities* of that infatuated age. Therefore when so great a portion of his Chosen people had been led captive, and a mixed rabble of Eastern idolaters were put into their place, he sent plagues amongst them for their profanation of the holy Land. Which calamity their own principles easily enabled them to account for. The story is told in these words: "And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof. And so it was, at the beginning of their dwelling there, that they feared not the Lord; therefore the

* Deut. xii. 29, 30. † 1 Sam. xxvi. 19. ‡ Jer. xvi. 13.

Lord sent lions amongst them which slew some of them. Wherefore they spake to the king of Assyria, saying, The nations which thou hast removed, and placed in the cities of Samaria, KNOW NOT THE MANNER OF THE GOD OF THE LAND: therefore he hath sent lions amongst them; and behold they slay them, because they know not the manner of the God of the land. Then the king of Assyria commanded, saying, Carry thither one of the Priests—and let him teach them *the manner of the God of the land.*—Then one of the Priests came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear the Lord. Howbeit every nation made Gods of their own—every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt.—So these nations feared the Lord, and served their graven images, both their children and their children's children, as did their fathers, so do they unto this day." *

But least this account of the miraculous interposition should be misunderstood as an encouragement of the notion of local Gods, or of *intercommunity* of worship, rather than a vindication of the sanctity of that Country, which was consecrated to the God of Israel, the sacred Historian goes on to acquaint us with the perverse influence this judgment had on the new inhabitants, so contrary to the divine intention. "They feared the Lord, and served their own Gods after the manner of the nations, whom they carried away from thence. Unto this day, they do after the former manners: they fear not the Lord, neither do they after their statutes, or after their ordinances, or after the Law and Commandment which the Lord commanded the children of Jacob whom he named Israel."† *They feared the Lord, and served their own Gods;* that is, they feared the vengeance impending on the exclusion of the Worship of the God of Israel. But *they feared not the Lord, neither did after their Statutes.* That is, they transgressed the Commandment which they found so frequently repeated in the Pentateuch, of joining no other Worship to that of the God of Israel.

And this was the true reason why the Kings of Persia and Syria (when Judea afterwards became a province to them) so frequently appointed sacrifices to be offered to the *God of the land,* at Jerusalem, in behalf of themselves and families. Nor was the practice disused when the Jews fell under the Roman yoke; both Julius Cæsar and Augustus making the same provision for the *felicity* of the Empire.

Hence therefore the *third* source of the Jewish idolatries. It was this superstitious reverence to local Deities within their own departments, which made them so devoted, while in Egypt, to the Gods of that Country; and when in possession of their own land, to the tutelary Gods of Canaan.

But this *intercommunity* of Worship, begun by the migration of

* 2 Kings xvii. 24, et seq. † Verses 33, 34.

People and Colonies from one country to another, grew more general, as those migrations became more frequent. 'Till at length the frequency, aided by many other concurrent causes (occasionally taken notice of in several places of this work), made the *intercommunity* universal. And this was the *last* source of Jewish idolatries. This drew them into the service of every God they heard of; or from whom they fancied any special good might be obtained; especially the Gods of all great and powerful Nations. These prejudices of opinion, joined to those of practice which they had learnt in Egypt, were the true causes of their so frequent lapse into idolatry.

From all this it appears, that their defection from the GOD of Israel, wicked and abominable as it was, did not however consist in the rejecting him as a false God, or in renouncing the Law of Moses as a false Religion; but only, in joining foreign Worship and idolatrous Ceremonies to the Ritual of the true GOD. Their bias to the idolatries of Egypt was inveterate custom; their inclination for the idolatries of Canaan was a prevailing principle that the tutelary God of the place should be worshiped by its inhabitants; and their motive for all other idolatries, a vain expectation of good from the guardian Gods of famous and happy Nations.

These were all inflamed by that common stimulation of a debauched People, the luxurious and immoral rites of Paganism; for it is to be observed that these defections generally happened amidst the abuses of prosperity. There is a remarkable passage in the Book of Joshua which sets this matter in a very clear light. The Israelites having lapsed into idolatry, Joshua drew together their Heads and Rulers at Shechem, in order to a reformation. And the topic, he insists upon for this purpose, is not, that the God of Israel was the only true God, the Maker of all things; but that he was the family-God of the race of Abraham, for which he had done so great things. And this he prosecutes from the 2d verse of the xxiv. chap. to the 13th. His conclusion from all this is, "Now therefore fear the Lord, and *serve him in sincerity, and in truth,* and put away the Gods which your Fathers served on the other side of the flood and in Egypt."* However (continues he) at least make your choice, and either serve the Lord, or serve the Gods of other People. "*And the people answered, God forbid we should forsake the Lord to serve other Gods:*† for we acknowledge him to be that God who has done so great things for us." To this Joshua replies, "*Ye cannot serve the Lord; for he is an holy God: he is a jealous God, he will not forgive your transgressions, nor your sins.*"‡ From all this, it appears, that the point debated between Joshua and his People, was not whether the Israelites should return to God, whom they had rejected and forsaken; but

* Joshua xxiv. 14. † Verses 16, 17. ‡ Verse 19.

whether they should serve him ONLY, or, as Joshua expresses it, *serve him in sincerity and in truth.* For on their exclaiming against the impiety of rejecting God,—"*God forbid, we should forsake the Lord;* we will still serve him;" meaning along with the other Gods,—their Leader replies, *Ye cannot serve the Lord, for he is an* HOLY *God: he is a* JEALOUS *God. i. e.* As a *holy God*, he will not be served with the lewd and polluted Rites of the Nations; and as a *jealous God*, he will not suffer you to serve Idols of wood and stone, with his Rites. The consequence is, You must serve him alone, and only with that worship which he himself hath appointed.

That this was the whole of their Idolatry, is farther seen from the accounts which the holy Prophets give us of it, in their reproofs and expostulations.

ISAIAH says, *To what purpose is the multitude of your Sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord: I am full of the Burnt-offerings of Rams, and the Fat of fed Beasts,** &c. To whom are these words addressed? To those who, besides their numerous Immoralities, there reckoned up at large, delighted in idolatrous worship in *Groves* and *high Places.* For the Denunciation is thus continued: *They shall be ashamed of the* OAKS *which ye have desired, and ye shall be confounded for the* GARDENS *that ye have chosen.*† He describes them again in this manner: *A People that provoketh me to Anger continually* TO MY FACE, *that sacrificeth in Gardens, and burneth Incense upon Altars of Brick.*‡ Yet, at the same time, these men gloried so much in being the peculiar People of the Lord, that they said, *Stand by thyself, come not near to me, for I am holier than thou.*§

JEREMIAH draws them in the very same colours: *Though they say, The Lord liveth, surely they swear falsly,*‖ i. e. vainly, idolatrously. Why? The Reason is given soon after; they swore likewise by their idols: *How shall I pardon thee for this? thy Children have forsaken me, and* SWORN BY THEM THAT ARE NO GODS.¶ Again, *Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and* SWEAR FALSLY *and* BURN INCENSE UNTO BAAL, *and walk after other Gods that ye know not* [i. e. strange Gods]; *and come and* STAND BEFORE ME IN THIS HOUSE, *which is called by my name, and say, We are delivered to do all these abominations?*** And in another place we find them thus expostulating with the Prophet,—*Wherefore hath the Lord pronounced all this Evil against us? or what is our Iniquity, or what is our Sin that we have committed against the Lord our* GOD? †† and the Prophet answering them in this manner,—*because your Fathers have forsaken me, saith the Lord, and walked after other Gods, and have served them, and have worshiped them, and have forsaken me,*

* Isai. i. 11. † Verse 29. ‡ Isai. lxv. 3. § Verse 5. ‖ Jer. v. 2.
¶ Verse 7. ** Jer. vii. 9, 10. †† Jer. xvi. 10.

*and have not kept my Law: And ye have done worse than your Fathers.** But is it possible they could be so exceeding stupid or impudent as to talk at this rate, had they ever renounced the RELIGION, or the GOD of their Forefathers?

EZEKIEL, likewise, shews plainly that their idolatries consisted in polluting the Religion of Moses with foreign worship: "Son of man, these men have set up their idols in their heart, and put the stumbling-block of their iniquity before their Face: SHALL I BE INQUIRED OF *at all by them?* Therefore speak unto them, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD, Every man of the house of Israel that puttetli up his idols in his heart, and putteth the stumbling-block of iniquity before his face, and *cometh to the Prophet*, I the Lord will answer him that cometh according to the multitude of his idols," &c.† And again: *As for you, O house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord God, Go ye, serve ye every one his idols, and hereafter also, if ye will not hearken unto me: but* POLLUTE YE MY HOLY NAME NO MORE *with your gifts and with your idols*,‡ i. e. with gifts offered up to me with idolatrous Rites. In another place he giveth a terrible instance of this horrid mixture: "They have committed adultery, and blood is in their hands, and with their idols have they committed adultery, and have also caused their sons, whom they bare unto me, to pass for them through the fire to devour them. Moreover this they have done unto me: THEY HAVE DEFILED MY SANCTUARY IN THE SAME DAY, and have profaned my Sabbaths. For when they had slain their Children to their idols, then THEY CAME THE SAME DAY INTO MY SANCTUARY to profane it; and lo, thus have they done in the midst of mine house."§ These, and innumerable other passages in the Prophets to the same purpose, evidently shew, that this defection from the God of Israel consisted not in a rejection of Him, or of his Law.

This appears still more evident from the following considerations:

1. That, in the course of their idolatries, they abused the memorials of their own Dispensation to superstitious Worship. Such as the *Brazen Serpent* of Moses; to which, in the time of their kings, they paid divine honours.‖ And I am much mistaken if the monument of *Twelve stones*, taken out of Jordan, and pitched in Gilgal for a memorial of their miraculous passage,¶ was not equally abused. What induces me to think so, is the following passage of ISAIAH: "Draw near hither, ye sons of the sorceress, the seed of the adulterer and the whore. Against whom do you sport yourselves?—enflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree, slaying the children in the valleys under the clifts of the rocks? AMONG THE SMOOTH STONES OF THE STREAM IS THY PORTION; they, they are

* Jer. xvi. 11, 12. † Ezek. xiv. 3, 4. ‡ Ezek. xx. 39. § Ezek. xxiii. 37—39. ‖ 2 Kings xviii. 4. ¶ Joshua iv. 3, 20—22.

thy lot: EVEN TO THEM HAST THOU POURED A DRINK-OFFERING, thou hast offered a meat-offering. Should I receive comfort in these?"*

2. The Israelites were most prone to idolatry in PROSPEROUS TIMES; and generally returned to the God of their fathers in ADVERSITY, as appears from their whole history. Against this impotence of mind they were more than once cautioned, before they entered into the Land of Blessings, that they might afterwards be left without excuse. "And it shall be" (says Moses) "when the Lord thy GOD shall have brought thee into the land which he sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give thee great and goodly cities which thou buildedst not, and houses full of all good things which thou filledst not, and wells digged which thou diggedst not, vine-yards and olive-trees which thou plantedst not, when thou shalt have eaten and be full; then beware lest thou forget the Lord which brought thee forth out of the Land of Egypt from the house of bondage. Thou shalt fear the Lord thy GOD and serve him, and shalt swear by his name. Ye shall not go after other Gods, of the Gods of the people which are round about you."† However Moses himself lived to see an example of this perversity, while they remained in the Wilderness: *But Jeshurun* (says he) *waxed fat, and kicked: Thou art waxed fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness; then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his Salvation.*‡ And the Prophet HOSEA assures us, that the Day of prosperity was the constant season of their idolatry: *Israel is an empty vine, he bringeth forth fruit unto himself:* ACCORDING TO THE MULTITUDE OF HIS FRUIT, HE HATH INCREASED THE ALTARS; ACCORDING TO THE GOODNESS OF HIS LAND THEY HAVE MADE GOODLY IMAGES.§ And again: *According to their pasture so were they filled;* THEY WERE FILLED, AND THEIR HEART WAS EXALTED: *therefore have they forgotten me.*‖ This, therefore, is a clear proof that their defection from the God of Israel was not any doubt of his goodness or his power, but a wanton abuse of his blessings. Had they questioned the truth of the Law, their behaviour had been naturally otherwise: they would have adhered to it in times of prosperity; and would have left it in adversity and trouble. This the Deists would do well to consider.

3. The terms, in which God's warnings against this defection are expressed, plainly shew that their lapse into Idolatry was no rejection of him: he will have no FELLOWSHIP OF COMMUNION with false Gods. The names employed to design their idolatries are ADULTERY and WHOREDOM. And God's resentment of their defection is perpetually expressed by the same metaphor: which shows that his right

* Isai. lvii. 3, et seq. † Deut. vi. 10, et seq.; viii. 11, et seq. ‡ Deut. xxxii. 15. § Hosea x. 1. ‖ Hosea xiii. 6.

over them was still acknowledged, just as an adulterous wife owns the husband's right, amidst all her pollutions with strangers. Where we may observe, that though their idolatry is so constantly styled ADULTERY, yet that of the Pagans never is; though it is very often called WHOREDOM. The reason of this distinction is plainly intimated in the following words of Ezekiel: "How weak is thine heart, saith the Lord God, seeing thou dost all these things, the work of an imperious whorish woman? In that thou buildest thine eminent place in the head of every way, and makest thine high place in every street, and hast NOT BEEN AS AN HARLOT (in that thou scornest hire), but AS A WIFE that committeth ADULTERY, which taketh strangers instead of her husband."* The Jews had entered into a covenant with God, which had made them his Peculiar: and when they had violated their plighted faith, they stood in that relation to him which an ADULTRESS does to her injured husband. The Gentiles, on the contrary, had entered into no *exclusive* engagements with their Gods, but the practice of *intercommunity* had prostituted them, as a common HARLOT, to all comers.

Thus much, however, must be confessed, that though the very worst of their idolatry consisted only in mixing foreign Worship with their own; yet, in their mad attention to those abominable things, God's Worship was often so extremely neglected, that He says, by the Prophet, *They have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters,* just as the Saint-worshippers in the Church of Rome forsake God, when in their private devotions the Vulgar think only of their tutelary Saints.

The several principal parts, therefore, of the Israelitish idolatry were these,

1. Worshiping the true GOD under an image, such as the *golden Calves,* 1 Kings xii. 28.

2. Worshiping him in Places forbidden, as in *Groves,* 2 Kings xviii. 22. Is. xxxvi. 7.

3. And by idolatrous Rites, such as *cutting themselves with knives,* Jer. xli. 5.

4. By profaning the house of GOD with *idolatrous images,* Jer. xxxii. 34.

5. By worshiping the *true* GOD *and Idols together.*

6. And lastly, by worshiping *idols alone,* Jer. ii. 13. Yet by what follows, ver. 35, it appears, that even this was not a total apostacy from God.

If the Reader would know what use I intend to make of this account of the Jewish idolatry, to the main Question of my Work, I must crave his patience till we come to the last Volume. If he would know what other use may be made of it, he may consider what hath

* Ezek. xvi. 30—32.

been said above; and be farther pleased to observe, that it obviates the objection of a sort of men equally unskilled in sacred and profane Antiquity (of whom more by and by), who, from this circumstance of the perpetual defection of the Jews into idolatry, would conclude that the Dispensation of GOD to them could never have been so illustrious as their history hath represented it. The strength of which objection rests on these two suppositions, that their idolatry consisted in renouncing the Law of Moses: And renouncing it as dissatisfied of its truth. Both which suppositions we have shewn to be false: the neglect of the law, during their most idolatrous practice, being no other than their preferring impure novel Rites (which most strongly engage the attention of a superstitious people) to old ones, whose sanctity has no carnal allurements. As to its original from GOD, they never entertained the least doubt concerning it; or that the GOD of Israel was the Creator of the Universe: They had been better instructed.—*Thus saith the Lord,* the HOLY ONE OF ISRAEL and HIS MAKER.*—As much as to say, the tutelary God of Israel is the Creator of the Universe: Indeed, in the period just preceding their captivity, when the *extraordinary* providence was gradually withdrawing from them (a matter to be considered hereafter more at large), they began to entertain suspicions of GOD's farther regard to them, *as his chosen people.* But that nothing of this ever contributed to their idolatry is plain from what we have shewn above, of its being a wanton defection in the midst of peace, prosperity, and abundance (the confessed effects of the *extraordinary* providence of the God of Israel), and of their constantly returning to him in times of difficulty and distress.

It is true, that this state of the case, which removes the infidel objection, at the same time discovers a most enormous perversity in that People; who, although convinced of the truth of a Religion forbidding all *intercommunity,* was for ever running astray after foreign Worship. However, would we but transport ourselves into these times, and remember what hath been said of that great principle of INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP; and how early and deeply the Jews had imbibed all the essential superstitions of Paganism; we should not only abate of our wonder, but see good cause to make large allowances to this unhappy People.

But there is another circumstance in this affair too remarkable to be passed by in silence. As fond as the Jews were of borrowing their Neighbours' Gods, we do not find, by any hints in ancient history, either profane or sacred, that their Neighbours were disposed to borrow theirs. Nay, we are assured by Holy Writ, that they did not. GOD, by the Prophet Ezekiel, addressing himself to the Jews, speaks on this wise:—*And the contrary is in thee from other women in thy*

* Isai. xlv. 11.

WHOREDOMS, WHEREAS NONE FOLLOWETH THEE TO COMMIT WHOREDOMS: *and in that thou givest a reward, and no reward is given to thee; therefore thou art contrary.** I have shewn, elsewhere, that, by this, is meant, that no Gentile nation borrowed the Jewish Rites of Worship, to join them to their own. For as to Proselytes, or particular men converted to the service of the true God, we find a prodigious number in the days of David and Solomon.† So again, in the Prophet Jeremiah, HATH A NATION CHANGED THEIR GODS, WHICH ARE YET NO GODS? *But my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit;* ‡ *i. e.* Hath any of the nations brought in the God of Israel into the number of their *false* Gods, as the Israelites have brought in theirs to stand in fellowship with the *true?* For that the Nations frequently changed their tutelary Gods, or one Idol for another, is too notorious to need any proof.

This then is remarkable. The two principal reasons of the contrariety, I suppose, were these:

1. It was a thing well known to all the neighbouring Nations, that the God of Israel had an abhorrence of all *community* or alliance with the Gods of the Gentiles. This unsociable temper would deter those people (who all held him as a tutelary Deity of great power) from ever bringing him into the fellowship of their country Gods. For, after such declarations, they could not suppose his company would prove very propitious. And in truth, they had a single instance of his ill neighbourhood, much to their cost; which brings me to the second reason.

2. The devastation he brought upon the Philistines, while the ARK rested in their quarters. For they having taken it from the Israelites in battle, carried it, as another *Palladium,*§ to Ashdod, and placed it in the temple of their God Dagon; who passed two so bad nights with his new Guest, that on the second morning he was found pared away to his *fishy stump:*‖ And this disaster was followed with a desolating pestilence. The people of Ashdod, who hitherto had intended to keep the Ark as one of their Idol-protectors, now declare *it should not abide with them, for that the hand of the* GOD OF ISRAEL *was sore upon them, and upon Dagon their God.*¶ They sent it therefore to Gath, another of their cities; and these having carried it about in a religious procession, it made the same havock amongst them.** It was then removed a third time, with an intent to send it to Ekron; but the men of that city, terrified with the two preceding calamities, refused to receive it, saying *they had brought the Ark of the God of Israel, to slay them and their people.*†† At length the Philistines by

* Ezek. xvi. 34. † 2 Chron. ii. 17. ‡ Jer. ii. 11. § See note F, at the end of this book. ‖ 1 Sam. v. 4, 5. ¶ Verse 7. ** Verse 9. †† Verse 10.

sad experience were brought to understand, that it was the best course to send it back to its owners: which they did with great honour; with gifts and trespass-offerings, to appease the offended Divinity.* And from this time we hear no more of any attempts amongst the Gentile Nations to join the Jewish Worship to their own. They considered the God of Israel as a tutelary Deity, absolutely UNSOCIABLE; who would have nothing to do with any but his own People, or with such Particulars as would worship him alone; and therefore, in this respect, different from all other tutelary Gods; each of which was willing to live in community with all the rest. This, the historian Josephus understood to be their sentiment, when he makes the Midianitish women address the young men of Israel in the following manner: *Nor ought you to be blamed for honouring those Gods which belong to the Country where you sojourn.*† *Besides, our Gods are* COMMON TO ALL THE NATIONS, *yours to* NONE OF THEM.‡

And thus the matter rested, till occasion requiring that God should vindicate his property in that Country which he had chosen for his peculiar residence, as a tutelary Deity. He then drove the Pagan inhabitants of Samaria into his worship, just as he had driven the Philistines from it: and, in both cases, hath afforded to his servants the most illustrious proofs of divine wisdom, in his manner of conducting this wonderful Œconomy to its completion.

But from this circumstance of the inability of the Law to prevent the Israelites from falling thus frequently into idolatry, a noble Writer§ has thought fit to ground a charge of imposture against the Lawgiver. It would therefore look like prevarication to let so fair an opportunity pass by without vindicating the Truth from his misrepresentations; especially when the nature and causes of that idolatry, as here explained, tend so directly to expose all his pompous sophistry.

"One of the most conceivable perfections of a law is" (says his Lordship), "that it be made with such a foresight of all possible accidents, and with such provisions for the due execution of it in all cases, that the law may be effectual to govern and direct these accidents, instead of lying at the mercy of them. Such a law would produce its effect, by a certain moral necessity resulting from itself, and not by the help of any particular conjuncture. We are able to form some general notions of laws thus perfect; but to make them, is above humanity.—To apply these reflections to the Law of Moses—We cannot read the Bible without being convinced, that no law ever

* 1 Sam. vi. 3. † See what hath been said above concerning this imaginary obligation. ‡ Μέμψαιτο δ' οὐδείς, εἰ γῆς εἰς ἣν ἀφῖχθε τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῆς Θεοὺς προτρέποισθε· καὶ ταῦτα, τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρων κοινῶν ὄντων πρὸς ἅπαντας, τοῦ δ' ὑμετέρου πρὸς μηδένα τοιούτου τυγχάνοντος.—*Antiq. Jud.* lib. iv. cap. vi. sect. 8. § Lord Bolingbroke.

operated so weak and uncertain an effect as the Law of Moses did. Far from prevailing against accidents and conjunctures, the least was sufficient to interrupt the course and to defeat the designs of it; to make that people not only neglect the Law, but cease to acknowledge the Legislator. To prevent this, was the first of these designs; and if the second was, as it was, no doubt, and as it is the design or pretence of all laws, to secure the happiness of the people, THIS DESIGN WAS DEFEATED AS FULLY AS THE OTHER; for the whole history of this people is one continued series of infractions of the Law, and of national calamities. So that this law, considered as the particular law of this nation, has proved more ineffectual than any other law perhaps that can be quoted. If this be ascribed to the hardness of heart and obstinacy of the people, in order to save the honour of the Law, this honour will be little saved, and its divinity ill maintained. This excuse may be admitted in the case of any human law; but we speak here of a law supposed to be dictated by divine Wisdom, which ought, and which would have been able, if it had been such, to keep, in a state of submission to it, and of national prosperity, even a people rebellious and obstinate enough to break through any other. If it be said the Law became ineffectual by the fault of those who governed the people, their Judges and their Kings, let it be remembered that their Judges and their Kings were of GOD'S appointment, for the most part at least; that he himself is said to have been their King during several ages; that his presence remained amongst them, even after they had deposed him; and that the High Priest consulted him, on any emergency, by the Urim and Thummim. Occasional miracles were wrought to inforce the Law; but this was a standing miracle, that might serve both to explain and inforce it, by the wisdom and authority of the Legislator, as often as immediate recourse to him was necessary. Can it be denied that the most imperfect system of human laws would have been rendered effectual by such means as these?" *

I. The sum of his Lordship's reasoning amounts to this, "that the Jewish Law being ordained for a certain end, it betrays its imposture by never being able to attain that end. For, first, if *infinite Wisdom* framed the Law, it must be most perfect; and it is essential to the perfection of a mean, for a Law is nothing but a mean, that it attain its end. Secondly, if *infinite Power* administered it, that Power must have rendered even the most imperfect system effectual to its purpose."

Thus, we see, his argument, when reduced to order, divides itself into these two branches; Considerations drawn, first, from the *Wisdom*, and, then, from the *Power* of the Deity, to discredit his workmanship.

* LORD BOLINGBROKE'S "Works," vol. iii. pp. 292—294, 4to. ed.

1. We will take him at his best, with the improvement of order; and first examine his conclusions from the circumstance of *infinite Wisdom's framing the Law.*

Let us admit then for a moment, that his representation of the *end* of the Law is exact; and that his assertion of its never gaining its end, is true: I answer, that this objection to the divine original of the JEWISH LAW holds equally against the divine original of that Law of Nature, called the MORAL LAW. Now his Lordship pretends to believe that the *Moral Law* came from GOD: nay, that He was so entirely the Author and Creator of it, that if he had so pleased, he might have made it essentially different from what it is. But yet the experience of all ages hath shewn, that this Law *prevailed* still less *against accidents and conjunctures* than the Mosaic. For if the Jews were always transgressing their Law till the Captivity, yet after that disaster they as scrupulously adhered to it; and in that attachment have continued ever since: whereas, from the day the MORAL LAW was first given to mankind, to this present hour, *the least accident was sufficient to interrupt the course*, and to *defeat the designs of it.* How happened it, therefore, that this acknowledged Law of GOD did not *govern and direct accidents, instead of lying at the mercy of them?* Was it less *perfect* in its kind than the Mosaic? Who will pretend to say That, who believes the Moral Law came directly from GOD, and was delivered intimately to Man, for the service of the whole Species; while the Jewish Law came less directly from him, as being conveyed through the ministry of Moses, for the sole use of the Jewish People?

To these questions his Lordship would be ready to answer, "That it is necessary for the subjects of a moral law to be endowed with free Will: That free Will may be abused; and that such abuses may render the most *perfect* system of Laws ineffectual." But this answer turns upon his Lordship, when applied to the defence of the Mosaic Law; and turns with redoubled force.

We see then how much he was mistaken in concluding, that, because *perfection in its kind* is one of the essential qualities of a divine Law, therefore such a law must of *necessity* produce its effect. His best reason for this fancy is, that *he is able to form some general notions of Laws thus perfect.* Which is no more than telling us (notwithstanding his parade of insinuated ability), that he is able to conceive how the Will may be controlled, and how Man may be transformed into a Machine. It is true, he owns, that this fact, viz. *to make laws thus perfect, is above humanity.* It is so; and let me add, as much *below the Divinity;* whose glory it is to draw his reasonable creatures with the *cords of a man.* A Law then, which produces its effects by a *certain necessity*, must do it by a necessity

which is *physical*, and not *moral*; it being the quality of *physical*, not of *moral necessity*, that its effects cannot possibly be *defeated*.

Thus, we see, all there is of truth in his Lordship's assertion, of its being *essential to the perfection of a mean that it attain its end*, amounts only to this, A capacity in such a *mean* to attain its end, naturally and of itself. And this, we say, was the condition of the Mosaic Law; whatever might be the actual success.

The qualities of a Law capable of producing its effect, are to be sought for *à priori*, as the Schools speak, and not *à posteriori*: And if here we find intrinsic marks of excellence in the particular Laws; of consummate wisdom in the general Frame and Constitution of them; and can likewise discover those *accidents*, which, at some periods of the Dispensation, hindered the *effect*; we have done all that human reason can require, to vindicate this divine Law, from his Lordship's imputations of imposture.

To treat this matter as it deserves, would require a volume, though not so large as his Lordship's. But a few words will suffice to give the reader a general idea of the truth. And a general idea will be sufficient to shew the futility of the objection.

The admirable provision made by the Jewish Law for preventing idolatry, may be seen in the following instances.

1. That each specific Rite had a natural tendency to oppose, or to elude, the strong propensity to idolatrous Worship, by turning certain Pagan observances, with which the people were besotted, upon a proper object.—Hence that CONFORMITY between Jewish and Pagan Ceremonies, which so vainly alarms, and so vainly flatters, both the friends and enemies of Revelation.

2. That by their multiplicity, and the frequent returns of their celebration, they kept the People constantly busied and employed; so as to afford small time or leisure for the running into the forbidden superstitions of Paganism.

3. That the immediate benefits which followed the punctual observance of the Law had a natural tendency to keep them attached to it.

4. But lastly, and above all, that the admirable coincidency between the *Institute of Law*, and the *Administration of Government* (whereby the Magistrate was enabled to punish idolatry with death, without violating the rights of mankind), went as far towards the actual prevention of idolatrous Worship, as, according to human conceptions, CIVIL LAW, whether of human or divine original, could possibly go. And resting the matter here, I suppose, one might safely defy his Lordship, with all his legislative talents, and his vain boast of them, *to form any general notions of a law more perfect*.

But this reasoning on the natural efficacy of the Mosaic Law, by

its innate virtue, to prevent and to restrain Idolatry, which it did not at all times, in fact, prevent and restrain, will be further supported by this consideration: That the circumstance which, from time to time, occasioned a defection from the Law, was neither an indisposition to its establishment; nor any incoherence in its general Frame and Constitution; nor aversion to any particular part, nor yet a debility or weakness in its Sanctions. The sole cause of the defection was an inveterate prejudice, exterior and foreign to the Law. The Israelites, in their house of bondage, had been brought up in the principles of LOCAL AND TUTELARY DEITIES and INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP; principles often referred to, on various occasions, in the course of this work, for the illustration of the most important truths. In these Principles, they saw the whole race of mankind agree: and, from the Practice of them, in the worship of tutelar Deities, they thought they saw a world of good ready to arise. But not only the hope of good, but the fear of evil drew them still more strongly into this road of folly. Their Egyptian education had early impressed that bugbear-notion of a set of *local* Deities, who expected their dues of all who came to inhabit the country which they had honoured with their protection; * and severely resented the neglect of payment on all new comers. This will easily account for the frequent defections of the Israelites in the divided service of the Gods of Canaan.—But it is difficult for men fixed down to the impressions of modern manners, to let themselves into distant times; or to feel the force of motives whose operations they have never experienced: Therefore, to convince such men that the early Jewish defections were not owing to any want of force or virtue in the Law, but to the exterior violence of an universal prejudice, it may be proper to observe, that, from the Babylonian Captivity to this very time, the Jews have been as averse to Idolatry under every form and fashion of it, as before they were propense unto it. If it be asked, what it was that occasioned so mighty a change? I answer, It was in part, the severity of that punishment which they had felt; and in part, the abatement of that foolish prejudice which they had favoured, of INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP: This, though still as general as ever in the Pagan world, had yet lost greatly of its force amongst the Jews, since they became acquainted with the principles of Gentile Philosophy; the sounder parts of which being found conformable to the *reasonable* doctrines of their Religion, were applied by them to the use of explaining the Law. An use which this Philosophy was never put to in the place of its birth, on account of the *absurdities* of Pagan worship; for this kept the principles of Philosophy and the practices of Religion at too great a distance to have

* See what has been said on this matter just above, in the case of the *Cutheans*, inhabiting Samaria.

any influence on one another. Such was the advantage the followers of the Jewish Law reaped from the Greek Philosophy; an advantage peculiar to them; and which made some amends for the many superstitions of another kind, which the mixing Philosophy with Religion introduced into the practice of the Law: superstitions which depraved, and at length totally destroyed the noble simplicity of its nature and genius.—But I anticipate a subject for which I shall find a much fitter place.

At length then we see, that the Law of Moses was, indeed, such a one as his Lordship would require in a LAW OF DIVINE ORIGINAL, namely, that *it produced its effect*, if not by a *physical* necessity which bears down all obstruction before it, yet by a *moral*, which constantly kept operating when no foreign impediment stood in the way! So false is his Lordship's assertions, that *the* WHOLE *history of this people is one continued series of infractions of the Law.* If, by the *whole* he means (as his argument requires he should mean) the whole both of their sacred and merely civil history; and, by *one continued series of infractions of the Law*, their lapses into Idolatry; it is the grossest misrepresentation: the far greater part of their duration as a distinct People was free from idolatry; and an authentic account of this freedom is recorded in their Annals. But if by *their whole history*, he means (as his cause might necessitate him to mean) only the sacred books; and, by *their infraction of the Law*, only transgressions in lesser matters, it is illusory and impertinent.

2. We have seen the force of his Lordship's conclusion from the circumstance—*of infinite Wisdom's framing the Law:* We come next to the other circumstance, from which he deduceth the same conclusion, namely *infinite Power's administring the Law.*

"Let it be remembered" (says his Lordship) "that GOD himself is said to have been their King during several ages; that his presence remained amongst them, even after they had deposed him; and that the High Priest consulted him, on any emergency, by the Urim and Thummim. OCCASIONAL MIRACLES were wrought to inforce the Law; but this was a standing miracle that might serve both to explain and inforce it, by the wisdom and authority of the Legislator, as often as immediate recourse to him was necessary. *Can it be denied that the most imperfect system of human Laws would have been rendered effectual by such means as these?*"

This bad reasoning seems to be urged with much good faith, contrary to his Lordship's usual custom; and arises from his ignorance of a *Theocratic* administration, as the nature of the administration may be collected from the common principles of the Law of Nature and Nations.

Let us consider the affair dispassionately. God, in giving laws to

his chosen people, was pleased, *more humano*, to assume the title of King, and to administer their civil affairs by a *Theocratic* mode of Government. Every step in this establishment evinces, that it was his purpose to interfere no otherwise than in conformity to that political assumption. He proceeded on the most equitable grounds of civil Government: he became their *King* by free choice. It must needs therefore be his purpose to confine himself to such *powers of legislation*, as human Governors are able to exert; though he extended the *powers of administration* far beyond the limits of humanity. His Lordship's ignorance of so reasonable a distinction occasioned all this pompous Fallacy. He found in the Mosaic Dispensation OCCASIONAL MIRACLES pretended: and he imagined that, consistently with this pretence, *Miracles* ought to operate throughout, rather than that the *end* of the Law should be defeated. But, I presume, GOD could not, conformably to his purpose of erecting a THEOCRACY, and administring it MORE HUMANO, exert miraculous powers in *legislating*, though he very well might, and actually did exert them, in *governing*: because, in legislation, a *miracle*, that is, a supernatural force added to the Laws, to make them constantly obeyed, could not be employed without putting a force upon the Will; by which God's Laws would indeed *produce their effect*, but it would be by the destruction of the subject of them. The case was different in administring the Laws made: here God was to act *miraculously*; often out of wise choice, to manifest the nature of the Government, and the reality of his *regal* character; sometimes out of necessity, for the carrying on of that Government on the Sanctions by which it was to be dispensed: and all this he might do without the least force upon the Will.

This is sufficient to expose the futility of his Lordship's conclusion from the circumstance of *infinite Power's administring the Law*; it being essential to the Law, that *infinite Power administring it*, should restrain itself within such bounds as left the Will perfectly free. But *infinite Power*, restrained within such bounds, might sometimes meet with unsurmountable obstructions in the course of its direction, under a Theocracy administered *more humano*.

II. We have seen how weak his Lordship's reasoning is in itself: Let us now see how much weaker he makes it by ill management; till at length it comes out a good argument against his own objection.

"The Law of Moses" (says his Lordship) "was so far from prevailing over accidents and conjunctures, that the least was sufficient to interrupt the course and defeat the design of it, to make that people not only neglect the Law, BUT CEASE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE LEGISLATOR. To prevent this, was the *first of these designs*: and

if the *second was* (as it was, no doubt) and as it is the design or pretence of all Laws, to secure the happiness of the people, THIS DESIGN WAS DEFEATED AS FULLY AS THE OTHER: for the whole history of this people is one continued series of INFRACTIONS OF THE LAW, AND OF NATIONAL CALAMITIES."

To pass by that vulgar mistake (which has been sufficiently exposed above) that the Jews *ever ceased to acknowledge their Legislator;* let me observe it to his Lordship's credit, that he appears to have understood so much at least of the Mosaic Institution, as to see that the *first end* of it was peculiar to itself; and that that which is common to all civil Communities was but the *second end* of This.

But is it not strange, when he saw so far into the nature of the Jewish Constitution, that he should not see that this *second end* was entirely dependent on what he himself makes the principal; namely, to preserve the Israelites from idolatry; but should argue against the divinity of the Law, as if these ends were independent one of another; and that one might be obtained without the other? For, to aggravate the imbecility of the Law, he informs us in the passage last quoted, "that it was not only unable to gain its first end, but its second likewise: *that the one design was defeated as fully as the other;* that the people were not only idolaters in spiritual matters, but poor, miserable, and calamitous in their civil interests." Strange! that he could not see, or would not acknowledge, that the LAW denounces their happiness and misery as citizens, in exact proportion to their adherence to, or their defection from, that Law; when he saw and confessed (what their HISTORY records), that this was their invariable fortune. *The whole history of this people* (says his Lordship) *is one continued series of infractions of the Law, and of national calamities.* Now if the whole frame of the Mosaic Law was so composed, as to do that by *positive* institute which the moral Law does by *natural*, viz. reward the obedient, and punish the disobedient (and it certainly was so composed, if a *continued series of infractions* was followed by a *continued series of calamities*), we must needs conclude that we have here the strongest proof of that divine Wisdom in the Constitution, which this great modern Law-giver pretends to seek, but assures us he is not able to find; and yet, at the same time, brings this convincing circumstance of the *truth* of the LAW;—*This design* (says he) *was defeated as fully as the other.* Here his rhetoric, as usual, got the better of his reasoning: Not content to say,—*the whole history of this People is one continued series of infractions of the Law,*— he will needs add by way of exaggeration—AND OF NATIONAL CALAMITIES. Which has so perverse an influence on the argument as to undo all he had been labouring to bring about, by discovering a

connexion between *infractions* and *calamities*, which has all the marks of a divine contrivance.

Had it been the declared design of their Law-giver to *separate* the two ends, and to form such an Œconomy as that the People under it might be flourishing in peace and affluence, while they were Idolaters in Religion; or, on the other hand, true Worshippers and, at the same time, calamitous Citizens; then to find them neither religious nor prosperous, under a Law which pretended to procure truth without temporal felicity, or to establish peace and prosperity in the midst of error; this indeed (without taking in the perversity of such a System) would have fully discredited the pretended original. But when, in this Law, truth and happiness, error and misery, are declared to have an inseparable connexion; the freethinking Politician, who shews from history that this connexion was constant and invariable, is intrapped by the retorsion of nature and reason, to prove against himself the Divinity of that Institute he labours to discredit.

Still further: When, on reading the history of this extraordinary People, we find (as Josephus well expresses it) that, *in proportion to the neglect of the Law, easy things became unsurmountable, and all their undertakings, how just soever, ended in incurable calamities,** we cannot but acknowledge the divine direction in every stage of such a Dispensation. For, to comprehend the whole of the Historian's meaning, we must remember, that there were some Laws given purposely to manifest the divinity of their original: such as that *against multiplying horses;* which, when it was trangressed, *easy things became unsurmountable;* and that which most facilitates a victory, a strong body of Cavalry intermixed with Foot, proved amongst the Israelites a certain means of their defeat. So again, when they transgressed the Law which commanded *all the males to go annually to the temple*, the historian tells us, *their most just undertakings ended in incurable calamities;* and sure nothing could be more *just* than to defend their borders from invaders; yet they were sure to be most infested with them when they thought themselves best secured: that is, while their males were at home, when they should have been worshiping at the Temple.

III. But it is now time to come a little closer to his Lordship. He has been all along arguing on a FALSE FACT, which his ignorance of the nature of the Jewish Separation hindered him from seeing.

He understood, indeed, that this extraordinary Œconomy had, for its *primary end*, something very different from all other civil Policies;

* Καθ' ὅσον δ' ἂν ἀποστῶσι τῆς τούτων ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιμελείας, ἄπορα μὲν γίνεται τὰ πόριμα, τρέπεται δ' εἰς συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους, ὅ, τι ποτ' ἂν ὡς ἀγαθὸν δρᾷν σπουδάσωσιν. —*Antiq.* vol. i. p. 4.

and that that which was the first (indeed the only end), in others, was but the secondary, end in this. Yet this primary end he saw so obscurely, as not to be able to make it out. He supposed it was *to keep the Israelites from idolatry;* whereas it was TO PRESERVE THE MEMORY OF THE ONE GOD IN AN IDOLATROUS WORLD, till the coming of Christ: To *keep the Israelites from idolatry,* was but the *mean* to this *end.* Thus has our political Architect "mistaken the scaffold for the pile," as his harmonious friend expresses it. And the mistake is the more gross, as the notion of the ultimate end's being to *keep the Israelites from idolatry,* is founded in that vain fancy of Jewish pride, that their Fathers were selected as the favourites of God, out of his fondness for the race of Abraham.

Under this rectified idea therefore let us consider the truth of his Lordship's assertion, *That no Law ever operated so weak and uncertain an effect as the Law of Moses did; far from prevailing against accidents and conjunctures, the least was sufficient to interrupt the course, and to defeat the designs of it.*

Now if we keep the true end of the Law in view, we shall see, on the contrary, that it prevailed constantly and uniformly, without the least interruption, against the most violent *accidents,* and in the most unfavourable *conjunctures;* those I mean, which happened when their propensity to the practice of idolatry, and their prejudice for the *principle of intercommunity,* were at the height: for amidst all the disorders consequent thereto, they still preserved the knowledge of the true God, and performed the rites ordained by the Law. And the very calamities which followed the infraction of the Law, of which the neighbouring Nations occasionally partook, were sufficient to alarm these latter, when most at ease, amidst the imaginary protection of their tutelary Gods, and to awaken them to the awful sense of a BEING different, as well as superior to their *National Protectors.* Which shews, that the Law still *operated its effect,* strongly and constantly; and still *prevailed against accidents and conjunctures,* which it *governed and directed,* instead of *lying at the mercy of them.* But as it is very probable that the frequent transgressions, which those *accidents and conjunctures* occasioned, would in time have defeated the end of the Law, the transgressors were punished by a seventy-years-captivity; the extraordinary circumstances of which made such an impression on their haughty masters as brought them to confess that the *God of Israel* was the *true God;* and was so severely felt by them, that they had an utter aversion and abhorrence of Idolatry, or the worship of false Gods, ever after. So that from thence to the coming of Christ, a course of many ages, they adhered, though tributary and persecuted, and (what has still greater force than Persecution, if not thoroughly administered) despised and ridiculed by the

two greatest Empires of the world, the Greek and Roman; and though surrounded with the pomp and splendour of Pagan idolatries, recommended by the fashion of Courts, and the plausible glosses of Philosophers, they adhered, I say strictly, and even superstitiously, to the letter of that Law, which allowed of no other Gods besides the God of Israel. Now if this was not *gaining its end*, we must seek for other modes of speech, and other conceptions of things, when we reason upon Government and Laws.

Yet this was not all. For the LAW not only gained its end, in delivering down the Religion of the TRUE GOD into the hands of the REDEEMER OF MANKIND; who soon spread it throughout the whole Roman Empire; but even after it had done its destined work, the vigour of the Mosaic Revelation still working at the root, enabled a bold Impostor to extend the principle of the UNITY still wider, till it had embraced the remotest regions of the habitable World: So that, at this day, almost all the Natives of the vast regions of higher Asia, whether Gentiles, Christians, or Mahometans, are the professed worshipers of the ONE ONLY GOD. How much the extension of the principle of the *Unity* has been owing to this Cause, under the permission and direction of that Providence, which is ever producing *good out of evil*, is known to all who are acquainted with the present state of the Eastern world.

The reason why I ascribe so much of this good, to the lasting efficacy of the Mosaic Law, is this: Mahumet was born and brought up an Idolater, and inhabited an idolatrous Country; so that had he seen no more of true Religion than in the superstitious practice of the Greek Church, at that time over-run with saint and image-worship, it is odds but that, when he set up for a Prophet, he might have made Idolatry the basis of his new Religion: But getting acquainted with the Jews and their Scriptures, he came to understand the folly of Gentilism and the corruptions of Christianity; and by this means was enabled to preach up the doctrine of the ONE GOD, in its purity and integrity. It is again remarkable, that to guard and secure this doctrine, which He made the fundamental principle of Ishmaelitism, he brought into his Imposture many of those provisions which Moses had put in practice to prevent the contagion of idolatry.

But the great Man with whom we have to do, is so secure of his fact, namely that *the Law was perpetually defeated, and never gained its end*, that he supposes his Adversaries, the DIVINES, are ready to confess it; and will only endeavour to elude his inference by throwing the ill success of its operations on the *hardness of the People's hearts and the impiety of their Governors*.* And this affords him fresh occasion of triumph.

* Pp. 293, 294.

I will not be positive that this species of Divines is intirely of his own invention, and that this their apology for Moses is altogether as imaginary as their famous CONFEDERACY * against God; because I know by experience that there are of these Divines, who, in support of their passions and prejudices, are always ready (as I have amply experienced) to admit what Scripture opposes, and to oppose what it admits, in almost every page. But the best Apologies of such men are never worth a defence, and indeed are rarely capable of any.

To conclude: Such as these here exposed, are all the reasonings of his Lordship's bulky volumes: And no wonder; when a writer, however able in other matters, will needs dictate in a Science of which he did not possess so much as the first principles.

SECTION III.

HAVING thus shewn the nature of this THEOCRACY, and the attendant circumstances of its erection; our next enquiry will be concerning its DURATION.

Most writers suppose it to have ended with the JUDGES; but scarce any bring it lower than the CAPTIVITY. On the contrary, I hold that, in strict truth and propriety, it ended not 'till the coming of CHRIST.

I. That it ended not with the Judges, appears evident for these reasons:

1. Though indeed the People's purpose, in their clamours for a King, was to live under a Gentile Monarchy like their idolatrous neighbours (for so it is represented by God himself, in his reproof of their impiety); † yet in compassion to their blindness, he, in this instance, as in many others, indulged their prejudices, without exposing them to the fatal consequence of their project: which, if complied with, in the sense they formed it, had been the withdrawing of his *extraordinary protection* from them, at a time when they could not support themselves without it. He therefore gave them a *King;* but such an one as was only his VICEROY or Deputy; and who, on that account, was not left to the People's election, as he left his own Regality; but was chosen by himself: the only difference between God's appointment of the Judges and of Saul being this, that They were chosen by internal impulse; He, by Lots, or external designation.

2. This king had an unlimited *executive* power; as God's Viceroy must needs have.

3. He had no *legislative* power: which a Viceroy could not possibly have.

4. He was placed and displaced by God at pleasure: of which, as

* Vol. v. pp. 305—307, 393. † 1 Sam. viii. 7.

Viceroy, we see the perfect fitness; but as Sovereign by the people's choice, one cannot easily account for; because God did not chuse to supersede the natural Rights of his People, as appears by his leaving it, at first, to their own option whether they would have God himself for their King.

5. The very same punishment was ordained for cursing the King as for blaspheming God, namely, stoning to death: and the reason is intimated in these words of Abishai to David, *Shall not Shimei be put to death for this, because he cursed the* LORD'S ANOINTED? * This was the common title of the Kings of Israel and Judah, and plainly denoted their office of Viceroyalty: Improperly, and superstitiously transferred, in these later ages, to Christian Kings and Princes.

From this further circumstance, a *Viceroyalty* is necessarily inferred: The throne and kingdom of Judea is all along expresly declared to be God's throne and God's kingdom. Thus, in the first book of Chronicles, it is said that *Solomon sat on the* THRONE OF THE LORD, *as King, instead of David his father.*† And the queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon, to be instructed in his wisdom, and doubtless had been informed by him of the true nature of his kingdom, compliments him in these words: *Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee to set thee on* HIS THRONE, TO BE KING FOR THE LORD THY GOD.‡ In like manner Abijah speaks to the house of Israel, on their defection from Rehoboam: *And now ye think to withstand the* KINGDOM OF THE LORD *in the hands of the sons of David.*§ And to the same purpose, Nehemiah: *Neither have our kings, our princes, our priests, nor our fathers, kept thy law, nor hearkened unto thy commandments, and thy testimonies wherewith thou didst testify against them. For they have not served thee in* THEIR KINGDOM.‖ The sense, I think, requires that the Septuagint reading should be here preferred, which says EN BAΣIΛEIA ΣOY, IN THY KINGDOM. And this the Syriac and Arabic versions follow. As Judea is always called *his kingdom*, so he is always called the *King of the Jews.* Thus the Psalmist: *Thine Altars, O Lord of Hosts, my* KING, *and my God.*¶ And again: *Let* Israel *rejoice in him that made him: let the children of* Zion *be joyful in their* KING.** *And* thus the Prophet Jeremiah: *The* KING, *whose name is the Lord of Hosts.*††

7. The penal Laws against idolatry were still in force during their Kings, and put in execution by their best rulers, and even by men inspired. Which, alone, is a demonstration of the subsistence of the THEOCRACY; because such laws are absolutely unjust under every other form of Government.

* 2 Sam. xix. 21. † 1 Chron. xxix. 23. ‡ 2 Chron. ix. 8. § 2 Chron. xiii. 8. ‖ Neh. ix. 35. ¶ Psalm lxxxiv. 3. ** Psalm cxlix. 2. †† Jer. li. 57.

As to the title of *King* given to these Rulers, this will have small weight with those who reflect that Moses likewise, who was surely no more than God's deputy, is called King: *Moses commanded us a Law; even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob. And he was* KING *in Jeshurun, when the heads of the people, and the tribes of Israel were gathered together.**

Let us now see what the celebrated M. Le Clerc says in defence of the contrary opinion, which supposeth the THEOCRACY to have ended with the Judges. Father Simon of the Oratory had said, that *the republic of the Hebrews never acknowledged any other* CHIEF *than God alone, who continued to govern in that quality, even during the time in which it was subject to Kings.*† This was enough to make his learned adversary take the other side of the question; who being piqued at Simon's contemptuous slight of his offered assistance in the project for a new Polyglott, revenged himself upon him in those licentious‡ Letters, intitled, *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande*, where his only business is to pick a quarrel. He therefore maintains against Simon, *That the theocracy ceased on establishing the throne in the race of David.*§ What he hath of argument to support this opinion is but little; and may be summed up in the following observation, *That God did not* PERSONALLY *interfere with his directions, nor discharge the functions of a Magistrate after the establishment of the Kings as he had done before.*‖ But this, instead of proving the abolition of the *Theocracy*, only shews that it was administered by a *Viceroy*. For in what consists the office of a Viceroy but to discharge the functions of his Principal? He had been a cipher, had God still governed *immediately* as before. Mr. Le Clerc could see that God acted *by the ministry of the Judges.*¶ If then the Theocratic function could be discharged by deputation, why might it not be done by Kings as well as Judges? The difference, if any, is only from less to more, and from occasional to constant. No, says our Critic, the cession was in consequence of his own declaration to Samuel: *For they have not rejected thee, but they have* REJECTED

* Deut. xxxiii. 4, 5. † "La Republique des Hebreux differe en cela de tous les autres états du monde, qu'elle n'a jamais reconnu pour chef que Dieu seul, qui a continué de la gouverner en cette qualité dans les tems mêmes, qu'elle a été soûmise à des rois."—*Histoire Crit. de Vieux Test.* p. 15, ed. Rotterd. 1685. ‡ See note G, at the end of this book. § "Il paroît au contraire par l'Ecriture, que Dieu n'a gouverné la republique des Hebreux, en qualité de chef politique, que pendant qu'ils n'avoient point des rois, et peut-être au commencement que les rois fûrent etablis, avant que la famille de David fut affermie sur le trône de Israel."—*Sentimens, &c.* p. 78. ‖ "Pendant tout ce temps-la, Dieu fit les fonctions de roi, Il jugeoit des affaires—il repondoit par l'oracle—il regloit la marche de l'armée—il envoyoit même quelquefois un ange—On n'étoit obligé d'obeïr aveuglement, qu'aux seuls ordres de Dieu. Mais lors qu'il y eut des rois en Israël, et que le royaume fut attaché à la famille de David, les rois furent maîtres absolus, et Dieu cessa de faire leurs fonctions."—Pp. 78, 79. ¶ "Au lieu qu'auparavant Dieu lui-même la faisoit, *par le ministere des Juges*, qu'il suscitoit de temps en temps au milieu d'Israël."—*Defense des Sentimens*, p. 121.

ME, *that I should not reign over them.** This only declares the sense — God had of their mutinous request; but does not at all imply that he gave way to it. For who, from the like words (which express so natural a resentment of an open defection) would infer in the case of any other monarch, that he thereupon stepped down from his throne, and suffered an usurper to seize his place? This, we see, was poor reasoning. But, luckily for his reputation, he had an Adversary who reasoned worse.—However Simon saw thus much into Le Clerc's cavil, as to reply, *That all he had said was quite beside the purpose, for that the thing to be proved was, that, after the establishment of the Kings, God was no longer the civil Chief.*† On which Le Clerc thus insults him: *As much as to say, that in order to prove God was no longer Chief of the Hebrews after the election of a King, it is beside the purpose to shew, he never afterwards discharged the functions of a Chief of the republic. It is thus this great Genius happily unravels matters, and discovers, in an instant, what is, and what is not to the purpose.*‡ Whether Simon indeed knew *why* Le Clerc's objection was nothing to the purpose, is to be left to God and his own conscience, for he gives us no reasons for the censure he passes on it: but that it was indeed nothing to the purpose, is most evident, if this proposition be true, "That a King does not cease to be King, when he puts in a Viceroy, who executes the regal office by deputation."

Le Clerc returns to the charge in his *Defense of the Sentiments*:— "The Israelites did not reject God as Protector, but as civil Chief, as I observed before. They would have a King who should determine sovereignly, and command their armies. Which, before this, God himself did by the ministry of the Judges, whom he raised up, from time to time, from the midst of Israel. In this sense we must understand absolutely the words of God, in Samuel, *that I should not reign over them.*"§ It is indeed strange, that, after writing two books, he should still insist on so foolish a paralogism,‖ That God's

* "C'est pour cela que Dieu dit à Samuel, lors qu' Israël voulut avoir *un roi pour le juger à la manière de toutes les nations: ce n'est pas toi qu'ils ont rejetté, mais moi, afin que je ne regne point sur eux.* 1 Sam. viii. 7." † "Je passe sous silence le long discours de Mr. le Clerc touchant le pouvoir de Dieu sur les Israëlites avant l'etablissement des rois, d'où il pretend prouver que Dieu pendant tout ce temps-la fit la fonction de roi. Tout cela est hors de propos, puis qu'il s'agit de prouver, qu'apres ces temps-la Dieu n'a plus été leur chef: et c'est ce qu'on ne prouvera jamais."—*Reponse aux Sentimens de quelques Theol. de Hol.* p. 55. ‡ "C'est à dire, que pour prouver que Dieu n'a pas été chef des Hebreux, après l'election des rois, il est hors de propos de prouver qu'il n'a plus fait les fonctions de chef de la republique. C'est ainsi que ce grand genie debrouille heureusement les matieres, et découvre d'abord ce qui est hors de propos, de ce qui ne l'est pas."—*Defense des Sentimens*, p. 120. § "Les Israëlites ne rejetterent pas Dieu comme protecteur, mais comme chef politique, ainsi que je l'ai marqué. Ils voulurent un roi qui les jugeât souverainement, et qui commandât leurs armées, au lieu qu'auparavant Dieu lui-même le faisoit, par le ministere des juges, qu'il suscitoit de temps en temps au milieu d'Israël.—En ce sens il faut entendre absolument les paroles de Dieu dans Samuël, *afin que je ne regne point sur eux.*"—P. 121. ‖ However, foolish as it is, the Reader hath seen, how a late Sermonizer has borrowed it, and how little force he has added to it.

giving up his office of civil Chief, was a necessary consequence of the People's *demanding* it. For, that they did demand it, I acknowledge. Let us consider then this whole matter a little more attentively.

Samuel (and I desire the Deists would take notice of it) had now, by a wise and painful direction of affairs, restored the purity of Religion, and rescued his Nation from the power of the Philistines, and their other hostile neighbours; against whom they were utterly unable to make head when he entered upon the public Administration. At this very time, the People, debauched, as usual, by power and prosperity, took the pretence of the corrupt conduct of the Prophet's two sons,* to go in a tumultuary manner, and demand a King. But the secret spring of their rebellion was the ambition of their leaders; who could live no longer without the splendour of a regal Court and Houshold; GIVE ME (say they, as the Prophet Hosea interprets their insolent *demand)* A KING AND PRINCES;† where every one of them might shine a distinguished Officer of State. They could get nothing when their affairs led them to their Judges' poor residence, in the *Schools of the Prophets,* but the GIFT *of the Holy Spirit;*‡ which a Courtier, I presume, would not prize even at the rate Simon Magus held it, of a paultry piece of money.—This it was, and this only, that made their demand criminal. For the chusing Regal rather than Aristocratic Viceroys was a thing plainly indulged to them by the Law of Moses, in the following admonition: *When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a* KING *over me, like as the nations that are about me: Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee, whom the* LORD THY GOD SHALL CHUSE: *one from amongst thy Brethren shalt thou set King over thee: Thou mayest not set a Stranger over thee which is not thy brother.*§ The plain meaning of which caution is, that they should take care, when they demanded a King, that they thought of none other than such a King who was to be GOD'S DEPUTY. As therefore Court-ambition only was in the wicked view of the Ringleaders of these malecontents, and no foolish fears for the State, or hopes of bettering the public Administration; it is evident to all acquainted with the genius of this Time and People, that compliance with their demand must have ended in the utter destruction of the Mosaic RELIGION as well as LAW. But it was GOD'S purpose to keep them SEPARATE, in order to preserve the memory of himself amidst an idolatrous World. And this not being to be done but by the preservation of their Religion and Law, we must needs conclude that he would not give way to their rebellious demand.

* 1 Sam. viii. 5; xii. 12. † Hosea xiii. 10. ‡ 1 Sam. x. 10; xix.
§ Deut. xvii. 14, 15.

And what we are brought to conclude from the *reason of the thing*, the *history* of this transaction clearly enough confirms. For it having now informed us how GOD consented to give this People a King; To shew us, that he had not cast off the Government, but only transferred the immediate Administration to a Deputy, and consequently, that *their* King was *his* Viceroy; it tells us next, how He was pleased to bring them to repentance in an extraordinary way; the gracious method he commonly employed when he intended to pardon. Samuel assembled the People;* and to convince them of their crime in demanding a King, called down the present vengeance of their offended GOD in a storm of *thunder and rain at the time of wheat-harvest.*† This sudden desolation brings them to a sense of their guilt, and they implore mercy and forgiveness: "And all the People said unto Samuel, Pray for thy servants unto the Lord thy God, that we die not; for we have added unto all our sins this evil, to ask us a King. And Samuel said unto the People, fear not: (ye have done all this wickedness: yet turn not aside from following the Lord, but serve the Lord with all your heart; and turn ye not aside: for then should you go after vain things, which cannot profit nor deliver, for they are vain:) For the Lord will *not forsake his People*, for his great Name's sake: because it hath pleased the Lord to *make you his People.*"‡ Here, we see, they repent, are pardoned, and received again into Grace, as appears by the concluding promise, that the *Theocratic* form should be continued: They are ready to give up their King, and yet a regal character is instituted. The plain conclusion from all this is, that their King was given, and, now at least, received as GOD'S DEPUTY.

But Father Simon is at length provoked into a Reason, and that, to say the truth, no weak one. God, he observes, kept the election of their King in his own hands.§ But *this*, Le Clerc says, *proves nothing*. How so? *Because, according to this reasoning, we should be obliged to say that God oftener discharged the functions of civil Chief in the idolatrous realm of the ten Tribes than in that of Judah: for* that *was elective*, this, *hereditary.*‖ And what if we do? Where will be the harm of it? The two kingdoms made up but one Commonwealth; of which God, as Head, governed by two Viceroys. And

* 1 Sam. xii. † Verses 17, 18. ‡ Verses 19, et seq. § "Et une preuve même qu'il ne cessoit pas d'être leur chef par cette election, c'est qu'il s'en rend le maître."—*Reponse aux Sentimens*, p. 55. ‖ "Pour ce que dit M. Simon, que Dieu *se rend maitre de l'election des Rois*, il ne s'ensuit nullement qu'il continuât d'être pour cela chef politique de la republique d'Israël; puisque si cela étoit, il faudroit dire que Dieu faisoit beaucoup plus souvent les fonctions de chef de l'etat dans le royaume Idolatre des dix tribes, que dans celui de Juda. Car ce derniere royaume étoit hereditaire, et étoit possedé par la maison de David, sans qu'il fut besoin d'aucune election, au lieu qu'il le fit plusieurs elections dans celui des dix tribes."—*Defense des Sentimens*, pp. 121, 122.

if he oftener acted immediately in the kingdom of Israel, there was a plain reason for it; Its inhabitants were more given to idolatrous worship; and needed more the frequency of an extraordinary restraint. And, in effect, we find he did interfere greatly in other instances, as well as in the election of their Kings.

In truth, F. Simon seemed to see as little into the force of the observation *(that God reserved the choice of their King to himself)* when he urged it, as M. Le Clerc did, when he despised it: yet it is strongly conclusive for the continuation of the Theocracy. For had the visible King which the Israelites demanded been granted to them, that is, a King in his own right, sovereign, and at the head of a new Constitution, or indeed, any other than a Viceroy to the KING of the Theocracy, the choice of him would have been reserved to the People. It was a natural right; and more than that, a right which God did not think fit to take from them, when he first accepted the regal office for himself. But if the People have, by natural Law, a right to chuse their own King, that King hath, by civil Law, a prerogative to chuse his own Deputy. When we see him therefore exercise this prerogative, we may be assured that the King chosen was no other than his Deputy, as SOVEREIGN of the Theocracy. But to return to the two Combatants.—Here the Dispute ended; and for farther satisfaction, Le Clerc refers us to a book of Spencer's, written professedly upon this very subject.* It is his tract *De Theocratia Judaica.* What is to be found there, besides the arguments which Le Clerc has borrowed from it, and which have been considered already, I shall now with some reluctance inform the Reader.

This treatise is by no means in the number of those on which Spencer raised his reputation. He goes on a wrong hypothesis; he uses weak arguments; and he is confused and inconsistent in his assertions.

1. He thinks the Theocracy was established by degrees,† and abrogated by degrees.‡ A conceit highly absurd, as GOD was the Lawgiver, and Supreme Magistrate of the Jews.—He thinks the first step to its introduction was their protection at the Red Sea;§ and the first step to its abolition, their demand of a King:‖ That it was still more impaired when Saul and David got possession of the

* "Il n'est pas necessaire que je m'arrête d'avantage à cela, après ce qu'en a dit le savant *Spencer* dans un traité qu'il a fait expres sur cette matiere. Lib. i. de Legg. Heb. Ritual."—*Defense des Sentimens*, p. 122. † "Neminem in sacris literis vel mediocriter versatum latere potest *Theocratiam* in ipso rerum Israeliticarum exordio aliquatenus obtinuisse, ad ἀκμὴν autem non nisi gradatim et post legem in Sinai datam pervenisse."—Vol. i. p. 239. ‡ "Cum autem regiminis hujus, non simul et semel, sed per gradus quosdam, jacturam fecerint, placet hic veritatis fugientis vestigia gradatim premere."—Idem, ibid. § "Gradum primum ad potestatem regiam obtinendam fecisse videtur Deus, cum gentem Israeliticam insigni illo potentiæ et bonitatis suæ documento (Ægyptiorum in Mari Rubro submersione) sibi devinxisset."—Idem, ibid. ‖ "Primo itaque ad certum affirmo, quod Israelitæ, regem sibi dari postulantes, gradum primum ad imperii hujus desideratissimi ruinam fecisse videantur."—Idem, ibid.

throne:* That it approached much nearer to its end when it became hereditary, under Salomon:† and yet, for all this, he confesses that some obscure footsteps of it remained even to the time of CHRIST.‡

2. In his reasoning for the abolition of the THEOCRACY, instead of employing the general principles of civil Policy, which were the only means of coming to the truth, he insists much on the disuse of Urim and Thummim, *&c.* which Le Clerc borrowed from him; and which hath been already considered. He brings the despotic power of the Kings,§ as another argument; which, I think, proves just the contrary. For if so be, that these Kings were the Viceroys of God, whose power was despotic, their power must be despotic too, i. e. independent on all but the SOVEREIGN. Not so, if they were Monarchs in their own right.

3. Though, as we observed, Spencer, in the second section of his fourth chapter, supposes a gradual decay of the Theocracy; and that even some obscure footsteps of it remained to the time of CHRIST; yet, in the following section, he, all the way, argues upon the supposition of an absolute and entire abrogation‖ by the establishment of the Kings.¶ To proceed.

II. That this Theocracy, the administration of which lay, as it were, in abeyance during the Captivity, was again exercised after the return from it, is evident from the express declaration of the Almighty, by the Prophet Haggai: *Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord, and be strong, O Joshua, Son of Josedech the High Priest, and be strong, all ye People of the Land, saith the Lord, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts;* ACCORDING TO THE WORD THAT I COVENANTED WITH YOU WHEN YOU CAME OUT OF EGYPT, SO MY SPIRIT REMAINETH AMONGST YOU: *fear ye not.*** What was that *Covenant?* That Israel should be his People, and He, their God and *King*. Therefore it cannot barely mean, that he would be their God, and they should be his People; for this was but *part* of the *Covenant*. Nor can it mean that they should be conducted by an extraordinary providence, as at their coming out of Egypt, and during the first periods of the Theocracy; for this was but the *effects* of the *Covenant:* and besides, we know that that dispensation of Providence soon ceased after the Re-establishment. The meaning therefore must be, that he would still continue their KING as well as God. Yet at

* "Dei regimen multo magis imminutum est, cum Deus *Saulem* et *Davidem* ad rerum arbitrium evocasset."—P. 240. † "Salomone rerum potito, Theocratia multo vicinior ἀφανισμῷ non immerito censeatur." ‡ "Judæi Theocratiæ veteris indicia et vestigia quædam obscuriora, ad extrema usque politiæ suæ tempora retinuere—ipso Domini nostri seculo, Hierosolyma *civitas magni regis* audiit."—Ibid. § "Adeo ut hinc constet, eos se pro regibus gessisse, et potestatem arbitrariam exercuisse."—Ibid. ‖ "Regiminis hujus mutati vel abrogati causa principalis—De regiminis hujus abrogati effectu vel eventu breviter disserendum est," &c.—Pp. 241–243. ¶ See note H, at the end of this book. ** Haggai ii. 4, 5.

the same time, when this Theocracy was restored, it was both fit on account of its own dignity, and necessary for the People's assurance, that it should be attended with some unusual display of divine favour. Accordingly, Prophets were raised up; and an extraordinary Providence for some short time administered, as appears from many places in those Prophets.*

III. That the Theocracy continued even to the coming of CHRIST, may be seen from hence.—

1. Whenever it was abrogated, it must needs be done in the same solemn manner in which it was established; so that the one might be as well known as the other: because it was of the highest importance to a people so strictly bound to obedience, not to be mistaken concerning the power under which they lived. Natural equity requires this formality as a necessary concomitant in the imposing and abrogating of all civil laws and institutions whatsoever. Now the Theocracy having never been thus abolished till the coming of Christ, we conclude that it continued to subsist till that time.

2. Nor indeed, could it have been abolished without dissolving the whole frame of the Republic; since all the Laws of it, whether as to their equity, force, or fitness, as well as the whole Ritual of Worship, respected, and referred to God as civil Governour. But neither by the declaration of any Prophet, nor by the act of any good King, did the Institution suffer the least change in any of its parts, from the time of its establishment by Moses to its dissolution by JESUS CHRIST, either by addition, correction, or abrogation. Consequently, the *Theocracy* was existing throughout that whole period: Nothing being more absurd than to suppose that national Laws, all made in reference to the form of Government, should remain unvariable, while the Government itself was changed. For what the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says of the PRIEST (in a Constitution where the two Societies were incorporated) must be equally true of the KING.—THE PRIESTHOOD BEING CHANGED, THERE IS MADE ALSO, OF NECESSITY, A CHANGE OF THE LAW.† And now it was that JESUS, the MESSIAH, who is here spoken of as making this change, in quality of PRIEST, made it likewise in quality of KING. For, as we learn from the history of his Ministry, he came as Heir of GOD, to succeed immediately without any interregnum, in his Father's kingdom: GOD having DELIVERED UP to his Son the kingdom, of which the Father was, till then, in possession. And this change in the Government, from the *temporal Theocracy* of GOD the Father, to the *spiritual Kingdom* of GOD the Son, was made in the same solemn and authentic manner in which that Theocracy was introduced. GOD raised up from amongst his chosen People, a *Prophet like unto Moses*, who exercised the *Legislative* power,

* Haggai i. 6—11; ii. 16—19; Zech. viii. 12; Mal. iii. 10, 11. † Heb. vii. 12.

like Moses; and assumed the *Regal* power, like GOD. He gave a NEW LAW to be administered in a NEW KINGDOM, and confirmed the divinity of the Dispensation by the most stupendous miracles. Thus, we find, the Theocracy did indeed subsist till the coming of Christ.

And this ABOLITION of it by the Son of GOD, I take to be the true completion of that famous PROPHECY of Jacob, of which so much hath been written and disputed. THE SCEPTRE SHALL NOT DEPART FROM JUDAH, NOR A LAWGIVER FROM BETWEEN HIS FEET, UNTIL SHILOH COME,* i. e. the THEOCRACY shall continue over the Jews† until Christ come to take possession of his Father's Kingdom: For there never was any *Lawgiver*,‡ in *Judah*, but GOD by the ministry of Moses, until the coming of his SON.

JESUS the MESSIAH, the best interpreter of the Oracles of GOD, of which he himself is the capital subject, and for whose sake the *chain of Prophecies* was so early drawn out, and extended to such a length, seems to have paraphrased and explained the words of Jacob concerning the *departure of the Sceptre from Judah*, by his declaration recorded in St. Matthew, THE PROPHETS AND THE LAW PROPHESIED TILL JOHN,§ i. e. "the Mosaic Law, and the Theocratic Government by which it was dispensed, continued in Being till the approach of this harbinger of Christ, John the Baptist; but was then superseded by the promulgation of a *new Law* and the establishment of a *new Kingdom*."

But as this interpretation is so different from the common, and understands the Prophecy as foretelling that the Jewish nation should not be bereft of Sovereign Power, by falling under a foreign Yoke, till the Advent of the MESSIAH, the Reader will excuse me, if I detain him a little longer on so important a subject.

The common notion of the *Sceptre of Judah*, is explained three different ways, each of which has its particular Followers.

1. Some suppose the *Sceptre of Judah* to signify the SOVEREIGNTY OF THE JEWISH NATION at large.

2. Others again suppose it to signify the SOVEREIGNTY OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH.

3. And a third sort contend that it signifies not a sovereign or regal, but a TRIBAL SCEPTRE only.

In the Sense of a *Sovereignty in the Jewish people at large*, which is the most general interpretation, and, in my Opinion, the most natural of the three (as the whole People were long denominated from that

* Gen. xlix. 10. † Who took their Name from the Tribe of *Judah*; the rest being incorporated in that Tribe, or extinguished in Captivity. ‡ *Mhhokek, Legislator*, aut *Legis interpres*. But the first is its original and proper Signification. And thus Isaiah [chap. xxxiii. 22.] "The Lord is our *Judge*, the Lord is our LAWGIVER [*Mhhokekenou*], the Lord is our *King*, he will save us." Where the word *Mhhokek* is used in its proper Signification of *Lawgiver*; the other Sense of Dispenser or Interpreter of the Law being contained in the titles of *Judge* and *King*. § Matt. xi. 13.

tribe), the pretended Prophecy was not only never fulfilled, but has been directly falsified; because long before the *coming of Shiloh*, or of Christ, the Sceptre or Sovereignty in the Jewish people was *departed*. During the Babylonian and Persian Captivity, and while afterwards they continued in a tributary dependence on the Greeks, they could, in no reasonable sense, be said to have retained their *Sceptre*, their Sovereignty, or independent Rule. But it may be replied, "that the Prophecy by *departure*, meant a final departure; and in these instances it was but temporary: for CYRUS restored the *Sceptre* to them; and when it was again lost in the Grecian Empire, the MACCABEI recovered it for them." Though this be allowed, yet we must still confess, that the Romans, who under Pompey reduced Judea to a dependent Province, effectually overthrew the Prophecy. POMPEY took Jerusalem; and left to Hyrcanus, the last of the Asmonean family, only the office of High-Priest. From this time, to the birth of Christ, it was ever in dependence on the Romans, who disposed of all things at their pleasure. The Senate gave the Government of Judæa to Antipater; and then to Herod his Son, under the title of King. And Archelaus, on the Death of his Father, did not dare to take possession of this subject-kingdom, till he had obtained leave of Augustus; who afterwards, on complaint of the Jews against him, banished him into the West, where he died. Now the precarious Rule of a dependent Monarch could no more be called a *Sceptre* (which, in the figurative mode of all languages, signifies *Sovereignty)* than the condition of the Jews could be said to be sovereign, when this Archelaus was deposed, and Coponius a Roman Knight made procurator of Judæa, at that time which the supporters of this interpretation fix for the *Departure of the Sceptre*.

I reckon for nothing another objection which has been made to the common interpretation, "That after the return from the Captivity, the Jews were, from time to time, under a form of Government resembling rather the Aristocratic than the Monarchic;" because the *Sceptre*, or Sovereignty, belongs equally to all those Forms. This then makes no more against the common interpretation, than the other, I am now going to mention, makes for it, namely, that the Senate of Rome gave the Government of Judæa to Herod under the title of KING; since the dependent rule of this Roitelet was as certainly the *departure of a Sceptre*, as a Sovereignty under an aristocratic Government was the *continuance* of it.

The learned Father Tournemine was so embarrassed with these difficulties, that in a dissertation on *the Sceptre of Judah*, he endeavours to shew, that the proof of the predicted birth of Christ from this Prophecy arises not from the *departure of the Sceptre*, but from its re-establishment under the Messiah.* Which thesis (as the intelli-

* *Journal de Trevoux*, Mars 1705, et Feb. 1721.

gent reader may observe) fairly put him in the road; and, had it been pursued, would have led him to the sense I am here endeavouring to establish.

The second branch of the common interpretation is, That by the *Sceptre* is signified a *civil sovereignty in the tribe of Judah.* This, in my opinion, has still less of stability than the other. It supposes that the *Sceptre*, or the supreme rule of the Jewish People, remained in natives of that Tribe, from the time of David to the coming of Christ. But Petavius hath shewn, that from the giving of the Prophecy to the time of David (a Space of above six hundred Years), there was but one or two Rulers descended from the Tribe of Judah: And that from the death of Sedecias to the birth of Christ (a space of near the same number of years) all the Rulers of the Jewish People were of other Tribes; the Asmonean princes particularly being all of the tribe of Levi.* The Abbé de Houteville, who, at a very easy rate, hath obtained the reputation of an able defender of Revelation,† hath indeed invented a curious expedient to evade this difficulty. His system is, that the rulers of the tribe of Levi (and so I suppose of the rest) exercised this Sovereignty by leave, or deputation from the tribe of Judah. To such wretched shifts are learned men reduced, when they have reversed the order of things, and made Truth to wait upon their Systems; instead of making their Systems subservient to Truth.

These two senses (by one or other of which the common interpretation hath been long supported) being found on a stricter scrutiny, to be intenable, men cast about for a third: and a happy one it was thought to be, which contrived, that *Sceptre* should signify a *domestic*, not a *civil* rule; a TRIBAL, not a SOVEREIGN *Sceptre;* and of which, they say, JUDAH, at the giving of the Prophecy, was already possessed. This expedient, the learned Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, has honoured with his support and protection.‡

It would be want of respect to so eminent a Person, to pass over this refinement with the same slight notice that has been given to the other two. I shall therefore do myself the honour to consider his Lordship's reasoning more at large.

His Lordship's first argument in support of a *tribal Sceptre* is—That the *Sceptre's not* DEPARTING *from Judah* shews plainly that

* "At complures antiquorum recentiorumque qui in illa Jacobi sententia *Judam* peculiari de tribu intellexerunt, id sibi Patriarcham voluisse credunt, ex stirpe ac progenie *Judæ* filii ipsius perpetuo Judæis præfuturum aliquem eorumque fore principem, donec Christus adveniat. Sed in hujus reddenda dicti ratione multum æstuant, siquidem vetustatis omni teste memoriâ refelluntur, quæ non solum ante Davidem unum alterumve duntaxat ex illa tribu rexisse populum ostendit, annis circiter 675 ab edita prophetia; sed etiam post Sedeciæ necem, occasumque Urbis et Templi, ad Christum usque, de alia quam *Judæ* stirpe duces extitisse annis 588; etenim Machabæos constat ex Levitica et Sacerdotali progenie descendere."—*Ration. Temporum*, pars ii. lib. iii. cap. 16.

† See his book, intituled, *Religion prouvée par les Faits.*

‡ "Use and Intent of Prophecy," dissert. iii. 5th edit. 1749.

Judah had a Sceptre when the prophecy was given.—"Is there any sense" (says his Lordship) "in saying that a thing shall not *depart*, which never was yet in *possession?* The prophecy is not a *grant* of the Sceptre, but a *confirmation* of it. Now a confirmation of nothing is nothing: And, to make it something, the *possession* of the thing *confirmed* must be supposed. I know not by what rules of language or grammar, these words can be construed into a *grant* of the Sceptre. And though so many writers and interpreters have followed this sense, yet I do not remember to have seen one passage or parallel expression from the Scripture, or any other author, produced to justify the interpretation." *

Is there any Sense (his Lordship asks) *in saying a thing shall not* DEPART which *never was yet in possession?* Yes certainly, a very good one, in a PROPHECY, where the subject is not of a present but of a future possession; and where the Holy Spirit is wont to *call the things that are not, as though they were.* The Subject is a *Sceptre*, which could in no sense, not even in the sense of a *tribal sceptre*, be in possession of Judah before he became a *Tribe.* His Lordship, indeed, supposes he became a Tribe immediately after the death of Jacob.—*This power in the hands of the Tribes took place immediately upon the death of Jacob.*† But if it did? Was not that accession as properly *future*, as if it had been a thousand years after? Judah then, at the time of this Prophecy, not being in possession of his Sceptre, *a confirmation of nothing is nothing*, &c. so that all the absurdities here imagined stick to his Lordship's Æra of the *Sceptre*, as well as to the common one. But let us suppose that Jacob's Prophecy and death were individual; and then see how he proves his assertion, that Judah and the Rest became Tribes immediately on the death of Jacob. His proof is a little extraordinary—*When Moses and Aaron led them into the Wilderness* (says his Lordship) *we hear of the* ELDERS *of the people, and the* RULERS *of the congregation.*‡ His assertion is, that the *tribal sceptre* sprung up from the ashes of Jacob; and his proof, that it arose and flourished in the Wilderness. This is indeed the truth; it was a Native of that place; as may be fairly *presumed* from the occasion which the Israelites had of a tribal rule (namely, to fit them for the warfare they were now about to undertake), and as may be fairly *proved* from the first chapter of the book of Numbers—"And the Lord spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai: Take ye the sum of all the congregation of the Children of Israel, after their families, by the house of their Fathers—*all that are able to go forth to war in Israel;* Thou and Aaron shall number them with their armies. And with you, there SHALL BE A

* "Use and Intent of Prophecy," dissert. iii. 5th edit. 1749, pp. 326, 327.
† Page 323. ‡ Ibid.

MAN of every tribe; every one HEAD OF THE HOUSE of his Fathers—and they assembled all the congregation; and they declared their pedigrees, after their families, by the house of their Fathers—These were those which were numbered: and the PRINCES OF ISRAEL BEING TWELVE MEN, EACH ONE WAS FOR THE HOUSE OF HIS FATHERS. And the Children of Israel shall pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, and every man by his own standard, throughout their Hosts—And the Children of Israel did according to all the Lord commanded them." * Then follows the order of the Tribes in their tents.† Now, surely, this detailed account of these *tribal Sceptres* hath all the marks of a new Institution.

The Bishop's hypothesis therefore is without foundation: the *Sceptre* was something in *reversion*. Indeed the particular words, as well as the general nature of Prophecy, declare the subject to be of things future.—"And Jacob called to his sons, and said, *Gather yourselves together that I may tell you what shall befall you* IN THE LAST DAYS."‡ The Bishop owns, that *most of the Interpreters*, from these words, *take it for granted, and it is the common notion, that the Sceptre was not to be settled in Judah's family till some ages after the death of Jacob.*§ I think they had not reason so to do. How does his Lordship prove they had? In this manner. "The observation, when rightly applied, is right. And if the *continuance* of the Sceptre of Judah be, as I suppose, the thing foretold, it extends to the very last days of the Jewish State; and in this respect the interpretation is justified:"‖ *i. e.* if you will agree that *futurity* refers to the *continuance*, and not to the *establishment* of the Sceptre, his Lordship will shew you, how well he can evade this objection. But though we were inclined to be thus complaisant, the book of Numbers would not suffer us: which informs us (we see) that even the *tribal Sceptre* was established long after the death of Jacob. But to go no farther than the Prophecy. If each Tribe had a Sceptre then existing, how happened it that Judah's is only named, *by way of* CONFIRMATION, as his Lordship will have it. For, *by way of* GRANT, we find Dan too had a Sceptre—*Dan* SHALL *judge his People as one of the Tribes* [or SCEPTRES] *of Israel*. But then Dan's is a *reversionary* Sceptre; and such a one destroys all his Lordship has been erecting.

To proceed—*The Prophecy* (says the Bishop) *is not a* GRANT *of a sceptre, but a* CONFIRMATION. The Prophecy itself plainly intimates the contrary. Jacob having told his sons that he would inform them *of what should befall them in the last days*, when he comes to Judah, he says, *Thy Father's Children shall bow down before thee.*¶ This,

* Num. i. 4, 5, 18, 44, 52, 54. † Num. ii. ‡ Gen. xlix. 1. § "Use and Intent of Prophecy," dissert. iii. 5th edit. 1749, p. 326. ‖ Page 327. ¶ Gen. xlix. 8.

if it was any thing, was the promise of a future Sceptre; and consequently it was the *grant*.

The Bishop goes on—*Now a confirmation of nothing is nothing.* Without doubt. But he supposes (what I have shewn to be a mistake), that there was no *grant*. If there were a *grant*, then the confirmation of it was the confirmation of *something*. He seems to be apprehensive of so obvious an answer, for he immediately adds—*I know not by what rules of language or grammar these words can be construed into a* GRANT *of the Sceptre.* By the plainest *rule* in the world; that of *common sense*, the first and capital *rule* in every Art as well as *grammar*. For if Jacob made a declaration concerning some future prerogative, as the words—*Thy father's Children shall bow down before thee*—prove he did; and that this was the first time that Judah heard of it, as the words—*I will tell you what shall befall you in the last days*—prove it was; What can this Prophecy be but *the* GRANT *of a Sceptre?*

"Though so many writers and interpreters" (says the Bishop) "have followed this sense, yet I do not remember to have seen one passage or parallel expression from the Scripture or any other writer produced to justify the interpretation." As for *any other Writers* than those of Scripture, I know of none who have prophesied: and the language of prophecy hath peculiarities unknown to other Compositions. But a *Scripture-writer* I am able to produce; and the same who has recorded this Prophecy of Jacob.—On Abraham's departure out of Haran, he being then seventy-five years of age, *the Lord*, as Moses tells us, *appeared unto him and said—Unto thy* SEED *will I give this Land.** Was this now a *grant*, or a *confirmation* only of SEED? "A confirmation only," says his Lordship: "All the *grant* contained in these words is the grant of the LAND: and this shews" (will he say) "that the *Seed* was now existing: for a non-entity is incapable of receiving any grant or donation: besides, *a confirmation of nothing is nothing*, and so on."—Notwithstanding all this, it so happens that Abraham had then *no Seed.*

Here now is a *parallel expression*, which holds *à fortiori*. For if it be a little anomalous to talk of a *thing's departing which was never yet in possession*, it seems to be much more absurd to talk of *giving* to persons who were never yet in Being. Besides, the promise of Rule actually accompanies the promise of its duration: but the express promise of Seed does not accompany the promise of a provision for it: I suppose the reason of this difference of expression in the two places is, because to get a Son is a much commoner case than to get a Sceptre.

His Lordship having thus shewn, that Judah's Sceptre was a

* Gen. xii. 7.

Sceptre in possession, he will prove next, that it was not a *civil*, but a *tribal Sceptre;* which did not stretch its sovereignty over a whole nation, but was confined to the œconomic rule of the single tribe of Judah.—"Another thing supposed" (says he) "by most interpreters is, that the *Sceptre*, here mentioned, is an emblem of Dominion over all the tribes of Jacob. But how can that be? Had not Jacob settled a *sceptre* in every tribe? as is evident, ver. 16. *Dan shall judge his people as one of the sceptres of Israel.* Suppose a Father has divided his estate amongst twelve Sons, and should say of one of them, *The Estate shall not depart from John, for many ages;* could you possibly suppose him to mean more than the *share* of the Estate given to John? Could you understand him to mean that all the estate, the twelve shares, should come to John and continue in his family? The case is the same here. Twelve Princes are created; Of one of them Jacob says, *the Sceptre shall not depart from him until Shiloh come.* Is it not plain then, that the Sceptres are distinguished here; and that it is foretold of one, that it shall long outlast the rest?—consequently the Sceptre here is an emblem of Authority IN AND OVER ONE TRIBE ONLY." *

His Lordship's reasoning, on which he grounds his parallel, stands thus—Judah's sceptre was the same with Dan's: now Dan's was a *tribal* Sceptre; therefore Judah's. But the very words of the Prophecy shew that the Sceptres were *specifically* different. Of Dan it is said, he shall judge his People AS ONE OF THE TRIBES OR SCEPTRES OF ISRAEL. Here is a *tribal* Sceptre marked out in express and proper terms. But of Judah's Sceptre it is said, THY FATHER'S CHILDREN SHALL BOW DOWN BEFORE THEE. Who were these *Children* but the eleven tribes? So that here a *civil* and a *sovereign* Sceptre is as properly and expresly marked out for Judah, as before, a *tribal* one for Dan. This shall judge his own tribe; but the other shall, with his own tribe, judge the rest also. And yet if you will rely on his Lordship's Authority, he has *a case in point;* and he assures us "that Judah's grant is the same as that of a Father's to his Son John, who when he had divided his estate amongst his twelve Sons should say of John's part, that it should not depart for many ages."

He tells us next, "that the sense of the word LAWGIVER will follow the fate of the word *Sceptre.*" † In this, I perfectly agree with him. And therefore as his sense of the word *Sceptre* is found to be erroneous, his sense of the word *Lawgiver* must fall with it.

All that follows has nothing to do with the question of a *tribal Sceptre* till we come to page 344. From thence to 350, he endeavours to take advantage of the hypothesis, to shew that this *tribal*

* "Use and Intent of Prophecy," dissert. iii. 5th edit. 1749, pp. 328, 329.
† Page 329.

Sceptre never departed from Judah till the coming of Christ: And here he had an easy task. But unluckily confounding *œconomic* with *civil* Rule, he embarasses himself as much, to make out the completion of the Prophecy, as the supporters of the other two branches of the common interpretation are wont to do.—As where he talks of the Jews in Babylon *ordering all matters relating to their own* CIVIL *and* ECCLESIASTICAL *Affairs.**—Their *coming back to their own Country as a People and a nation* GOVERNED BY THEIR OWN LAWS—*though never* SO FREE A PEOPLE *as they had been formerly. They lived under subjection to the Persian Monarch, and under the empire of the Greeks and Romans.*†—*The Evangelists shew that they lived under their* OWN LAWS, *and* EXECUTED JUDGMENT *amongst themselves.*‡—*Had the exercise of* JUDICIAL AUTHORITY *amongst themselves.*§ Thus, like the Successors of Peter, who enlarged his *Rock* into a *Citadel*, his Lordship at last lengthens his *tribal* Sceptre into a *sovereign*. But if here he extends it over a People and Nation, he contracts it as much by and by; and we see it shrink up into a mere philosophical or Stoical Regality. His Lordship undertakes to prove that the Jews were a FREE PEOPLE, from their own consciousness of their free condition.—*When our Saviour* (says the Bishop) *tells the Jews* "The truth shall make you free;" *they reply,* "We are Abraham's Children, and were never in bondage to any man." ‖ This his Lordship urges as a proof of their *Civil freedom*. But if the Jews, who expected a carnal Messiah to lead real armies against their enemies, could suppose that Jesus made them an offer of sending *Truth* in person, to execute this commission for them, their stupidity must have exceeded every thing we have been told of it, by their Enemies. To be plain with his Lordship, the subject here debated, between Jesus and his Adversaries, is most foreign from his Lordship's purpose. Our blessed Saviour is here addressing himself to the PHARISEES, a rank of men not ignorant of the Greek philosophy (though greatly mistaking its use when they brought so much of it into the Law), and therefore, with a Stoical dignity, he tells them—*the truth shall set you free.* They answer him in the same tone, *We are Abraham's Children, and were never in bondage to any man.* That is, "Our principles are of divine extraction, and we never suffered ourselves to be inslaved to human decisions." *Surely* (says his Lordship) *they had not forgot their Captivity in Babylon.* Forgot! Why, Jesus had said nothing to put them in mind of it. The question is not about their freedom from Babylon, but from Error.—*Much less* (says he) *could they be ignorant of the power of the Romans over them at that time, and yet we see they account themselves free.* And why should

* "Use and Intent of Prophecy," dissert. iii. 5th edit. 1749, p. 345. † Page 347.
‡ Page 349. § Page 350. ‖ Page 349.

they not, when the Question between Jesus and them was only who should make them so, HE or ABRAHAM. Strange! that his Lordship's own account of their *civil condition* under the *power of the Romans* should not have brought him to see, that the subject in hand was only of their *moral Condition*. Stranger still! that his solution of this difficulty should not have led him to discover that it was but imaginary—*they were free* (says his Lordship) *for they lived by their own Laws, and executed judgment amongst themselves.*—Had he added —*but, at the precarious nod of an arbitrary Tyrant*—it would doubtless have given great force to his observation: For, about this time, Coponius, a Roman Knight, was named Procurator of Judea. Nay, even the precarious privilege of punishing capitally was now taken from them: They had a pagan Governor: and Justice was administered, not by their own Forms of Law, but by the Roman. An admirable character of *civil Freedom!*

His Lordship seems to be no happier in answering others' objections, than in urging his own proofs. "You will say" (continues he) "why did not Jacob foretell also the continuance of the Sceptre of Benjamin? For the tribe of Benjamin run the same fortune with that of Judah: they went together into captivity: they returned home together; and were both in Being when *Shiloh* came."*

Upon my word, a shrewd objection. Let us see how his Lordship quits his hands of it. His first answer is,—*That from the division of the Kingdom after the death of Solomon, the tribe of Benjamin and the remnant of Israel, that is, part of all the other tribes,* ADHERED TO JUDAH AS THEIR HEAD.†

Here his Lordship seems fairly to have given up the Cause; his answer proving, in so many words, that *Judah's Sceptre* was not *tribal*, but *civil*. Let us examine it step by step. *Benjamin and the remnants of all the other tribes adhered to Judah as their head.* Now such an adherence can be no other than an acknowledgement of a *Civil Sceptre* in Judah. Yet his Lordship gives this as a reason why the continuance of Judah's Sceptre is foretold, and not Benjamin's. Therefore the Sceptre, whose continuance is foretold, was a *civil*, not a *tribal*, Sceptre, even on his own principles. If this needed a support, the words of the Prophecy afford it amply: his Lordship says, that *Benjamin and the remnants of all the other tribes adhered to Judah as their* HEAD; *and this adherence,* Jacob foretells —*Thy Father's children shall* FALL DOWN *before thee.*

Supposing therefore that this Sceptre of Judah were of the *civil* kind, his Lordship, it must be owned, has given a very satisfactory reason why Benjamin's *tribal* sceptre was not mentioned. But if

* "Use and Intent of Prophecy," dissert. iii. 5th edit. 1749, p. 355. † Pp. 355, 356.

both were *tribal* Sceptres, the *continuance* of Benjamin's had as good a claim to the Prophet's notice (for any thing the Bishop has shewn to the contrary) as Judah's. Since, as *Tribes*, they both continued to exist, and to exist distinct.

His second answer to the Objection seems as little satisfactory as the first—*Though the continuance of the* SCEPTRE *of Benjamin is not foretold, yet the continuance of the tribe or* PEOPLE *of Benjamin is distinctly foretold.** Would you desire a more conclusive argument against his own notion of a *tribal Sceptre?* If this prophetic Sceptre of Judah was a *civil* one, there is a very good reason why the *continuance of the people*, and not of the *Sceptre* of Benjamin, should be foretold; because what Judah and Benjamin had in common was their continuing to exist as distinct tribes; the *Sceptre* being peculiar to the first: But if a *tribal* Sceptre be the subject of the Prophecy concerning Judah, then no possible reason can be assigned why the *continuance* of Benjamin's Sceptre should not be honoured with the divine notice as well as Judah's; since his Lordship assures us—*they both run the same fortune; they went together into captivity; they returned together to Judea; and were both in being when Shiloh came.* And while a *Tribe* continues distinct, a *tribal Sceptre* continues with it; just as the head of a family exists so long as there is a family to govern.

All this considered, his Lordship in my humble opinion had done well not to load himself with more than he had occasion to carry: especially as he had so little to answer for, in the success of this hypothesis; for he tells us at the end of his DISSERTATION, *that he has nothing more to add, but to acquaint the reader that the interpretation of Jacob's Prophecy now advanced, was not a mere invention of his own; that it was, as to the main point, the same with that which is the fourth in* HUETIUS, *and by him rejected, but for such reasons as had been fully obviated in this dissertation.*—That *it was the same which* JUNIUS *and* TREMELLIUS, *and our own learned Countryman,* AINSWORTH, *had espoused; and which not many years ago was revived and improved by Mr.* JONCOURT.†

Now, from what hath been said it appears, that of all the three branches, into which the common interpretation spreads, though they be equally weak, the last betrays its weakness most. But, what is of principal consideration, it is, of all the three, least suitable to the DIGNITY OF PROPHECY; the whole body of which has a perpetual reference to one or other of the great parts of the Dispensation of Grace. Now the first branch refers with suitable dignity to a whole People at large: the second to the same People under the Govern-

* "Use and Intent of Prophecy," dissert. iii. 5th edit. 1749, p. 356. † Page 358.

ment of one certain line: while the third concerns only the fortunes of a single Tribe, and under a Family-idea.

The common interpretation therefore being shewn so very exceptionable in all its branches, what remains for us to conclude but that the true and real meaning of the *Sceptre of Judah* is that THEOCRATIC GOVERNMENT which God, by the vicegerency of Judges, Kings, and Rulers, exercised over the Jewish nation? We have shewn from various considerations of weight, that this THEOCRACY, which was instituted by the ministry of Moses, continued over that people till the coming of Shiloh or Christ; THAT PROPHET *like unto Moses* whom God had promised to *raise up*.. And to support what hath been urged from reason, to illustrate this important truth, we have here a Prophetic declaration enouncing the same thing,—*the sceptre shall not depart from Judah till Shiloh come:* Shiloh is Christ. Now Christ is not the Successor of those VICEGERENTS of the Jewish State, but of God himself, the KING of the Jews. The Sceptre therefore which descends to him, through the hands of those vicegerents, is not merely a CIVIL, but a THEOCRATIC *Sceptre*. This, at the same time, explains the Evangelic doctrine of CHRIST'S KINGDOM, arising out of the *Theocracy* or *Kingdom of God*. Hence the distinction in that famous declaration of Christ, so much abused to factious and party purposes, that HIS KINGDOM WAS NOT OF THIS WORLD: The Theocracy which was administered over the Jews only, and in a carnal manner, was a *Kingdom of this world:* but when transferred to Shiloh, and extended over all mankind, and administered in a spiritual manner, it became *a Kingdom not of this world*. And the making the *Sceptre of Judah* neither *Tribal*, nor MERELY *Civil*, but properly *Theocratic*, clears the Prophecy from those insuperable difficulties which render all the other interpretations hurtful or dishonourable to the Prophetic system in general.

These are the superior advantages of the sense I have here endeavoured to establish. Nor are these all the advantages. The Prophecy is seen to embrace a much nobler object than was imagined. It was supposed to relate only to the fortunes of the *Jewish Oeconomy*, and we find it extends itself to the *whole Dispensation of Grace*. It was considered but as a simple PROPHECY, while it had the dignity of a REVELATION. It was mistaken for the *species*, when it is indeed, of the *genus*.

But to all this an *Answerer* may reply. 1. "That, as we admit the THEOCRACY to be *a Kingdom of this World*, the same objection will lie as well against the CONTINUANCE or duration of a *Theocratic* Sceptre as of a mere *Civil* one." But here we must distinguish. The Theocracy was indeed carnal in its *administration*, but in its *original* it was Divine. Therefore, as where the subject is of the *continuance* of a *mere civil* Sceptre, we cannot but understand the

continuance of its administration, because the administration is inseparable from the existence; so where the subject is of the continuance of a *Theocratic* Sceptre, we must understand that continuance to consist in its remaining unrevoked, since what is of divine original exists, independently of its being actually administered; it exists till it be formally abrogated. This difference is evident from the nature of things. Forms of Government ordained by Men cease when Men no longer administer them; because, in the non-administration of them, they are naturally supposed to revoke what they had ordained: But men's ceasing to administer (whether by choice or force) a Form of Government given by God, does not (on any rules of logic or ideas of nature) imply God's revocation of that form of Government.

Again, we must remember what has been said of the effect and consequence of a THEOCRACY. It not only *united*, but *incorporated* the two Societies, civil and religious, into One. And this incorporated body of the Jewish State went by the name of THE LAW. Now under that part of the Law which more intimately regarded Religion, the Jews always lived FREE till the publication of the Gospel; though the other part of it, regarding the sovereign administration of civil policy and justice, they had lost from the time of Pompey. For a power precariously enjoyed, and ready to be abolished at the nod of a Conqueror, can never be called *Sovereign* (which implies the being free and independent) without the worst abuse of words, which is, the quibbling upon them. So that a Sovereignty in this Theocracy was still administered to the last, though in part. However this partial exercise was consentaneous to the system on which this Theocracy was dispensed; its Administration being ordained to have a gradual decline. The Jews, for their transgressions, being first of all deprived of that natural effect of Theocratic rule, the *extraordinary providence*: and then, for their incorrigible manners, further punished by an infringement of their civil sovereignty: but still the Theocracy, as to that more essential, the Religious part, remained unhurt till the coming of Christ: And let it be observed, that it was this part in particular which was to be assigned over to him, from the Father. Thus, as I said before, this is not so properly a *prediction* of human events, as a *revelation* concerning the course of God's Dispensation.

2. Secondly, it hath been objected that "according to the sense here put upon the *Sceptre*, it should have been said—*the Sceptre shall not depart from* JEHOVAH instead of JUDAH." But such Objectors do not advert, that the Theocracy was administered by Vicegerents of JUDAH. And this likewise will account for the expression of a *Lawgiver between his feet*.

3. Lastly, it may be said, "That by this interpretation of the

Sceptre of Judah we deprive the Prophecy of one principal part of the information it was supposed to give, namely, the TIME of Christ's advent, which the common interpretation is supposed to fix exactly." To this I answer, that Religion loses nothing by this change, since there are so many other Prophecies which point out the *time* with infinitely more precision. On the other hand, Religion gains much by it, in evading a number of objections, which had stigmatized the supposed Prediction with apparent marks of falshood.

Thus we see this noble Prophecy, concerning the transfer of the Kingdom of GOD, to CHRIST, contains a matter of much greater dignity in itself, and of much greater moment for the support of CHRISTIANITY, than could arise from the perplexed question about the reign of the Asmonean Princes, or the Continuance of the power of life and death amongst a tributary People. For, in predicting the *Abolition of the Law*, it supplies us with a new and excellent Argument for the Conversion of the Jewish People, fatally persuaded of its *eternal obligation*.

The Reasons of my being so particular concerning the duration of the THEOCRACY are various, and will be seen as occasion offers. Only the reader may here take notice, that it was necessary for the present purpose, to shew its continuance throughout the whole duration of the Republic, in order to vindicate the justice of those Laws all along in force, for the punishment of idolatrous Worship.

SECTION IV.

THUS far as to the nature and duration of the Mosaic Republic. Let us now see what PECULIAR CONSEQUENCES necessarily attended the administration of a THEOCRATIC form of Government.

One necessary consequence was an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. For the affairs of a People under a Theocracy, being administered by God as King; and his peculiar and immediate administration of human affairs being what we call *an extraordinary Providence;* it follows that an extraordinary Providence must needs be exercised over such a People. My meaning is, that if the Jews were indeed under a Theocracy, they were indeed under an extraordinary Providence: And if a Theocracy was only pretended, yet an extraordinary Providence must necessarily be pretended likewise. In a word, they must be either both true or both false, but still inseparable, in reality or idea. Nor does this at all contradict (as was suggested by Doctor SYKES even after he had seen his suggestion confuted) what I observe concerning the gradual decay and total extinction of the extraordinary Providence, while the Theocracy yet existed. For when I say *an extraordinary Providence was one necessary consequence of a Theocracy*, I can only mean that it was so in its original constitution, and

in the order and nature of things: not that in this, which was matter of compact, the contravening acts of one Party might not make a separation. For, as this extraordinary Providence was (besides its being a mode of administration arising out of a Theocracy) a reward for obedience, it became liable to forfeiture by disobedience, though subjection to the Government still continued. I beg leave to illustrate this position both by a foreign and a domestic instance. The Ærarii in the Roman State were such who, for their crimes, were deprived of the right of Citizens: Yet these delinquents were obliged to pay the public taxes. At home, a voice in the supreme Council of the kingdom is the necessary consequence of an English Barony; yet they may be separated by a judicial Sentence; and actually have been so separated; as we may see in the two famous cases of Lord Verulam, and the Earl of Middlesex, in the reign of James the First; who were both deprived of their seats in the House of Lords, and yet held their Baronies, with all the other rights pertaining to them. Thus a punishment of this kind was inflicted on the rebellious Israelites: they were deprived of the *extraordinary Providence:* and were yet held subject to the *Theocracy*, as appears from the Sentence pronounced upon them, by the mouth of the Prophet Ezekiel:—"Ye polluted yourselves with your idols even unto this day: and shall I be enquired of by you, O house of *Israel?* As I live, saith the Lord God, *I will not be enquired of by you. And that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that ye say, We will be as the Heathen, as the Families of the Countries to serve Wood and Stone.* As I live, saith the Lord, *with a mighty Hand, and with a stretched out Arm, and with Fury poured out, will I rule over you. And I will bring you out from the People, and will gather you out of the Countries wherein ye are scattered,* with a mighty Hand, and with a stretched out Arm, and with Fury poured out. And I will bring you into the Wilderness of the People, and there will I plead with you Face to Face. *Like as I pleaded with your Fathers in the Wilderness of the Land of* Egypt, so will I plead with you, saith the Lord. And *I will cause you to pass under the Rod.* And *I will bring you into the* BOND OF THE COVENANT." Chap. xx. ver. 31—37. It is here we see denounced, that the extraordinary Providence should be withdrawn; or, in Scripture phrase, *that God would not be enquired of by them;* That they should remain in this condition, which their *Fathers* had occasionally felt *in the wilderness*, when the extraordinary Providence, for their signal disobedience, was, from time to time, suspended: And yet, that, though they strove to disperse themselves amongst the People round about, and projected *in their minds to be as the heathen, and the families of the Countries to serve wood and stone,* they should still be under the government of a THEOCRACY; Which, when adminis-

tered without an extraordinary Providence, the blessing naturally attendant on it, was, and was justly called, THE ROD AND BOND OF THE COVENANT.

But now if you will believe a Professor of Divinity and a no less eminent dealer in Laws, the case grows worse and worse, and, from a contradiction in my system, it becomes a contradiction in God's. For thus Dr. RUTHERFORTH descants upon the matter: "As the Law was gradually deprived of its Sanction, the *Obligation* of it grew continually weaker, till at last, after the people were returned from the Captivity, it must have ceased to oblige them at all. For whatever may be the case of God's MORAL LAW, yet most certainly, as he withdraws the Sanctions of his POSITIVE ones, he takes off something from their obligation; and when he has wholly withdrawn the promise of reward and the threatening of punishment, THOSE LAWS OBLIGE NO LONGER."* To this *Determination* of the learned Professor, concerning OBLIGATION, I have nothing to oppose but the *Determination* of GOD himself: who, by the mouth of one of his Prophets, declares, That the *Laws shall still oblige, though the Sanction be withdrawn.* "Ye pollute yourselves with your idols," &c.—as the reader may find it transcribed just above. Here God declares he would withdraw that extraordinary Providence which naturally attended a THEOCRACY—*I will not be enquired of by you.* "Yet do not" (says he) "deceive yourselves in an expectation that, because for your crimes I withdraw this sanction of my Law, the Law will oblige no longer,—*and that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that ye say we will be as the heathen:* For, in order to the bringing about my own great purposes, I will still continue you a select and sequestered people—*I will bring you out from the people, and will gather you out from the Countries wherein you are scattered.* And will still rule over you by my Law; now, in my wrath, as before in my mercy. *With fury poured out I will rule over you, and bring you into the bond of the Covenant.*"

I suppose the thing that led our Doctor into this rash judgment, That *when the sanctions of a positive law are withdrawn, the obligation to the law ceases,* was his totally misunderstanding the principles of the best writers on the Law of Nature: Not by their fault, I dare assure the Reader.—*The Law of Nature* is written in the heart; but by Whom, is the question. And a question of much importance; for if not written by a competent Obliger it is no Law, to bind us. The enquirers therefore into this matter had no other way of coming to the Author of the Law but by considering the effects which the observance or inobservance of it would have on mankind. And they found that the observance tended to the benefit of all, the inobser-

* Page 329.

vance to their destruction. They concluded therefore that it must needs have been given by God, as a Law to mankind; and these effects of its observance or inobservance they called the *sanction*. Hence it appears that the knowledge of our *obligation to the Law of nature* arises from the knowledge of the *sanction*. And, this sanction away, we had not been obliged, because we could never have discovered any real ground of obligation.

But the *positive Law of the Jews* was written in stone by the finger of God, in a visible manner; in which the senses of the People were appealed to, for the truth of the transaction. Here the knowledge of their obligation did not arise from their knowledge of the sanction, but from quite another thing, namely, the immediate knowledge they had by their senses, that God, their sovereign Lord and Master, gave them the Law. To inforce which, a *sanction* indeed was added; but a sanction that added nothing to the obligation, nor consequently that took from it, when it was withdrawn.

This is a plain and clear state of the case. Yet so miserably has our Professor mistaken it, that for want of seeing on what principle it was which the writers on the Law of Nature proceeded, when they supposed *obligation to depend on the sanction*, he hath, of a particular case, made a general maxim: and in applying that maxim, he hath turned every thing topsy turvy, and given us just the reverse of the medal. He supposes the taking the sanction from the moral Law might not destroy the obligation (which it certainly would)—*whatsoever*, says he, *might be the cause of God's moral Laws;* and that taking away the sanction from his positive Law would destroy the obligation (which it certainly would not).

What might further mislead our Professor (for the more such men read the less they understand) is the attribute the Roman Lawyers give to such civil Laws as are made without a penal sanction. These they are wont to call, *Leges imperfectæ:* And our great Civilian might believe that this assigned *imperfection* had a reference to the *obligation* they imposed, whereas it refers to the *efficacy* they were able to work. He should have known at least this first principle of Law, That it is the AUTHORITY of the Lawgiver, not the SANCTION he annexes to his Law, which makes it, I will not say, OPERATE *properly* (for this is nothing to the purpose), but makes it OBLIGE *really*, which is only to the purpose. In a word, I know of nobody but HOBBES, besides this Doctor, who pretended to teach that the *obligation* to Laws depended upon their *sanction:* and this he did, because he derived all *right* and *wrong* from the Civil Magistrate: which, for aught I know, our learned Professor may do likewise, as only mistaking *right* and *wrong* (by a blunder like to the foregoing) for *good* and *evil*. Yet hath this grave man written most enormously

both on LAWS and MORALS: And is indeed a great Writer, just as the mighty Giant, Leon Gawer, was a great Builder; of whom the Monk of Chester so sweetly sings:

> "The Founder of this City, as saith Polychronicon,
> Was Leon Gawer, a mighty strong Giant,
> Which builded CAVES and DUNGEONS many a one:
> No goodly Building, ne proper, ne pleasant."

But our business at present is not with the actual administration of an extraordinary Providence, but with the Scripture representation of such an administration. And this the sacred history of the Jews attests in one uniform unvaried manner; as well by recording many instances of it in particular, as by constantly referring to it in general.

I. The first is in the History of MIRACLES. For an equal Providence being, by the nature of man's situation and affairs, necessarily administered partly by ordinary and partly by extraordinary means, these latter produce what we call *Miracles*, the subject of the sacred Writers their more peculiar regard. But I apprehend it would be thought presuming too much on the reader's patience, to expect his attention, while I set myself formally to prove that many *miracles* are related in the sacred history of the Israelites.

The simpler sort of Deists fairly confess that the Bible records the working of many Miracles, as appears even from the free names they give to those accounts. But there are refiners in Infidelity, such as SPINOZA and his mimic TOLAND; who acknowledge many of the facts recorded, but deny them to have been miraculous. These are to our purpose, and an Appeal to the common sense of Mankind is a sufficient answer to them all. And surely I should have done no more, had they not attempted to draw in to their Party much honester Men than themselves. For such, therefore, even charity requires us to attempt some kind of defense.

The infamous *Spinoza* would persuade us that JOSEPHUS himself was as backward in the belief of Miracles as any modern Pagan whatsoever. The handle, for his calumny, is* that Writer's relation of

* "Scriptura de natura in genere quibusdam in locis affirmat eam fixum atque immutabilem ordinem servare.—Philosophus præterea in suo *Eccl.* clarissime docet nihil novi in natura contingere.—Hæc igitur in Scriptura expresse docentur, at nullibi, quod in natura aliquid contingat, quod ipsius legibus repugnet, aut quod ex iis nequeat sequi, adeoque neque etiam Scripturæ affingendum.—Ex quibus evidentissime sequitur miracula res naturales fuisse.—Attamen—de his unicuique, prout sibi melius esse sentiet, ad Dei cultum et religionem integro animo suscipiendum, liberum est existimare. Quod etiam JOSEPHUS SENTIT; sic enim in conclusione *l.* 2. *Antiq.* scribit, *Nullus vero discredat verbo miraculi, si antiquis hominibus et malitia privatis via salutis liquet per mare facta, sive voluntate* Dei, sive sponte revelata: dum et eis, qui cum Alexandro rege Macedoniæ fuerunt olim, et antiquitus à resistentibus Pamphylicum mare divisum sit, et cum aliud iter non esset, transitum *præbuit iis, volente Deo, per eum Persarum destruere principatum; et hoc confitentur omnes, qui actus Alexandri scripserunt;* DE HIS ITAQUE, SICUT LACUERIT CUILIBET, EXISTIMET. Hæc sunt verba Josephi, ejusque DE FIDE MIRACULORUM JUDICIUM."—*Tract. Theologico-Pol.* cap. vi. de Miraculis, pp. 81, 82.

the *passage* of the *Red-sea;* which he compares to Alexander's through the *Pamphylian,* and which concludes with saying that *every Man may believe of it as he pleases.* No unusual way with this Historian of introducing or ending a miraculous Adventure. This hath indeed so libertine an air, that it hath betrayed some Believers into the same false judgment concerning Josephus; as if he afforded only a political or philosophical belief to these things; and gave a latitude to *those of his own Religion,* to think as they should see cause.

But here lies the difficulty; the Historian is every now and then putting on a very different aspect, and talking like a most determined Believer. Many are the places where he expresses the fullest and firmest assent to the *Divinity* of the *Mosaic* Religion, and to the *Truth* of the sacred Volumes. To mention only one or two, from a Book so known, and in a point so notorious. The following words of his Introduction (where he cannot possibly be considered as a translator, or relator only of what he found in the *sacred books,* from which he composed his history) these, I say, shew in how different a light he regarded *Moses* from all other Lawgivers: "And now I earnestly intreat all who take these Volumes in hand, to apply themselves with their whole faculties to the contemplation of the Divine Nature, and then turn to our LAWGIVER, and see whether he has not made a representation of that Nature entirely worthy of it; always assigning such Actions to GOD, as become his excellence, and preserving the high subject clear from any impure mixture of FABLE. Though if we consider the distance and antiquity of the Time he wrote in, we cannot but understand he was at full liberty to invent and falsify at pleasure. For he lived full two thousand years ago.—A distance of Time to which even the Poets dared not to carry up the birth of their Gods, the actions of their Heroes, or the establishment of their Laws." * Here, we see, the Historian expresly declares that MOSES in his writings employed *no degree of fiction,* so common in the practice of other ancient Lawgivers.

And how *truly* divine he supposed the LAW, appears from his observing, in the same place, that, while the *Jews* religiously observed its Precepts, all things went well and prosperously; but that, whenever they transgressed, then nothing but disasters followed. And lest any one should pretend, he meant no more than that national

* Ἤδη τοίνυν τοὺς ἐντευξομένους τοῖς βιβλίοις παρακαλῶ τὴν γνώμην Θεῷ προσανέχειν, καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὸν ἡμέτερον Νομοθέτην, εἰ τήν τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ ἀξίως κατενόησε, καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρεπούσας ἀεὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀντέθηκε, πάσης καθαρὸν τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ φυλάξας λόγον τῆς παρ' ἄλλοις αἰσχήμονος μυθολογίας· καίτοιγε, ὅσον ἐπὶ μήκει χρόνου καὶ παλαιότητι, πολλὴν ἔχων ἄδειαν ψευδῶν πλασμάτων. γέγονεν γὰρ πρὸ ἐτῶν δισχιλίων,—ἐφ' ὅσον πλῆθος αἰῶνος οὐδ' αὐτῶν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν Θεῶν, μήτιγε τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράξεις, ἢ τοὺς νόμους ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν.—Vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

happiness was the natural consequence of adhering to the Laws of their Country; or that those Laws, being founded on Just and Right, God (whose general Providence it is agreed he acknowledged) would reward the virtuous observers, whatever were the original of such Laws; lest, I say, this should be pretended, he adds, that these disasters followed whenever they transgressed the Law, though in pursuit of things just and good. His words are these: "Upon the whole, what the Reader of this History may chiefly learn from it is this: That those who obsequiously study the Will of God, and reverence his well established Laws, pass their lives in incredible prosperity; Happiness, the reward from God, ever attending their obedience. But in proportion to their neglect of these Laws, easy things become unsurmountable, and all their undertakings, *how justly soever directed*, end in incurable calamities." * In which words, I take it for granted, he had the case of *Saul* particularly in his view. Again, so full was his persuasion of the Divinity of the Law, that he extols the *Jews* for suffering *Ptolemy*, the son of *Lagus*, to take their City by storm on the seventh day, rather than violate the *Sabbatic* rest. *Agatharchides* (says he) *thinks this scruple worthy of contempt and laughter. But those who weigh it without prejudice, will see something truly great, and deserving of the highest commendations, in thus always preferring their Piety towards God, and adherence to his Law, before their own safety, or even the freedom of their Country.*†

These passages, we see, have all the marks of a very zealous Believer. And what makes the greatest difficulty of all, is, that the very places in which the Historian uses such offensive latitude of expression are those where he employs his utmost endeavours to shew the real Divinity of his Religion; of which these *Miracles* are produced as evidence; an evidence he studiously seeks, and seems to dwell upon with pleasure.

This varying aspect, therefore, so indifferently assumed, creates all the embarass. But would men only do in this case what they ought to do in all, when they pass their judgment on an ancient writing, that is, consider the *End*, and *Time*, and *Genius* of the Writer, together with the Character of those to whom the work is addressed; they would find *Josephus* to be indeed a steady Follower of the Law, and a firm Believer of its *miraculous* establishment; and,

* Τὸ σύνολον δὲ μάλιστά τις ἂν ἐκ ταύτης μάθοι τῆς ἱστορίας, ἐθελήσας αὐτὴν διελθεῖν, ὅτι μὲν τοῖς Θεοῦ γνώμῃ κατακολουθοῦσι, καὶ τὰ καλῶς νομοθετηθέντα μὴ τολμῶσι παραβαίνειν, πάντα κατορθοῦται πέρα πίστεως, καὶ γέρας εὐδαιμονίας πρόκειται παρὰ Θεοῦ· καθ' ὅσον δ' ἂν ἀποστῶσι τῆς τοὐτων ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιμελείας, ἄπορα μὲν γίνεται τὰ πόριμα, τρέπεται δ' εἰς συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους, ὅ, τι ποτ' ἂν, ὡς ἀγαθὸν, δρᾷν σπουδάσωσιν.—Vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

† Τοῦτο μὲν Ἀγαθαρχίδῃ καταγέλωτος ἄξιον δοκεῖ· τοῖς δὲ μὴ μετὰ δυσμενείας ἐξετάζουσι φαίνεται μέγα καὶ πολλῶν ἄξιον ἐγκωμίων, εἰ καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος ἄνθρωποί τινες νόμων φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ἀεὶ προτιμῶσιν. —Vol. ii. p. 458.

at the same time, discover the easy solution of all those untoward appearances which have brought his Religion into question.

The case, with our Historian, stood thus: His Country was now in great distress; its Constitution overturned, and his Brethren in apparent danger of utter Extirpation. Calamities arising as much from the ill-will which the Heathens had entertained of their Religion * for its *unsociable* nature, as for their own turbulent and rebellious Carriage. This ill-will had been much increased by their superior Aversion to *Christianity*, considered by them as a Sect of *Judaism*; which had carried its insociability as far, and its pretensions much farther: so far as to insist on the necessity of all Men's submitting to its dominion, and renouncing their own Country Religions as the Impostures of Politicians, or the Inventions of evil Demons. This put the Heathen world into a flame, and produced those mad and wicked Persecutions that attended the first Propagation of the *Christian* Faith.† Such was the unfriendly state of things, when *Josephus* undertook an Apology for his Nation, in the HISTORY OF ITS ANTIQUITIES. Now as their conquerors' aversion to them, arose from the supposition that their Religion required the belief and obedience of all Mankind (for they had, as we observed, confounded *Judaism* with *Christianity*), to wipe off this invidious imputation, we must conclude, would be ever in the Author's thoughts. So that when the course of his History leads him to speak of the effects of GOD'S extraordinary Providence in his conduct of this People, he sometimes adds to his relation of a miraculous adventure, *but in this every Man may believe as he pleases.* A declaration merely to this effect: "The *Jewish* Religion was given by GOD for the use of his chosen People, therefore the Gentiles might believe as they pleased. The *Jews* did not pretend they should leave their own Country Religion to embrace theirs: ‡ That in this they were different from the *Christian* Sect, which required all Mankind to follow the Faith of a crucified Saviour under pain of total destruction.§ But that yet they were not so *unhospitable*, but that they received with open arms all who were willing to worship one God the Creator of the Universe." ‖ Thus we see how it came to pass (which was the main difficulty), that the places where he gives such a latitude of Belief, are those very places where he most labours to prove the Divinity of his Religion.

But this solution clears up all difficulties, and shews the Historian's great consistency, as well as artful address, throughout the whole work. *Josephus* professes the most awful regard to the sacred Volumes; and yet, at the same time, takes such liberties of going

* See note I, at the end of this book. † See the first volume, book i. ‡ See note K, at the end of this book. § See note L, at the end of this book. ‖ Καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εἶναι κοινὸν, εἰ βούλονται, πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν σέβειν τὸν Θεόν.—Vol. I. p. 556.

from their authority, that it provoked the honest resentment of a late excellent Writer * to the following asperities: "Nec levis sit suspicio illum Hebraice non scivisse, cum multis indiciis linguæ ejus imperitiam prodat. Quivis certe, cui vel mica salis est, sentiat illum Historias Sacras pro arbitrio interpolasse, demendo, addendo, immutando, ut Antiquitates suas ad Lectorum Græcorum et Romanorum palatum accommodaret." But this license, though surely to be condemned, was however something more legitimate and sober than is generally supposed; his deviation from Scripture being in those places *only*, where an exact adherence to it would have increased that general aversion to his Nation, whose effects were at that time so much to be dreaded, either as exposing the *perverse nature* of the People, or the *unsociable genius* of their Religion. To give an instance or two of each:

1. The *murmuring* of the *Israelites*, for *bread* and *flesh* in the Wilderness, is represented in Scripture, and justly,† as an act of horrid ingratitude towards God. Yet *Josephus* makes *Moses* own they had reason for their complaints.‡ And in the execrable behaviour of the Men of *Gibeah* to the *Levite* and his wife, though Scripture expresly says they attempted a more unnatural crime than adultery, yet the Historian passes this over in silence, and makes all the personal outrage attempted, as well as committed, to be offered to the woman.§ The Reader will now easily account for what Mr. *Whiston* could not, his Author's omission of the story of the *golden Calf*.‖ For this was so amazing a perversity, at that juncture, that it must have made the very *Pagans* themselves ashamed of their *Jewish* brethren in idolatry.

2. Again, we are told in Scripture, that when the *Cutheans*, or *Samaritans*, heard that the *Jews*, who were returned from the Captivity, were rebuilding the Temple, they came and desired to be partners in the work, and joint Worshipers of the God for whom it was erected; to which the *Jews* gave this round reply: *You have nothing to do with us, to build an House unto our God, but we ourselves together will build unto the Lord God of* Israel, *as King* Cyrus *the King of* Persia *hath commanded us.*¶ And *Nehemiah*, on the same occasion, gave them a still rougher answer: *The God of Heaven he will prosper us, therefore we his Servants will arise and build: but you have no Portion, nor Right, nor Memorial in* Jerusalem.** This was a tender place: it was touching upon the very sore, in an express declaration of the *Unsociableness* complained of. The story therefore, we may be sure, was to be softened before the Gentiles were to be intrusted with it. Accord-

* BISHOP HARE. † Exod. xvi. ‡ Παθεῖν δ' οὐκ ἀλόγως αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦτο νομίσας.—*Antiq. Jud.* lib. iii. cap. i. § 5. § *Ant. Jud.* lib. v. cap. ii. § 8. ‖ See note M, at the end of this book. ¶ Ezra iv. 3. ** Neh. ii. 20.

ingly, *Josephus* makes them speak in these obliging terms: *That they could not possibly admit them as partners in the work; for that the command to build the Temple was directed to them first by* Cyrus, *and now by* Darius: *That indeed they were at liberty to worship along with them: and that this was the only Community, in religious matters, that they could enter into with them, and which they would do with as many of the rest of Mankind, as were willing to come up to the Temple to adore the God of Heaven.** The reason the *Scripture Jews* give for the refusal of the offer to be joint partners with them in their work and worship is, that it was a Temple built in the *Land of Israel*, and to the honour of the *God of Israel*. The reason *Josephus's Jews* give for their refusal is obedience to the King of Persia: else, as for *community* of worship, they were very ready to receive them.

And now was not that a wise † project which proposed reforming the *sacred Text* by the Writings of *Josephus?*

But this Explanation will enable us to conclude with certainty against that *spurious* passage concerning CHRIST. I think I have already offered one demonstrative argument against it.‡ And I suppose, the many marks of forgery are so glaring, that most men would be willing to give it up, were *Josephus's* silence on so extraordinary an occasion but easy to be accounted for. Now we have so far laid open his conduct as to see, that the preaching up of CHRIST was an affair he would studiously decline. His great point, as we observed, was to reconcile the Gentiles to his countrymen. But the *Pagan* aversion was greatly increased by the new Sect of *Christians*, sprung, as was well known, from the Country of *Judea*. It was therefore utterly destructive of his purpose to shew, as he must have done, in giving them an account of CHRIST, the close connexion between the two Religions. Of all dangerous subjects, therefore, *Josephus* would be careful to avoid this.§ So that (certain as I am of the Writer's purpose, and not ignorant of the liberty he took with the sacred Records, when it served his ends, of adding and omitting at pleasure) I should have been as much surprised to have found the *History* of JESUS in his Works as others are to be told that it is not there. This too will equally well account for his omission of Herod's slaughter of the Chil-

* Ἔφασαν, τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας αὐτοὺς ἀδύνατον εἶναι κοινωνεῖν, αὐτῶν προσταχθέντων κατασκεύασαι τὸν ναὸν, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Κύρου, νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου· προσκυνεῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφιέναι. καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εἶναι κοινὸν, εἰ βούλονται, πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν σέβειν τὸν Θεόν.—Vol. i. p. 556. † MR. WHISTON'S. ‡ See vol. i. § "La plus forte preuve qu'on ait, pour soutenir que le passage en question, où il est parlé de JESUS CHRIST, est de *Joseph*, c'est qu'il n'est pas croyable, qu'il n'ait rien dit de JESUS CHRIST. Photius fournit une réponse a ce raisonnement, en parlant de *Juste de Tiberide*, qui a ecrit l'Histoire des Juifs en Grec, et qui vivoit du tems de Joseph, avec qui il a eû de grands demelez. Juste de Tiberide, dit Photius n'a point parlé de JESUS CHRIST parce qu'il etoit Juif de Nation et de Religion."—P. SIMON, *Bibl. Crit.* vol. ii. p. 41.

dren at Bethlehem, which Scaliger so much wondered at; * which Collins so much triumphed in; † and for the sake of which, our Whitby seemed ready to give up the truth of the story.‡

Thus did this excellent Writer out of extreme love to his Country (the most pardonable however of all human frailties) make too free with Truth and Scripture; though most zealously attached to the Religion of his Forefathers: as those Men generally are who love their Country best. And a *Jew* he strictly was, of a very different Stamp too, from that poor paltry Mimic of the *Greek* Sophists, *Philo*.§ Of whom his Master *Plato would have said*, what *Josephus* tells us *Aristotle did say*, of one of his *Jewish* Acquaintance, A GREEK HE WAS, AND NOT IN SPEECH ONLY, BUT IN SOUL LIKEWISE.‖

I judged it of importance to set this matter in a true light: Because many, I supposed, would think it a fair prejudice against the Divinity of the *Mosaic* Religion, had a person so eminent amongst his Countrymen while the Republic was yet existing, and of so learned an age; so conversant in the *Jewish* Records, and so skilled in the best *Grecian* Literature; had such a one afforded only a political or philosophic Faith to the sacred Volumes. But then it will follow on the other hand, that the sincere *Belief* of one, so circumstanced, will be as fair a prejudice in its favour.

Not that I am over fond of this kind of evidence, in matters where every one is obliged to judge for himself; and consequently, where every one, on a due application to the subject, is capable of judging. Much less would I lay great weight on the opinions of Men out of their own Profession, however eminent in any other. What is it to Truth, for instance, what a Courtier judges of a Church; a Politician of Conscience; or a Geometer, grown grey in *Demonstration*, of *moral Evidence?* To go on:

MIRACLES, therefore, as they are recorded to be continued through so large a period of this Republic, I give for one proof that the Scriptures have represented the Israelites as living under an extraordinary Providence. I say, as they are recorded to be so *continued:* For when miracles are only given at the first propagation of a Religion (as of the Christian), they are to be no otherwise esteemed of, than as the Credentials of a new Revelation: These being like the Cloud which conducted the Israelites in their journeyings in the wilderness; the other like the same Cloud which abode upon the Mercy-seat: These like the Manna rained down from heaven only for a pre-

* *Animad. in Chron. Eusebii.* † "Scheme of literal Prophecy considered."
‡ "Comment. on the New Testament." § *Philo*, in his life of *Moses*, brings in the *Egyptian* Priests reasoning on the *Platonic* principles, concerning the soul that informed *Moses's* body; which is altogether as well judged, as if a modern Writer of the Life of *Ptolemy* the Astronomer should bring him in explaining Sir *Isaac Newton's Principia.* ‖ Ἑλληνικὸς ἦν, οὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ΨΥΧΗι.

sent subsistence; the other like the same Manna preserved uncorrupted in the Ark, to be a testimony to future ages.

II. This extraordinary Providence is represented as administered; 1. Over the State in general. 2. Over private Men in particular. And such a representation we should expect to find from the nature of the Republic; because, as an extraordinary Providence over the STATE necessarily follows God's being their TUTELARY DEITY; so an extraordinary Providence to PARTICULARS follows as necessarily from his being their SUPREME MAGISTRATE.*

As to this Providence over the State, it would be absurd to quote particular texts, when the whole BIBLE is one continued history of it. Only it may not be amiss to observe, that from a passage in Ezekiel, where GOD says, *Because that* Moab *and* Seir *do say*, BEHOLD THE HOUSE OF JUDAH IS LIKE UNTO ALL THE HEATHEN,† it appears the Jews had boasted, and the Gentiles, till then, had acknowledged, that they were under an extraordinary Providence. As this therefore is so plain, I shall not hazard the obscuring it by many words: but go on to shew, that Scripture represents this Providence as administered likewise to Particulars.

In the Dedication of the first Temple, SOLOMON addresses his Prayer to GOD, that the Covenant between him and the People might remain for ever firm and inviolate, and the old Œconomy be still continued. And after having enumerated divers parts of it, he proceeds in this manner: "When the heaven is shut up, and there is no rain, because they have sinned against thee; yet if they pray towards this Place, and confess thy name, and turn from their sin when thou dost afflict them; Then hear thou from heaven, and forgive the sin of thy SERVANTS and of thy PEOPLE ISRAEL, when thou hast taught them the good way wherein they should walk; and send rain upon the Land which thou hast given unto thy People for an inheritance. If there be dearth in the Land, if there be pestilence, if there be blasting or mildew, locusts or caterpillers; if their enemies besiege them in the cities of their Land; whatsoever sore, or whatsoever sickness there be: Then what prayer, or what supplication shall be made *of* ANY MAN, or of all thy PEOPLE ISRAEL, *when* EVERY ONE *shall know his own sore, and his own grief*, and shall spread forth his hands in this house: then hear thou from heaven, and forgive, and RENDER UNTO EVERY MAN according unto all his ways, whose heart thou knowest." ‡ Solomon in this petition, which, with respect to the given *Covenant*, we might properly call a PETITION OF RIGHTS, speaks the language of one who extended the temporal sanctions of the Law to PARTICULARS and INDIVIDUALS. For he desires God, according to

* See note N, at the end of this book. † Ezek. xxv. 8. ‡ 2 Chron. vi. 26—30. See also note O, at the end of this book.

the terms of the Covenant, to render unto *every man according to all his ways.* But when is it that he prays for the exertion of this extraordinary providence to particulars? At the very time when it is administring to the state in general.—*If there be dearth in the land, if there be pestilence, if there be blasting or mildew, locusts or caterpillers, if their enemies besiege them,* &c. The necessary consequence is, that as sure as Solomon believed an extraordinary Providence exercised to the State in general, so surely did he believe it exercised to individuals in particular. The Psalmist bears his testimony to the same Œconomy: *I have been young* (says he) *and now am old: yet have I not seen the Righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread.** God himself declares it, by the Prophet Isaiah: *Say ye to the Righteous that it shall be well with him: for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Wo unto the Wicked, it shall be ill with him: for the reward of his hands shall be given him.*† And again: *He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly,* &c. *he shall dwell on high: his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks, bread shall be given him, his waters shall be sure.*‡ And we learn, from a parabolical command in Ezekiel, how exactly these promises were fulfilled: "And the Lord said unto him, Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh, and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof. And to others he said in mine hearing, Go ye after him through the city, and smite: let not your eye spare, neither have ye pity. Slay utterly old and young, both maids and little children, and women; *but come not near any man upon whom is the mark;* and begin at my Sanctuary," &c. § The same Prophet in another place, alluding to Abraham's intercession for Sodom, declares from God, that when his judgments come out against the land of Judea, the Righteous, found in it, should save only themselves; which plainly shews a providence extending to particulars—"Son of man, when the land sinneth against me by trespassing grievously, then will I stretch out mine hand upon it, and will break the staff of the bread thereof, and will send famine upon it, and will cut off man and beast from it. Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God." Ch. xiv. 13, 14. But GOD, by the Prophet *Amos*, describes this administration of Providence in the fullest manner: "Also I have withholden the rain from you, when there were yet three months to the harvest; *and I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon, and the piece whereupon it rained not, withered.* So two or three cities wandered unto one city to drink water; but they

* Psalm xxxvii. 25. See also note P, at the end of this book. † Isai. iii. 10, 11.
‡ Isai. xxxiii. 15, 16. § Ezek. ix. 4—6. See also note Q, at the end of this book.

were not satisfied: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the Lord. I have smitten you with blasting and mildew," &c.* And again: *Lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of* Israel *amongst all Nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth.*†

These declarations of God's providence are so exactly correspondent to Solomon's petition; that they seem as it were the FIAT to it.‡

Thus we see the Law, as well by its express declarations as by its essential nature and genius, extended its sanctions of temporal rewards and punishments as well to Particulars as to the General. And as in civil Government, universal practice shews the necessity of a more exact dispensation of punishment than of reward, so we may observe from the passages last quoted, that the Mosaic Law had the same attention; which occasioned the Wise Man to say, *Behold the Righteous shall be recompensed in the Earth:* MUCH MORE *the Wicked and the Sinner.*§

The inspired writers of the NEW TESTAMENT give evidence to this dispensation of Providence under the OLD. The Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews argues from it as a thing well known and generally allowed: *For if the Word spoken by Angels was stedfast, and* EVERY TRANSGRESSION AND DISOBEDIENCE RECEIVED A JUST RECOMPENCE OF REWARD, *how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?*‖

St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, speaking of the advantages which Christianity had over Judaism, says: *Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. By whom also we have access by Faith into his Grace, wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God. And not only so, but* WE GLORY IN TRIBULATION ALSO, *knowing that Tribulation worketh patience, &c.*¶ Here St. Paul, opposing the advantages which the Gentile Converts had by FAITH, to those which the Jews, in contempt to the Gentiles, gloried to have by the LAW, adds, in order to shew those advantages in their highest superiority, that the Christian Gentiles could glory even in that which was the very opprobrium of the Jews, namely, *tribulation.* For the sanction of the Jewish Law being temporal rewards and punishments, administered by an equal providence; *Tribulation* was a punishment for crimes, and, consequently, an high opprobrium.** But the followers of Christ, who were taught, *that we must through much* TRIBULATION *enter into the kingdom of God,*†† had the same reason to *glory* in the roughness of the road, as the ancient Agonistæ had in the toils which procured them the victory. This is urged with great address. But the Critics, not taking the Apostle's

* Amos iv. 7—11. † Amos ix. 9. ‡ See note R, at the end of this book.
§ Prov. xi. 31. ‖ Heb. ii. 2, 3. ¶ Rom v. 1, et seq. ** See note S, at the end of this book. †† Acts xiv. 22.

meaning, have supposed, in their usual way, that he here broke in upon his argument, with an idea foreign to the point in hand.

This will help us to explain an odd remark of the excellent Maimonides: *That their wise men talked of a thing which was* NOT TO BE FOUND *in the* LAW, *namely, that which some of them call the* CHASTISEMENTS OF LOVE, *by which they meant that* TRIBULATIONS *might befall a man without any precedent sin,* and only in order to multiply his reward. And that this was the very opinion of the Sect called* Muatzal, *of which, or in favour of which opinion, there is not one single word to be found in the Law.*† This seems to have perplexed our Rabbi; and with cause. He lived when his countrymen were under a common providence, and had the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, which, he took for granted, was always in the Jewish Œconomy. These things disabled him from seeing that—NO CHASTISEMENTS OF LOVE was a necessary consequence of temporal rewards and punishments administered by an equal providence: And likewise that when this sanction ceased, and a future state was known, then CHASTISEMENTS OF LOVE became a necessary consequence.

But if by the LAW, Maimonides did (as the Jews frequently do) include the writings of the Prophets, then he was very much mistaken in saying there is not one word in it concerning the *chastisements of love*. For Zechariah, prophesying of a NEW Dispensation, describes this sort of *chastisements* in very express terms: "And I will bring the third part through the fire, and *will refine them as silver is refined*, and *will try them as gold is tried:* and they shall call on my name, and I will hear them." So admirably do all the parts of God's grand Œconomy support one another.

We have seen what testimonies their coeval writers afford of an extraordinary Providence. But we must not suppose the Jews always held the same language. The difference is great between the early and later Jews, even during the existence of the Republic. Take an instance from the Psalmist, and the writer of Ecclesiasticus. The former says, *I have been young, and now am old, yet have I not seen the Righteous forsaken, nor his Seed begging their bread.*‡ The latter —*Look at the* GENERATIONS OF OLD, *and see; Did ever any trust in the Lord and was confounded? Or did any abide in his Fear and was forsaken? Or whom did he ever despise that called upon him?* §

* This explanation was necessary; for, another kind of *chastisements of Love* there was in the *Law*, namely, *paternal chastisements*. Thus *Moses: Thou shalt also consider in thine heart, that as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee.* (Deut. viii. 5.)

† "Unum tamen occurrit in verbis sapientum nostrorum, quod NON INVENITUR IN LEGE; id nempe, quod quidam eorum dicunt CASTIGATIONES AMORIS. Juxta hanc enim sententiam possunt TRIBULATIONES alicui evenire sine præcedente peccato, sed ut multiplicetur ejus Remuneratio. Atque hæc ipsissima est sententia Sectæ Muatzali, de qua, aut pro qua, ne verbulum quidem in Lege reperitur." —*More Nevoch.* Buxtorfii, p. 381.

‡ Psalm xxxvii. 25.

§ Ecclus. ii. 10, &c.

The Psalmist, living under an *extraordinary* Providence, appeals to his own times; the Author of Ecclesiasticus living when it was long ceased, appeals to former times. But as we have been told, that this talk of a particular Providence is only an Eastern Hyperbole, in which every thing is ascribed to God, I think it not improper to take notice here of one singular circumstance in favour of the Reporters.

We may observe, then, that the spirit of *Gentilism* was always uniform; and, throughout its whole duration, had ever the same unvaried pretensions to divine Intercourse, supported by the same sort of Oracles and Divinations. But amongst the *Jews* matters were on another footing. After their perfect settlement, on their return from Captivity (when we know, from the course and progress of God's Œconomy, that the extraordinary Providence was to cease), we hear no more of their pretences to it, though they now adhered more strictly than ever to the Religion of their forefathers. They made no claim, as we see by the excellent Writer of the first Book of *Maccabees*, either to *Prophets*, *Oracles*, or *extraordinary Dispensations*. When they write unto the *Lacedemonians*, for the renewal of their Alliance, they tell them, at the same time, that they need it not, FOR THAT THEY HAVE THE HOLY BOOKS OF SCRIPTURE IN THEIR HANDS TO COMFORT THEM.* Language very different from their forefathers', when God was wont to send immediate help from the Sanctuary. How ingenuously does the same Historian relate the misfortune of *Bethsura*, caused by the observance of the Sabbatic Year?† A misfortune of which we have no instance before the Captivity; and therefore a plain evidence that the extraordinary Providence was indeed withdrawn. Besides, if we consider the nature of the *Religion*, the genius of the *People*, and the circumstances of the *Time*, we shall find, they all concurred to favour the continuance of a pretension to an extraordinary Providence, had it been *only a pretension*.

1. The *Mosaic Religion*, like the *Pagan*, had a *public part*, and therefore the *Jews* might, with the greatest ease, have still carried on the Superstition of *Oracles*, had their Oracles been indeed a superstition; especially as they were now become so closely attached to their Religion. For when did ever *Greece* or *Italy* confess that their *Oracles* were become *dumb*, till the Consulters had generally forsaken them, and the whole frame of their Religion was falling to pieces? Besides, the practice of this superstition had been as easy as it was commodious; for the Oracular Voice was wont to come from the *Mercy-Seat* behind the *Veil*.

2. The *genius of the People* too would have contributed to the continuance of this claim. For, some how or other, it was become their character *to require a Sign;*‡ and though, now, really superstitious, yet the

* 1 Macc. xii. 9. † 1 Macc. vi. 49. ‡ 1 Cor. i. 22.

humour spent itself rather in telling lyes of former times,* than in inventing any of their own. This, on a supposition of the human invention of their Law, is altogether unaccountable. But take the matter as we find it in their sacred Books, and no thing is more easy. For if they had indeed been long accustomed to a *miraculous* Dispensation, they would, ever after, be strongly disposed *to require a Sign;* but it would be only such a *Sign* as bore the evident marks of a Divinity; which not being to be had in human inventions, they would be kept safe from delusions, and made sensible of the difference of times: And such was, in fact, their case.

3. Add to all this, that the *time of the Maccabees* was the season of Enthusiasm, when that airy Spirit is at its height; after the national Genius, long sunk by oppression, begins to rise and recover itself to a vindication of public Liberty. And of this we have a signal instance in the person of *Judas Maccabæus* himself; who, in imitation of *Gideon,* would set upon an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, with only eight hundred straggling desperadoes; which rash and fanatic attempt was followed with the fortune that might, at this time, have been expected.†—In such a season too, artful Leaders are most disposed to support themselves by inspirations; have most need of them; and are thought, by the People, most worthy to receive them.

There is the same difference between the Writers of the New Testament and of the Old, as between the Writers of the several ages of the Old. The Apostles (who worked *Miracles* as well as Moses and the Prophets) represent the followers of CHRIST as under the same *common* Providence with the rest of mankind: Unlike in this, to the first propagators of the LAW, who always declared the Israelites to be under an *extraordinary* Providence.

From all this I conclude, that as amidst the concurrence of so many favourable circumstances, no such claim was made; but that, contrary to the universal practice of all false Religions, the *Jews* saw and owned a great change in the Divine Œconomy, that therefore their former pretensions to the peculiar protection of Heaven were TRUE.

But it hath been objected, that the early sacred Writers themselves frequently speak of the *inequality of* Providence to *Particulars:*‡ and in such a manner as Men living under a common Providence are accustomed to speak. It is very true that these Writers do now and then give intimations of this *inequality.* And therefore, though we shall hereafter prove an extraordinary *Providence* to have been actually

* See note T, at the end of this book. † 1 Macc. ix. 6. ‡ "Asaph de Dei providentia dubitavit, et fere a vera via deflexisset—Salomon etiam, cujus tempore res Judæorum in summo vigore erant, suspicatur omnia casu contingere—Denique omnibus fere prophetis hoc ipsum valde obscurum fuit, nempe, quomodo ordo naturæ et hominum eventus cum conceptu quem de providentia Dei formaverant, possent convenire."—SPINOZÆ *Theologico-Pol.* pp. 73, 74.

administered, in which, not only this objection will be seen to drop of itself, but the particular passages, on which it is founded, will be distinctly considered; yet, for the Reader's satisfaction, it may not be amiss to shew here, that these representations of *inequality* are very consistent with that before given of the extraordinary Providence. We say, therefore,

I. That when the Sacred Writers speak of the *inequalities* of Providence, and the unfit distribution of things, they often mean that state of it amongst their *Pagan* neighbours, and not in *Judea:* As particularly in the Book of *Psalms* and *Ecclesiastes.**.

II. We sometimes find Men complaining of *inequalities* in events, which were indeed the effects of a most *equal* Providence. Such as the punishment of *Posterity* for the crimes of their *Forefathers;* and of *Subjects* for their *Kings.* Of the first, the Prophet *Ezekiel* gives us an instance in the People's case: *What mean ye, that you use this Proverb concerning the Land of* Israel, *saying, The Fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the Children's teeth are set on edge?* †—Of the second, *David* gives it in his own; not duly attending to the justice of this proceeding, where he says, *But these Sheep, what have they done?* ‡ And that he was sometimes too hasty in judging of these matters appears from his own confession: *Behold, these are the ungodly, who prosper in the world, they increase in riches.—When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me: until I went into the Sanctuary of God; then understood I their end. Surely thou didst set them in slippery places: thou castedst them down into destruction. —So foolish was I, and ignorant: I was as a beast before thee.*§ That is, I understood not the course of thy justice, till I had considered the *way* in which an equal Providence must necessarily be administered under a *Theocracy,* and the *consequences* of such an Administration. For,

III. Even admitting the reality of an *equal* Providence to Particulars in the *Hebrew* State, the administration of it must needs be attended with such circumstances as sometimes to occasion those observations of *inequality.* For 1. it appears from the reason of the thing, that this administration did not begin to be exerted in particular cases till the civil Laws of the Republic had failed of their efficacy. Thus where any crime, as for instance disobedience to Parents, was *public,* it became the object of the civil Tribunal, and is accordingly ordered to be punished by the Judge.‖ But when *private* and secret, then it became the object of Divine vengeance.¶ Now the consequence of this was, that when the Laws were remissly or corruptly administered, *good* and *ill* would sometimes happen unequally

* See Appendix. † Ezek. xviii. 2. ‡ 2 Sam. xxiv. 17. § Psalm lxxiii. 12—22. ‖ Exod. xxi. 15, 17. ¶ Deut. xxvii. 16; Prov. xxx. 17.

to men. For we are not to suppose that Providence, in this case, generally, interfered till the corrupt administration itself, when ripe for vengeance, had been first punished. 2. In this extraordinary administration, one part of the wicked was sometimes suffered as a scourge to the other. 3. The extraordinary Providence to the State might sometimes clash with that to Particulars, as in the plague for numbering the people. 4. Sometimes the extraordinary Providence was suspended for a season, to bring on a national repentance: But at the same time this suspension was publicly denounced.* And a very severe punishment it was, as leaving a State which had not the sanction of a future state of rewards and punishments in a very disconsolate condition. And this was what occasioned the complaints of the impatient *Jews*, after they had been so long accustomed to an extraordinary administration.†

IV. But the general and full solution of the difficulty is this, The common cause of these complaints arose from the GRADUAL WITHDRAWING the extraordinary Providence. Under the *Judges* it was perfectly equal. And during that period of the *Theocracy*, it is remarkable that we hear of no complaints. When the people had rebelliously demanded a king, and their folly was so far complied with, that God suffered the *Theocracy* to be administered by a *Viceroy*, there was then, as was fitting, a great abatement in the vigour of this *extraordinary* Providence; partly in natural consequence, God being now farther removed from the immediate administration; and partly in punishment of their rebellion. And soon after this it is that we first find them beginning to make their observations and complaints of *inequality*. From hence to the time of the *Captivity*, the *extraordinary* Providence kept gradually decaying, till on their full re-establishment, it intirely ceased.‡ For what great reasons, besides punishment for their crimes; and what consequences it had on the religious sentiments of the People, will be occasionally explained as we go along.

But now, let it be observed, that though I have here accounted for the *appearances* of an unequal Providence, yet this is *ex abundanti*; the very nature of my general argument evincing, that there must needs have been an equal Providence actually administered: for a People in society, without both a future State and an equal Providence, could have no belief in the moral government of God: And under such circumstances, it hath been shewn, that they could not long subsist, but must fall back again into all the confusion of a savage state. We must conclude therefore, that what *appearances* soever there may be of inequality in the administration of Providence,

* Isai. iii. 5; lix. 2; lxiv. 7. Zeph. i. 12; Mal. ii. 17.

† Isai. v. 19; Jer. xvii. 15; Amos v. 18;

‡ See note U, at the end of this book.

in the early times of the Jewish Theocracy, they are but *appearances:* that is, nothing which can really affect such a mode of administration.* The Adversaries therefore of the *Divine Legation*, such of them, I mean, who profess themselves Believers, should consider that, while they oppose the reality of an *extraordinary* Providence over the Jewish people, they are weakening the evidence for the miracles recorded in the Old Testament. But this is the least of their care. One of them, with an assurance that hath something in it of a prodigy, affirms, "that the Providence administered under the *Law* was exactly the same kind with that administered under the *Gospel*." † How this could be the case without impeaching the veracity of God himself, as not making good his repeated engagements, this man would do well to consider before he becomes the scorn and contempt of Unbelievers. But as such sort of men bear worse the disgrace of folly than impiety, I shall consider this Portent on its ridiculous side only.

Temporal rewards and punishments administered by the hand of God, followed, as a consequence, from the Jewish Government's being *Theocratical;* and an *extraordinary* Providence followed, as a consequence, from the dispensation of temporal rewards and punishments. Yet here we have a Regius Professor of Divinity affirming, That both *temporal Sanctions* and *an extraordinary Providence* are administered under the *Gospel* in the very same manner they formerly were under the *Law*. In which it is difficult to determine what most to admire; his modesty or his wit. For if it does honour to his wit to maintain conclusions destitute of their premisses, it as strongly recommends his modesty to contradict the whole tenour of the New Testament. But there is neither end nor measure to party-bigotry. Faustus, the Manichean, contended that the Jews and Christians got the doctrine of the one only God from the Gentiles. Is this a wilder fancy than what many modern Divines have asserted, that the Gentiles got the doctrine of future rewards and punishment from the Law of Moses? Or are either of these more extravagant than the folly I am going to expose, namely, That *the temporal sanctions of the* LAW *are transferred into the* GOSPEL? Now, if you should ask whether the Gospel claimed to be a *Theocracy;* I suppose at first, they would say *no;* till they found the advantage you get over them by this answer. And then I make no doubt, they would as readily say, *yes*. For what should hinder them? Does the Gospel disclaim, in stronger terms, its being a TEMPORAL KINGDOM, when Christ says, *his kingdom was not of this world,* than it disclaims TEMPORAL SANCTIONS, when it says, *Yea, and all that will live godly in Jesus Christ shall suffer persecution,*‡ or than it disclaims an *extraordinary providence*

* See note X, at the end of this book. † DR. RUTHERFORTH. ‡ 2 Tim. iii. 12.

where it declares that the Jews had *the promise of the life that now is*, and the Christians *of that which is to come?* *

But not to stretch our conjectures to the lengths these men are disposed to go; let us consider how far they have already gone. They say *the temporal sanctions of the Law are transferred into the Gospel:* and they prove it by these two notable texts.

The first is of St. PAUL, "Children, obey your parents in all things: for this is right. *Honour thy Father and thy Mother* (which is the first commandment with promise) that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth." † All that I here find *transferred*, from the Law to the Gospel, are the *words* of the fifth Commandment. For the Apostle having said, *Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right;* he supports his exhortation by a quotation from the Decalogue; just as any modern preacher, but This, would do, without ever dreaming of *temporal sanctions* in the Gospel; the observation the Apostle makes upon it being in these words—*which is the first commandment with promise;* as much as to say, "You may see, from this circumstance, how very acceptable the performance of this duty is, to God:" The only inference which common sense authorises us to draw from it being what, in another place, he thus expresses,—*Godliness* [or the observance of God's commands] *is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is* [under the LAW] *and of that which is to come* [under the GOSPEL].

The other colour for this clandestine *transfer* of *temporal sanctions*, is from St. PETER: "Who is he that will harm you, if you be followers of that which is good?" ‡ So says the Apostle; and so too said his Master; to whose words Peter alludes, *Fear not them which kill the body: but rather fear him which is able to destroy body and soul in hell.* § But as if the Apostle had it in his thoughts to guard against this absurd vision of *temporal sanctions*, he immediately subjoins,—"But, and if ye suffer for righteousness sake, happy are ye."

Our Doctor having so well made out this point, we need not wonder at his confidence, when he assures us, *that there is full as good evidence of an extraordinary providence under the Christian Dispensation as under the Jewish.* This though the language of Toland, Tindal, Collins, and the whole tribe of Free-thinkers, yet comes so unexpected from a Regius Professor of Divinity, that we should be very careful not to mistake his meaning.

If, by *full as good*, he would insinuate that an *extraordinary providence* was administered under both Dispensations, I shall be in pain for his intellects: if he would insinuate, that an *extraordinary providence* was administered in neither, I shall be in pain for his Professorship.

* 1 Tim. iv. 8. † Eph. vi. 2, 3. ‡ 1 Peter iii. 13. § Matt. x. 28.

But he is in pain for nothing; as the reader may perceive by his manner of supporting this impertinent paradox. His proofs follow with equal ease and force.—*I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth, as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in Heaven.**—*And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life.*†—*Take therefore no thought saying, What shall we eat? or what shall we drink? or wherewithal shall we be cloathed? for your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. But seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.*‡ And again, *If ye ask any thing in my name, I will give it.*§ —"No more, my most wise Friend! Thou hast my wonder; that's enough. My understanding shall come after;" said, once on a time, a plain good man to a profound philosopher like this.

Now not to repeat again the illogical bravado of taking and supporting a *conclusion* divorced from its *premisses;* such as is the contending for temporal sanctions and an extraordinary providence where there was no Theocracy, from whence they could be derived; we have here a Professor of Divinity who has his elements of Scripture-interpretation yet to learn. The first rule of which is, 1. "That *all* does not signify *all simply*, but *all of one kind;* and, of what kind, the context must direct us to determine." When therefore, the members of Christ's *spiritual Kingdom* are promised they shall obtain *all* they ask, this *all* must needs be confined to *things spiritual.* Now when here we find those, who are bid to leave their temporal possessions and propagate the Gospel, have the promise of a hundredfold, are we to seek for the performance, in Palestine, or in a *better Country?* ‖ Again, Where under the *Law*, we read of *temporal Promises*, we read likewise that they were fulfilled. Where, under the GOSPEL, we read that *those who, for the sake of Christ, forsake houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children, or lands, shall receive an hundredfold;* What are we there to look for? For the good things of this world, which this sharp-sighted Doctor is so eager and intent to find?—Now admit there might be no great inconvenience in receiving a hundred *houses* for one; would not a hundred *wives* a little embarras his Professorship? And as to the *house and land*—Where did he learn that this was literally fulfilled, even to those who had the best title to them if they were literally promised, I mean the APOSTLES, yet these we always meet on foot; strangers upon earth; and without either house or home. He, who then passed

* Matt. xviii. 19. † Matt. xix. 29. ‡ Matt. vi. 31, et seq. § John xiv. 14. ‖ Heb. xi. 16.

for a learned Apostle, once at Rome, indeed, got a warm *house* over his head; yet let us not forget that it was but a *hired* one. Here, in this Capital of the World, he received all who came to him. But though a good Divine, as times then went, he never rose to a Regius Professorship.

2. The second elementary rule of interpretation is, "That all the promises of *extraordinary* blessings, made to the first propagators of the Gospel, are not to be understood as extending to their successors of all Ages, or to the Church in general." To apply this likewise to the thing in question. If it should be admitted that great *temporal blessings* were promised to the first disciples of Christ, it will not follow that their successors had a claim to them, any more than they had to their *spiritual gifts and graces*, such as the power of working miracles, prophesying, speaking with tongues, &c. Because as divine Wisdom saw these latter to be necessary for the discharge of their peculiar function; so divine Goodness might be graciously pleased to bestow the Other on them, as the reward of their abundant Faith, and superior Courage in the day of trial, when the Powers of this world were bent on their destruction. But this (blessed be God) is neither the learned Professor's case, nor mine. The worst that has befallen me in the defence of Religion, is only the railings of the Vile and Impotent: and the worst that is likely to befal him is only the ridicule of all the rest. Happy had it been for himself and much happier for his hearers, had our Professor's modesty disposed him rather to seek instruction from those who have gone before, than to impart it to those who are to come after. HOOKER has so admirably exposed this very specific folly which our Doctor has run into, of arguing against his senses, in making the Dispensation of Providence under the *Mosaic* and *Christian* Œconomies to be the same, that I cannot do him better service than to transcribe the words of that divine ornament of the English Priesthood.—"Shall we then hereupon ARGUE EVEN AGAINST OUR OWN EXPERIENCE AND KNOWLEDGE? Shall we seek to persuade men that, of necessity, it is with us as it was with them, that because God is ours, in all respects as much as theirs, therefore, either no such way of direction hath been at any time, or if it have been, it doth *still continue* in the Church? or if the same do not continue, that yet it must be, at the least, supplied by some such means as pleaseth us to account of equal force? A more dutiful and religious way for us, were to admire the Wisdom of God which shineth in the beautiful variety of things, but most in the manifold and yet harmonious dissimilitude of those ways, whereby his Church upon earth is guided from age to age throughout all the generations of men." *

But this was one of the charitable expedients employed to set me

* "Ecclesiastical Polity," book. iii. sect. 10.

right, and to prevent the disgrace of scribling much to no purpose. However, as in a work of this nature, which partakes so much of the History of the human mind, I may be allowed occasionally, and as it falls in my way, to give as well, examples of its more uncommon degrees of depravity and folly, as of its improvements and excellencies, I shall go on. My constant friend Dr. Stebbing proceeds another way to work, but all for the same good end. He desires me and my reader to consider, "what it was that Moses undertook; and what was the true end of his Mission. It was to carry the children of Israel out of Egypt, and put them in possession of the Land of Canaan, in execution of the Covenant made with Abraham. The work in the very NATURE of it *required* the administration of an *extraordinary* Providence; of which it OUGHT THEREFORE TO BE PRESUMED that Moses had both the *assurance* and *experience:* otherwise he would have engaged in a very MAD undertaking, and the people would have been AS MAD in following him. THIS SHORT HINT POINTS OUT THE TRUE INTERNAL EVIDENCE of *Moses's Divine Legation,* and this evidence *has no sort of dependence* upon the belief or disbelief of the doctrine of a future state. For supposing (what is the truth) that the Israelites did believe it; what could this belief effect? It might carry them to Heaven, and would do so if they made a proper use of it, but it could not put them in possession of the Land of Canaan. Mr. Warburton therefore has plainly mistaken his point."

This intimation of my mistake is kind: and I should have taken his *hint,* as *short* as it is, but for the following reasons:

1. This *hint* would serve the Mufti full as well, to prove the *Divine Legation of Mahomet:* for thus we may suppose he would argue:—"Mahomet's work was not like Moses's, the subdual of a small tract of Country, possessed by seven Tribes or Nations, with a force of some hundred thousand followers; but the conquest of almost all Asia, with a handful of Banditti. Now *this work,* says the learned Mahometan, *in the very nature of it, required the administration of an extraordinary providence, of which* IT OUGHT THEREFORE TO BE PRESUMED, *that Mahomet had both the assurance and experience; otherwise he would have engaged in a very mad undertaking, and the people would have been as mad in following him.*"

Thus hath the learned Doctor taught the Mufti how to reason. The worst of it is, that I, for whom the kindness was principally intended, cannot profit by it, the argument lying exposed to so terrible a retortion. To this the Doctor replies, that the cases are widely different: and that I myself allow them to be different, for that I hold, the Legation of Moses to be a true one; and the Legation of Mahomet, an imposture.—"Risum teneatis, Amici!"

But there is another reason why I can make nothing of this gracious *hint*. 'It is because I proposed to PROVE (and not, as he says I ought to have done, TO PRESUME upon) the Divinity of Moses's mission, by an *internal argument*. Indeed he tells me, that if I be for *proving*, he has *pointed out* such a one to me. He says so, 'tis true: but in so saying, he only shews his ignorance of what is meant by an INTERNAL ARGUMENT. An internal argument is such a one as takes for its medium some notorious Fact, or circumstance, in the frame and constitution of a Religion, *not in contest;* and from thence, by necessary consequence, deduces the truth of a fact supported by testimony which *is in contest*. Thus, from the notorious Fact of the omission of a future State in Moses's institution of Law and Religion, I deduce his *Divine Legation*.

But the learned Artist himself seems conscious that the ware he would put into my hands is indeed no better than a counterfeit piece of trumpery; and so far from being an *internal argument*, that it is no argument at all: For he tells us, IT OUGHT THEREFORE TO BE PRESUMED, *that Moses had both the assurance and experience* that God governed the Israelites by an extraordinary Providence.

But what follows is such unaccountable jargon!—*For supposing the Israelites did believe a future State, what would this belief effect? It might carry them to Heaven, but it could not put them in possession of the land of Canaan.* This looks as if the learned Doctor had supposed that, from the truth of this assertion, *That no civil Society under a common Providence could subsist without a future state*, I had inferred, that, *with a future state*, Society would be able to work wonders.—What efficacy a future state hath, whether little or much, affects not my argument any otherwise than by the oblique tendency it hath to support the reasoning: and I urged it thus;—"Had not the Jews been under an *extraordinary Providence*, at that period when Moses led them out to take possession of the land of Canaan, they were most unfit to bear the want of the doctrine of a *future state:*" Which observation I supported by the case of Odin's followers, and Mahomet's; who, in the same circumstances of making conquests, and seeking new habitations, had this Doctrine sedulously inculcated to them, by their respective Leaders. And the histories of both these Nations inform us, that nothing so much contributed to the rapidity of their successes as the enthusiasm which that Doctrine inspired.

And yet, to be sure, the Doctor never said a livelier thing, who is celebrated for saying many, than when he asked,—*What could this belief effect? It might carry them to Heaven; but it could not put them in possession of the Land of Canaan.* Now unluckily, like most of these witty things, when too nearly inspected, we find it to be just the reverse of the truth. The *belief* could never *carry them to*

Heaven, and yet was abundantly sufficient, under such a leader as Moses, *to put them in possession of the land of Canaan*. The Arabians' *belief* of a future state could never, in the opinion at least of our orthodox Doctor, carry them to Heaven; yet he must allow it enabled them to take and keep possession of a great part of Europe and Asia. But the Doctor's head was running on the efficacy of the *Christian Faith*, when he talked of *belief carrying men to heaven*.— Yet who knows, but when he gave the early Jews the knowledge of a *future state*, he gave them the *Christian faith* into the bargain?

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